Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
December 22, 1940.

REVISED REPORT

According to the reports compiled in the Department of Records and Research, there were 5 persons lynched in 1940. This is 2 more than the number 3 for the year 1939, 1 less than the number 6 for the year 1938, and 3 less than the number 8 for each of the years 1937 and 1936. One of the persons lynched was taken from the jail; 1 was shot to death in jail.

There were 22 reports of instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. Three of the reported instances were in northern states, and 19 of the reported instances were in southern states. In 21 instances, persons were removed or guards augmented or other precautions taken. In 1 case, armed force was used. A total number of 28 persons--4 white men, 1 negro woman, and 23 negro men--were thus saved from the hands of mobs.

Of the persons lynched, 1 was white and 4 were Negro. The offenses charged were: Wife beating and drunkenness, 1; attempted rape, 1; attempting to qualify to vote, 1; association with white man, 1; and failure to refer to a white man as "Mr." 1.

States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows: Georgia, 2; Alabama, 2; and Tennessee, 1.

There are 5 cases concerning which information, at the present time, is regarded as uncertain or incomplete. These cases are in the following states: Georgia, 2; Tennessee, 1; and Louisiana, 1.

[redacted]

1940

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The Associated Negro Press Inc.
National News Service
3507 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 1940

V Lynching

MURDERED NEGRO'S WIDOW WINS $2,500; JUDGMENT AGAINST LA. DEPUTY SHERIFF

NEW ORLEANS, June __ (ANP)--Mrs. Thelma Guichard Smith, widow of Oscar Smith, who was murdered by a deputy sheriff of St. Bernard parish in January of last year, was awarded judgment in a suit against the sheriff, the deputy and their insurers, in Judge Bond's Civil District court this week. The judgment was affected by a compromise with the litigants.

Smith was found murdered a short distance from the parish court house after he had been picked up at the St. Claude Inn, a gambling joint, in the custody of Deputy Sheriff William Standar. Negroes in New Orleans and St. Bernard parish became very much aroused over the murder, and under authorization of the regional conference of Southern NAACP Branches, James B. LaFourche, publicity director of the organization, investigaged the killing to determine whether or not to chalk up the first lynching of 1939 against Louisiana and St. Bernard parish.

Through the cooperation of Chief of Police George Reyer and with the aid of Leon Lewis, Associa ted Negro Press representative, LaFourche manipulated the calling of a grand jury investigation under order of the sheriff and district attorney of that parish. Two of the material witnesses summoned were "missing" from the investigation and a no-true bill was returned by the jury.

Earlier this year Deputy Sheriff Standar was afflicted with a grave illness, rumored to be of a "hoodoo" nature. He never fully recovered from this ailment.

The judgment for $2,500 goes to Mrs. Smith and her two minor children, with $1,500 to her and $500 dollars to each of the children, and is against Sheriff C. F Rowley, Deputy Standar and their insurers, the Great American Indemnity company. The compromise was effected after Judge Bond made it clear during the trial which was for $15,000 that he was not impressed by the defense to the effect that Smith had a large knife with which he tried to attack Stander even though a knife was found near his body.

NAACP IN PHILADELPHIA FOR ANNUAL MEET

PHILADELPHIA, June __ (ANP)--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will close its 31st annual conference here next Sunday with a public meeting at which Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York will be the principal speaker. The mayor will be heard over the Mutual Broadcasting System, beginning at 3:30 p.m., Eastern Daylight Saving time.

Besides the NAACP delegates, large numbers of Republicans are already in the city, and it is expected that LaGuardia will make an address important to the race and the nation.

Mrs. Daisy E, Lampkin will preside, and Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, will make the annual accounting of his stewardship.

(Continued on Page 1*A)

148 Congressmen Indicate Their Support Of It

NEW YORK—Among the 148 Congressmen who have told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that they will be on the floor of the House when the federal anti-lynching bill comes up for a vote on January 8, 77 are Republicans, 70, Democrats, and one a member of the American Labor Party.

Replies, which are still coming into the NAACP office, are in response to a letter sent out by the association to Congressmen, urging them to appear on the floor of the House when the bill comes up and to vote for the bill.

Officials of the Association reiterated their call for anti-lynching petitions which have been signed asking that they be sent to the national headquarters, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York by January 1.

It is expected that the petitions will be taken to Washington during the first week in January for presentation to sponsors of the anti-lynching bill in the House and Senate. The list of Congressmen

(Continued on Page 10)

Lynchings

NEGRO PREVENTS LYNCHING OF CULT MEMBER

LITCHFIELD, Ill., June__(ANP) Of the 65 members of "Jehovah's Witnesses, who arrived here last Sunday to spread their teachings, at least one was prevented from being lynched, when infuriated townspeople attacked them, by a Negro, resident of Litchfield, who pleaded for them with mercy. This was revealed by Frank Colombos, a St. Louis' barber and member of the cult for 15 years. Colombos, who arrived in Litchfield with representatives of the cult said:

"The mob had beaten some of the men and pushed the women when suddenly there were cries of 'lynch them'. I thought if it was God's will that we be lynched, we couldn't do anything about it. But there was a Negro standing near me who called out to the mob, "We're all human . They're human. Let's think this matter over. And that statement stayed the mobs' hands until deputies could get there." Colombos, 50, said it was the "scariest day of his life".

State police, called from Springfield, arrived and removed the Witnesses to Hillsboro, county seat of Montgomery county, where they were fingerprinted and permitted to return to St. Louis. The affray in Litchfield began when cult members began to distribute leaflets, containing the statement: "We don't salute the American flag or any other flag." Charges that schools were under the influence of the "Roman Catholic hierarchy" also were contained in the pamphlets.

At their last previous visit to Litchfield on June 1, the Witnesses were ordered out and warned not to return. On Sunday their presence spread rapidly, and the town's men orderly left church to disperse them. Litchfield, although near a coal mining region, is not a mining town. It is an agricultural and industrial community, with 7,000 population, and with factories of the Brown Shoe company and the American Radiator company.

N Lynchings

STATEMENT ON 'LYNCHLESS YERR' UNAUTHORIZED COMMISSION DECLARES

NEW YORK, May__(ANP) The statement issued last week by Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in which the past 12 months were described as a "lynchless year," was made without authorization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility," it was declared this week by Dr. Will Alexander, director of the commission.

Dr. Alexander's reply, in answer to a telegram of inquiry from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, further said that Mrs. Ames' salary and expenses in connection with her work with the association was paid by the commission.

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "lynchless year" statement, the N.A.A.C.P. pointed out an article in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, which they described as an "adequate reply" to Mrs. Ames' statement. The article said in part:

"And we let a Negro be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least..for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen..with no fuss and notoriety.

(Continued to page 7)

Hastie Assails Denial of Civil Liberties

O. F. D. May 11, 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"It is the denial of civil liberties of all sorts by the constant threat of mob violence which makes the fight against lynching so vital to all of us, for, where millions of human beings have no protection against mob violence, only a few need be killed to hold the rect in check.'

This was the challenging statement issued here recently by Dean William H. Hastie, of the Howard University law school in a broadcast sponsored by the National Negro Congress, and heard over the mutual network from Station WOL.

Dean Hastie spoke in support of passage of the federal anti-lynching bill, as chairman of the national legal committee of the NAACP, which is leading the fight to get the bill passed.

Castigating Senate leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties for their "Jekyll-Hyde" attitude toward the bill, the former federal judge said:

"In the United States Senate the leaders of both the Democratic and the Republican parties while expressing themselves as favoring such legislation, have not been willing to make as determined a fight for its enactment as the opposing minority have made for its defeat.'

To Renew Fight for Lynch Bill

Afro American May 18

WASHINGTON

Senator Van Nuys, (Dem., Ind.), said he would again collaborate with Senator Wagner, (Dem., N.Y.), in pushing a Federal anti-lynching bill in the forthcoming Congress.

The Hoosier solon said he would re-introduce the bill despite defiance of Southern opposition.

The bill reportedly has the backing of President Roosevelt, although the Chief Executive has kept out of the fight.

Anti-Lynching Bill

Pittsburg Courier June 15 '40

Solons Discuss Every Other Type of Legislation, But Steadfastly Refuse To Give a Serious Thought To Measure.

WASHINGTON, June 13—(ANP)—Quietly ignoring the anti-lynch bill and taking every opportunity to discuss all other legislation, the United States senate is showing its true attitude to the measure and, according to well-informed persons, letting the debatable point die a natural death—or at least until after the elections.

Republican Senators have been openly accused of killing the bill in the past, but this time, the shoe is on the other foot and the Democratic sponsors are themselves afraid to introduce it on the floor.

Day after day, the senate has not been in session since they had no business on the calendar for the day—but never a thought for the anti-lynch bill.

Excuses have been given and controversies between the proponents outside the senate and senate leaders have roused both those for and against the bill. Only last Friday, a resolution was presented by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, adopted by more than 700 citizens of Boston, held under the auspices of the National Negro congress, favoring the prompt enactment of the bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Seems Doomed

1940

$30,000 REWARD FOR MOBBISTS

The NAACP Thursday offered a $10,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the Monroe, Ga. mobbists. This makes a total of $30,000 now offered in a community where the "best white people" are unable to identify any of the murderers who shot two men and two women to death, following an altercation on a Georgia plantation between a Negro and white man.

LYNCHING - 1940
CASES OF

ALABAMA

6314

3-7-56

Lynched Because He Didn't Say 'Mr.

NEW YORK — The vulture-picked body of 27-year-old Jesse Thornton, 27, fished out of the Pataylagga River on June 28, near Luverne, Ala., not far from Tuskegee Institute, was the answer given by the NAACP to Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley's continued refusal to bring on the anti-lynching bill, because the consideration of defense measures is more "important."

The death of Thornton, who was lynched by a police-led mob because he had "forgotten" to refer to a white police officers as "Mr.", marked the fifth authenticated lynching this year investigated by the association.

Probes Funds Needed

Investigation of three unconfirmed lynchings, one in Mississippi and two in Louisiana, has been hampered because of lack of funds.

The lynching of Thornton, one of the most brutal in this section, is told in the following story written by an NAACP investigator:

If ever there was a streamlined, hushed-up lynching, according to the new technique in Alabama, that lynching happened at Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw County.

Typical Dixie Town

Luverne is a typical Southern town in the heart of a farming district only a short distance from Tuskegee Institute. Farmers gather in the city on Saturdays to barter and trade. The inhabitants of the little town gather in public places to talk.

On June 22, Jesse Thornton, a farm worker, went downtown to a barber shop.

Regarded as a reliable worker, who would fight anybody if imposed upon, he had been living in the community for the past five years with his wife. He was the manager of a chicken farm. He and his wife attended the community church.

Forgot to Say "Mr."

As he and a number of his friends stood in front of the barber shop, a police officer came along. Thornton said to his friends, "There comes Doris Rhodes, boys." The police officer, overhearing the remark, turned and said, "What did you say?"

Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard, hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes."

The officer, using an epithet, accused him of having left off the "Mr.", whereupon Thornton answered in a forthright manner, "I did say Doris Rhodes."

Quick as a flash Rhodes knocked him down with his blackjack, arrested him and marched him off to the jail.

Stoned, Fired Upon

Near the jail door, Thornton succeeded in getting away, was stoned by bystanders who were already forming a mob, and five shots were fired at him.

Thornton kept going, however, running about three quarters of a mile into a field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace, where the mob overtook him.

The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, drove to a "dead-end" street in the town, and dragged him some paces into a swamp.

Shortly shots were heard. Members of the mob returned from the wooded section near the swamp. Jesse Thornton did not come out.

Threatened Wife

Members of the mob now went to the city hall, where they talked with Mayor T. McKing. They went to the barber shop, learned where Thornton lived, and then went to his home where they asked his wife where Thornton was, as if they did not know.

They came back later that night, took her out in a car where they kept her practically all night, threatened her life if she revealed anything.

Fisherman Finds Body

On Friday, June 28, Stephen Thompson was fishing on the bank of the Pataylagga River, where he scared up a drove of vultures and buzzards. Upon investigating, he saw the grewsome spectacle of these scavangers eating and pulling out the eyes and other parts of Thornton's anatomy.

He reported his findings to the city officials. They were, of course, surprised as the public press reported that an "unidentified" colored man had been found by a fisherman.

The town officials had prisoners working on the streets, make a box, took them to the scene where Thornton's half decomposed body lay, ordered them to place it in the crude casket, carry it to a cemetery where a grave was dug, and bury it, without notifying Mrs. Thornton.

Townfolks Won't Talk

Colored citizens of the town are now too intimidated to talk. It is not known whether Thornton had other relatives living. Although there are some whites in the town who are opposed to this crime, they are out-numbered.

What is believed to have been a subterfuge is the rumor that two police officers have been arrested. No confirmation of this report could be had.

MURDER IN SECOND DEGREE LAID TO FOUR IN FAIRFIELD SHOOTING

Trio Officers, Citizen Indicted by Grand Jury in Death of Prisoner

Murder in the second degree was the charge in the indictments under which three Fairfield policemen and a resident of that city were arrested this morning and held for $2,500 bond in the shooting of O'Dee Henderson, Negro, who was killed about two weeks ago while a prisoner at the Fairfield city jail.

The indictments were returned by the Grand Jury in the Bessemer Cutoff and the four men were arrested this morning and placed in the county jail at Bessemer by Chief Deputy Sheriff Clyde Morris.

The officers were W. G. Cook, Thomas Nelson and W. T. Glenn, while the citizen was M. M. Haygood.

Officer Cook made bond shortly after he was arrested.

Nelson, who actually fired the three shots which took the life of the Negro, and Glenn, were dismissed from the police force at a meeting of the Fairfield City Council Wednesday. Action on Cook's case was referred to the Civil Service Board. Haygood is the man with

At the next regular meeting of the council the matter came up again and a special committee was named to investigate the slaying. At their report to a special meeting of the council the two officers were dismissed.

Officer Nelson was already under bond on a first degree manslaughter charge contained in a warrant sworn out by Asst. County Investigator T. J. McCollum after his investigation of the shooting.

The Henderson Negro was arrested by Officer Glenn upon the complaint of Haygood when the latter charged the Negro struck him several times near the entrance to the Fairfield steel plant. In his story of the arrest Officer Glenn said he "slapped" the Negro in the face with his gloved hand when the Negro was impudent at the time, whom the Negro engaged in a fight prior to the Negro's arrest.

The indictments were the most recent episode in the affair which has claimed the interest of citizens and police officers, not only of Fairfield

but of the entire county and state.

At an earlier meeting of the Fairfield Council that group voted down, 5 to 4, recommendations of Mayor C. N. Gilley that the three officers be dismissed from the force. Two members of the council were not present at the time.

of arrest.

Haygood, in his statement concerning the affair, said he struck the Negro in the face with a leather strap several times in the presence of all three of the officers at police headquarters.

Officer Nelson claims he shot the Negro when the latter attempted to seize his blackjack and make a break for liberty.

The slaying has caused considerable comment and for a time threatened difficulties between the races in Fairfield. Mayor Gilley's demand for disciplinary action against the officers did much to relieve the tension. Dismissal of the officers is subject to final action by the Civil Service Board in case the officers appeal the decision of the council. Nelson has already announced he will do so.

Source: Birmingham

News
Birmingham, Ala.

THE FAIRFIELD AFFAIR

This country is supposed to be one of freedom, where civil liberties are respected and due processes of law are observed. And in general it is such a country. But occasionally, here and there, in one way or another there is a departure from these American principles.

Such a departure has come to light in Fairfield, where a Negro, arrested in connection with a fight with a white man, was severely beaten in the Fairfield jail and then shot to death. All statements of witnesses revealed that this happened, although there are some differences in the accounts of how it happened. The exact manner of its happening is not greatly important, for surely in a police station, with several officers present, an unarmed Negro, no matter how obstreperous he might have been, could have been handled without being shot to death, or even being beaten with a blackjack.

Yet the testimony shows that the man with whom the Negro had the fight leading to his arrest--a civilian--was permitted, in the City Jail, to strike the prisoner repeatedly with a leather strap. According to the man's own testimony, he "hit this Negro in the face with this strap for about a minute and a half as hard as I could."

Then some of the officers struck the Negro a number of times with a blackjack and a leather strap. After a time there was a scuffle between the Negro and one of the officers, and the Negro was fatally shot.

The officer accused of shooting him is under bond on a first degree manslaughter charge, and is under suspension from the Fairfield Police Department for 30 days.

Mayor Gilley asked that this officer and two others involved in the affair be dismissed "for conduct unbecoming officers"; the City Council refused to do so by a five-to-four vote.

There is already evidence of strong resentment of this treatment and of the Council's attitude on the part of the people of Fairfield. We believe this attitude will be shared by the majority of the people of Fairfield, as well as of Birmingham and this whole area. Mayor Gilley's stand deserves the solid support of the City Council.

Source: Birmingham, Ala. News

LYNCHING* 1940
CASES OF

ALABAMA

6315

N.A.A.C.P. REPORTS VICTIM'S BODY WAS FOUND IN RIVER NOT FAR FROM TUSKEGEE

NEW YORK.—The vulture-picked body of 27-year-old Jesse Thornton, fished out of the Pataylagga river near Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw County, Alabama, not far from Tuskegee Institute, was the answer given by the N. A. A. C. P. to Senate Majority Leader Albon Barkley's continued refusal to bring up the Federal Anti-lynching bill, because the consideration of defense measures "are more important" at this time. The body was found June 28.

The death of Thornton, who was lynched by a police-led mob because he had "forgotten" to refer to a white police officer as "Mr.", marked the fifth authenticated lynching this year investigated by the association. Investigation of three

UNCONFIRMED LYNCHINGS

Investigation of the following lynchings has been hampered because of lack of funds:

March 20: Tutwiley, Miss., Edward Swiney Cook, Negro, was killed by three white men; May 17: Wewahitchka, Fla., Joe Griffin, jailed May 11 for writing a white girl, later released for safe-keeping, body believed to be his found in a ditch on May 16; May 22: New Roads, La.: "Booster" Williams, 19-year-old Negro boy, beaten to death by white boss who paid attention to Williams' girl; June 4: Mansfield, La., Willie Keys, said to have been beaten to death by a mob after fighting with white foreman.

* * * * *

Unconfirmed lynchings: one in Mississippi, and two in Louisiana, has been hampered because of lack of funds. The lynching of Thornton, one of the most brutal in this section, is told in the following story written by an N.A.A.C.P. investigator and made public by the association this week:

Streamlined Lynching

If ever there was a streamlined hushed-up lynching, according to the new technique in Alabama, that lynching happened at Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw county.

Luverne is a typical southern town in the heart of a farming district only a short distance from Tuskegee Institute. There the farmers gather in the city on Saturdays in large numbers to barter and trade. The inhabitants of the little town gather in public places for one reason or the other to talk.

On June 22 Jesse Thornton, a farm worker, about 7 years old, went downtown to a Negro barber shop. Regarded as a reliable worker, who would fight anybody if imposed upon, he had been living in the community for the past five years with his wife. He was the manager of a chicken farm. He and his wife attended the Negro Community church.

Talks of Officer

As he and a number of friends stood in front of the barber shop, a police officer came along. Thornton said to his friends, with whom he was talking, "There comes Doris Rhodes, boys." The police officer, overhearing the remark, turned and said, "What did you say."

Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard, hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes." The officer, using an epithet, accused him of having left off the "Mr.", whereupon Thornton answered in a forthright manner, "I did say Doris Rhodes." Quick as a flash Rhodes knocked him down with his blackjack, arrested him and marched him off to the jail.

Near the jail door Thornton almost succeeded in getting away when he was stoned by bystanders who were already forming a mob. As he made a second attempt to escape from the officer and a buddy of Rhodes, named Noland Ellis, who were now leading a rapidly forming mob, five shots were fired at him.

Runs 3-4 Mile

Thornton kept going however, running about three quarters of a mile into a field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace. A white woman saw him take out his handkerchief to mop the blood from his face. He attempted to move on as the mob gained on him and finally gave up in sheer exhaustion, when the mob overtook him.

The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, and carried him some paces to a "dead-end" street in the town. They dragged him out and carried him some paces into a swamp. Shortly shots were heard. Members of the mob returned from the wooded section near the swamp. The whole thing

Uncover—

had not taken more than 25 minutes. Jesse Thornton did not come out. Members of the mob now went to the City Hall where they talked with Mayor T. McKing. They went to the barber shop, learned where Thornton lived, and then went to his home where they asked his wife where Thornton was, as if they did not know. She told them that her husband had gone to town. They disputed this, threatening her if she did not tell the "truth." The mob came back later that night, took her out in a car where they kept her practically all night, threatening her life if she revealed anything. They scared her so thoroughly that she refused to talk to Negroes and only reluctantly admitted anything to whites.

Fishing, Finds Body

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The Negroes in the town are now too intimidated to talk. It is not known whether Thornton had other relatives living. Although there are some whites in the town who are opposed to this crime, they are outnumbered. What is believed to have been a subterfuge is the rumor that two police officers have been arrested. No confirmation of this report could be had.

Probe Recent Lynching In Luverne, Ala.

SEP 14 1940

LUVERNE, Ala.—Governor Dixon, in response to a wire from the Jefferson County Federation of Southern Negro Youth Congress, this week took steps toward apprehending the [illegible] of Jesse Thornton, slain by a mob here on June 28.

Acting on gubernatorial orders, C. T. Donaldson, chief of the state highway police, contacted Robert M. Moore, secretary of the youth group, and immediately set out to probe Thornton's death.

In its letter to Governor Dixon, the Youth Conference pointed out that the several lynchings in this vicinity over the past year could not be expected to aid the country in its present efforts towards building up a strong national defense.

6316

LYNCHINGS - 1940
CASES OF

ALABAMA

N. A. A. C. P. Uncovers Lynching In Alabama, The 5th This Year; Lack Of Funds Stops Probe Of 3 Others

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"On June 22 Jesse Thornton, a farm worker, about 27 years old, went downtown to a Negro barber shop. Regarded as a reliable worker, who would fight anybody if imposed upon, he had been living in the community for the past five years with his wife. He was the manager of a chicken farm. He and his wife attended the Negro community church.

"As he and a number of his friends stood in front of the barber shop, a police officer came along. Thornton said to his friends, with whom he was talking, "There comes Doris Rhodes, boys." The police officer, overhearing the remark, turned and said, "What did you say?"

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Stoned By Mob

"Near the jail door Thornton almost succeeded in getting away when he was stoned by bystanders who were already forming a mob. As he made a second attempt to escape from the officer and a buddy of Rhodes, named Noland Ellis, who were now leading a rapidly forming mob, five shots were fired at him.

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Victim Failed to Say "Mr."

Killing Answer To Barkley's Stand On Lynch Bill

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LEFT OFF "MR."

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"Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes." The officer using an epithet accused him of having left off the "Mr." whereupon Thornton answered in a forthright manner, "I did say Doris Rhodes." Quick as a flash Rhodes knocked him down with his blackjack, arrested him and marched him off to the jail.

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"Thornton kept going however, running about three quarters of a mile into a field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace. A white woman saw him take out his handkerchief to mop the blood from his face. He attempted to move on as the mob gained on him and finally gave up in sheer exhaustion, when the mob overtook him.

CARRIED IN SWAMP

"The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, and carried him to a "dead-end" street in the town. They dragged him out and carried him some paces into a swamp. Shortly shots were heard. Members of the mob returned from the wooded section near the swamp. The whole thing had not taken more than 25 minutes. Jesse Thornton did not come out.

"Members of the mob now went to the City Hall where they talked with Mayor T. McKing.

"On Friday, June 28, Stephen Thompson was fishing on the bank of the Pataylagga River, where he scared up a drove of vultures and buzzards. Upon investigating, he saw the grewsome spectacle of these scavangers eating parts of Thornton's anatomy. He reported his findings to the city officals. They were, of course, surprised as the public press reported that an "unidentified" Negro had been found by a Negro fisherman.

"The town officials had Negro prisoners working on the streets, make a box, took them to the scene where Thornton's half decomposed body lay, ordered them to place it in the crude casket, carry it to a Negro cemetery where a grave was dug, and bury it, without even notifying Mrs. Thornton who was terrified and half crazed by her ordeal.

"The Negroes in the town are now too intimidated to talk. It is not known whether Thornton had other relatives living. Although there are some whites in the town who are opposed to this crime, they are out-numbered. What is believed to have been a subterfuge is the rumor that two police officers have been arrested. No confirmation of this report could be had.

LYNCHING - 1950
CASES OF ALABAMA

6317

Roundup Daily Worker August 27, 19

CONGRESS: Heat from the AFL rank and file has melted William Green's support of the infamous Smith amendments to the Wagner act. Mr. Green, who was chiefly responsible for getting the amendments through the House, now says he wants the Senate to kill them—most of them, that is, except his precious craft-union amendment, designed to split organized labor wide open. . . . Construction of "defense housing" (barracks) by the US Housing Authority is opposed by certain congressional leaders, who are all for the barracks but against the USHA—which might still be used for slum clearance if enough voters insist. "Leave it to private business," is the anti-housing boys' motto, but, of course, the RFC can supply the funds. . . . The Neely bill, to compel the use of safety devices in mines, is still stymied in the House Mines and Mining Committee. The bill passed the Senate on January 10. Mine magnates are held responsible for obstructing the measure, which would prevent accidents that take over a thousand miners' lives each year. . . . Jesse Thornton, twenty-seven-year-old Negro of Luverne, Ala., forgot to say "Mr." to a white police officer. Six days later, the vulture-picked body of Jesse Thornton was fished out of the Pataylagga River, where lynchers had thrown it. The case of Jesse Thornton is the answer given by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to Senator Barkley, Senate administration leader, who told the NAACP that the Anti-Lynching Bill (aimed at human vultures) had little chance of passing at this session of Congress. "Defense" legislation has to come first, according to the Kentucky senator. . . . The Allen "bill of attainder" to deport Harry Bridges passed the House, but senators have been discovering how many American citizens don't like Congress to violate the Constitution. So a Senate subcommittee has evolved another bill, directing the attorney general to "investigate" Bridges and deport him on the basis of findings. It's called a "substitute" bill—substituting a legal appearance for obvious illegality. Now citizens are reminding the subcommittee that Bridges was investigated by Dean Landis of Harvard and exonerated of charges of "Communist membership."

PERSECUTION BULLETIN: The fingerprinting fever spreads. In New York City Police Commissioner Valentine has ordered the fingerprinting of cabaret and nightclub employees. Ostensible reason: to trap violators of the law. The employees, through their trade unions, are fighting the edict as a potential (and potent) weapon to fire and blacklist union members. . . . In West Virginia, home of Oscar Wheeler, Judge Bouchelle of Charleston denied a motion to dismiss an application for a preliminary injunction throwing CP candidates off the ballot; the application was made by an American Legionnaire. The State Ballot Commission of Massachusetts, after casting out minority parties off the ballot, refused to let CP representatives present evidence upholding ballot rights.

ACROSS THE BORDER: Mexican peasants, trade unionists, and federal forces mobilized to preserve peace on August 15 when the results of the July election—an overwhelming victory for the people's candidates—were announced. Almazanists got away with very little violence. But an Almazan revolt against the election is still expected. The Communist Party, in a manifesto, calls for mass mobilization to last until December 1, on which date Almazan has promised his followers he will seize power.

MISCELLANY: Poor people, particularly Negroes, were the victims of hurricanes and floods in the South. More than forty were killed, over a thousand made homeless. . . . August 26 marks the twentieth anniversary of the day that nationwide women's suffrage—effected through the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution—was formally proclaimed in force by the US secretary of state. . . . Hopes that army recruiting would "solve" the unemployment problem are being chilled by reports that undernourishment has made untold numbers of the jobless physically ineligible for service. Colonel Ford, chief recruiting officer of the St. Louis area, states that he must reject 90 percent of the Negro, 75 percent of the white applicants, because of defects resulting from substandard diets and starvation.

Fifth Mob Murder Of '40 Found In Alabama

NEW YORK — The vulture-picked body of 27-year-old Jesse Thornton fished out of the Pataylagga river near Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw County, Alabama, not far from Tuskegee Institute, was the answer given by the NAACP to Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley's continued refusal to bring up the Federal anti-lynching bill, because the consideration of defense measures "are more important" at this time. The body was found June 28.

The death of Thornton, who was lynched by a police-led mob because he had "forgotten" to refer to a white police officer as "Mr.", marked the fifth authenticated lynching this year investigated by the Association. Investigation of three unconfirmed lynchings: one in Mississippi, and two in Louisiana, has been hampered because of lack of funds. The lynching of Thornton, one of the most brutal in this section, is told in the following story written by an NAACP investigator and made public by the Association today:

If ever there was a streamlined hushed-up lynching, according to the new technique in Alabama, that lynching happened at Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw county.

Typical Dixie Town

Luverne is a typical southern town in the heart of a farming district only a short distance from Tuskegee Institute. There the farmers gather in the city on Saturdays in large numbers to barter and trade. The inhabitants of the little town gather in public places for one reason or the other to talk.

On June 22 Jesse Thornton, a farm worker, about 27 years old, went downtown to a Negro barber shop. Regarded as a reliable worker, who would fight anybody if imposed upon, he had been living in the community for the past five years with his wife. He was the manager of a chicken farm. He and his wife attended the Negro community church.

As he and a number of his friends stood in front of the barber shop, a police officer came along. Thornton said to his friends, with whom he was talking, "There comes Doris Rhodes boys." The police officer, overhearing the remark, turned and said, "What did you say?"

Mobs Forms Easily

Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard, hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes." The officer using an epithet accused him of having left off the "Mr.", whereupon Thornton answered in a forthright manner, "I did say Doris Rhodes." Quick as a flash Rhodes knocked him down with his blackjack, arrested him and marched him off to the jail.

Near the jail door Thornton almost succeeded in getting away when he was stoned by bystanders who were already forming a mob. As he made a second attempt to escape from the officer and a buddy of Rhodes, named Noland Ellis, who were now leading a rapidly forming mob, five shots were fired at him.

Thornton kept going, however, running about three-quarters of a mile into field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace. A white woman saw him take out his handkerchief to mop the blood from his face. He attempted to move on as the mob gained on him and finally gave up in sheer exhaustion, when the mob overtook him.

Thrown in Truck

The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, and carried him to a "dead-end" street in the town. They dragged him out and carried him some paces into a swamp. Shortly shots were heard. Members of the mob returned from the wooded section near the swamp. The whole thing had not taken more than 25 minutes. Jesse Thornton did not come out. Members of the mob now went to the City Hall where they talked with Mayor T. McKing.

They went to the barber shop, learned where Thornton lived, and then went to his home where they asked his wife where Thornton was, as if they did not know. She told them that her husband had gone to town. They disputed this, threatening her if she did not tell the "truth." The mob came back later that night, took her out in a car where they kept her practically all night, threatening her life if she revealed anything. They scared her so thoroughly that she refused to talk to Negroes and only reluctantly admitted anything to whites.

Buried Unknown to Wife

On Friday, June 28, Stephen Thompson was fishing on the bank of the Pataylagga river, where he scared up a drove of vultures and bussards. Upon investigation, he saw the gruesome spectacle of these scavangers eating and pulling out the eyes and other parts of Thornton's anatomy. He reported his findings to the city officials. They were, of course, surprised as the public press reported that an "unidentified" Negro had been found by a Negro fisherman.

The town officials had Negro prisoners working on the streets, make a box, took them to the scene where Thornton's half decomposed body lay, ordered them to place it in the crude casket, carry it to a Negro cemetery where a grave was dug, and bury it, without even notifying Mrs. Thornton who was terrified and half-crazed by her ordeal.

The Negroes in the town are now too intimidated to talk. It is not known whether Thornton had other relatives living. Although there are some whites in the town who are opposed to this crime, they are out-numbered. What is believed to have been a subterfuge is the rumor that two police officers have been arrested. No confirmation of this report could be had.

NAACP TELLS OF YEAR'S FIFTH MOB SLAYING

Youth Had Refused To Address White Cop as 'Mister'

NEW YORK—The vulture-picked body of 27-year-old Jesse Thornton, fished out of the Pataylagga River near Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw County, Alabama, not far from Tuskegee Institute, was the answer given by the N.A.A.C.P. to Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley's continued refusal to bring up the federal anti-lynching bill, because the consideration of defense measures "are more important" at this time.

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Close to Tuskegee

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There the farmers gather in the city on Saturdays in large numbers to barter and trade. The inhabitants of the little town gather in public places for one reason or other to talk.

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Cops Attacks Man

Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard, hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes."

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Thornton kept going however, running about three quarters of a mile into a field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace. A white woman saw him take out his handkerchief to mop the blood from his face.

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The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, and carried him to a "dead-end" street in the town. They dragged him out and carried him some paces into a swamp. Shortly shots were heard.

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Unconfirmed Lynchings

Investigation of the following lynchings has been hampered because of lack of funds:

March 20: Tutwiltey, Miss.: Edward Swiney Cook, Negro, was killed by three white men; May 17: Wewahitcha, Fla.: Joe Griffin, jailed May 11 for writing to a white girl, later released for safekeeping, body believed to be his found in a ditch on May 16; May 22: New Roads, La.: "Booster" Williams 19-year-old Negro boy, beaten to death by white boss who paid attention to Williams' girl; June 4, Mansfield, La.: June 4, Willie Keys said to have been beaten to death by a mob after fight with white foreman.

Whites Steal Car Of Negro In Police Chase

Stealing a 1940 maroon Oldsmobile in front of the Mitten Bank on Market and West Penn Square, two white motor bandits staged one of the wildest Monday rides ever seen in the city.

The motor thieves went into action at 12.30 o'clock Monday when they pushed Walter [illegible] in 531 south 16th street, who was the driver of the car, off the running board of the car where he was sitting while waiting for David Lanehart, 62, colored seafood dealer from Baltimore who was in the bank on business.

After knocking DeVan off the car the bandits threw the machine into high gear before traveling 50 feet and swung into high gear at 50 miles an hour with thousands of stupefied spectators lining the sidewalks as the daring pair charged down Broad street at 70 miles an hour and passed a red light.

TRAFFIC COPS IGNORED

Traffic policemen whistled in vain and then started in pursuit. They rode past the Union League like a red streak and never halted at Walnut street although the light was against them.

In front of the Bellevue-Stratford there stood a string of taxicabs. The skidding car was thrown against the end car.

The impact caused three cabs to be piled up in a jam, smashing fenders and lights. One driver was hurt in the impact.

As the desperate driver of the stolen car tore himself loose from the mess, he hit another car but kept on going. Patrolmen Brown and Coggins joined in the chase, after firing at the car by commendeering a Marine Corps truck driven by Private Jack Evans.

SOUTH STREET ALARMED

The auto thieves leaped past Pine street and at South street, an alert U. S. Mail truck driver swung his machine across Broad street in an attempt to stop them.

The driver of the fleeing auto saw an opening and headed into South after riding on the pavement. Before the machine reached 16th street two parked cars had been hit.

South street was thrown into a panic as the red chariot sped by. The car turned at 16th street and went over Pine street and north on 17th street, bucking traffic, and out Locust street and eluded police who were still chasing it.

The search continued for two hours but no traces were found of the missing car or its drivers.

The car was recovered later in the day abandoned near 39th and Ogden streets, West Philadelphia, its right fender peppered full of bullet holes and the front of the car badly smashed.

Lanehart, the owner, said that the car was insured. Police in the 17th district kept the car in custody pending the arrival of fingerprint experts.

NAACP Reveals 5th Lynching For This Year

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The last time seen alive, Thornton was in the hands of the police who had accused him of not using the word, "Mister" in speaking of the officer. It was learned that the Negro youth was taken to the jail where a mob awaiting him thrust him into a truck and drove away toward the river. His decomposed body was found in the river about a week later.

It was generally known in the community that Thornton had met with foul play, but the colored people were too "scared" to talk. Even his wife was not notified that her husband's body had been taken from the river and buried.

According to a report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this makes the fifth authenticated lynching this year.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
CASES OF

FOREIGN

6318

OF 2 LYNCHERS DRAWS A BLACK BALL; MUST DIE

LA PAZ, Bolivia, Feb. 23 (AP).—Francisco Mamani, convicted of lynching a man who robbed him, must die because he drew a black ball from the "anfora reos" [criminal vase].

Mamani and Julio Zegarra were convicted of killing Domingo Quispe, who was reported to have robbed Mamani and set fire to Zegarra's home.

Under Bolivian law when two persons are convicted of one murder they must draw lots to determine who dies for the crime. The draw was held in court yesterday.

6319

LYNCHING - 1940
CASES OF 3-1-56

GEORGIA

AND LYNCHING GOES MERRILY ON

While the United States Senate is still dilly dallying and quibbling over the anti-lynching bill, lynching goes merrily on down in Georgia.

Just this week down in LaGrange, Georgia, Austin Callaway, an 18-year-old Negro youth was lynched after being taken from the county jailer who did not raise one finger to protect his prisoner.

Information from the officers, and this information was furnished the mob members, stated that young Callaway was charged with supposed or attempted rape, (note the wording of the charge). The members of the mob which shot and left the body of the youth in the road, knew exactly what they were doing. They knew that it was a rank violation of the law for a person to attempt to wreak punishment upon another person for an alleged violation of law. But they also knew that nothing would be done to them as they dragged this helpless victim from a jail cell and murdered him. They made no attempt to hide their faces from the sheriff for they knew that the sheriff was part and parcel to this lynching and hence would not identify them. Of course the sheriff said that the six men who entered the jail were masked but there is every evidence to show that they were not masked and that the sheriff knew each and every one of the men.

The county law enforcement officers were quick to declare "there is nothing we can do about the murder" and the coroner hurried to say that the victim came to his death at the hands of unknown persons. When contacted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the governor declared that the state was powerless to prosecute the members of the mob because they were citizens of Troup County and the arms of the state were too short to reach them.

In the meanwhile Callaway's soul is crying out to Uncle Sam to avenge his death by passing an anti-lynching bill.

What will the Senate do about this matter? Isn't this a good time for some of those so-called Christian gentlemen in the Senate to stand up for the proctection of the lives of American citizens from the mobs of our own making? Why pray we to our heavenly Father to protect those who are being ruthlessly murdered in Europe while the American mob is slaying the innocent and nothing is being done about it? Surely the long prayers for the protection of life and the restoration of peace in foreign fields by this, a Christian nation, falls far short when such brutal murder is allowed in our gates, as was perpetrated upon young Callaway, and nothing is done about it.

White Women Condemn Georgia Lynching

SEP 22 1940

GRANTVILLE, Ga. — The Methodist women of the LaGrange district, in annual session here Monday, denounced in vigorous terms the lynching near LaGrange on September 7, of a Negro youth accused of attempted criminal assault.

The resolutions, which were adopted unanimously, condemned "unreservedly" the failure to provide adequate safeguards for the accused, and called upon the officers of the county to do all in their power to discover and punish "the lynchers who committed this terrible murder and brought reproach upon Geogians and American citizens.

The resolutions also expressed gratitude to another Negro who, it is said rescued the intended victim of the assault and turned the attacker over to the law.

The resolutions were signed by Mrs. William Banks and Mrs. Durand Miller, president and secretary respectively of the district organization, and Mrs. Stewart Colley, superintendent of Christian Social Relations of the North Georgia Conference.

Georgia Officials To Probe Lynching

SEP 19 1940

LA GRANGE, Ga. (ANP)—Investigation into the lynching of Austin Callaway, 18, who was taken from the La Grange jail by six masked white men, was reported under way Monday by local officials.

According to Police Chief J. E. Mathews, Callaway was arrested Saturday following an attempted attack on a white woman. Early Sunday he was found lying on the Liberty Hill road near here with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

Mob Forces Six Negroes To Flee Jim Crow Town

DETROIT—Warning! All Negroes keep out of Owasso if you value your lives. This fact was clearly illustrated last week when a contractor decided to take his six Negro helpers with him on a construction job in the "lily white" area.

The contractor, Norman Starr, white, of the Brown Re-Servicing and Floor Company, after accepting the job in Owasso took the men with him. He was forced to plead with a mob in order to gain permission to allow the Negro workers to remain in town to complete their jobs.

The men worked at the assigned task, and according to reports, finished about midnight and fled to Flint, Mich., for safety.

Senator Charles Diggs, of the 3rd senatorial district, sent a letter of protest to Thomas Read, attorney general of Michigan, demanding that action be taken on the mob violence. The NAACP branch office was also contacted and steps were taken to investigate the matter.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
September 9, 1940

NEGRO LYNCHED ON GEORGIA ROAD

Taken From Jail Where He Was Held in Connection With Assault Try

LAGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 8—(AP)—A 16-year-old Negro charged with an attempted attack on a white woman was taken from the city jail here early today and lynched, Chief of Police J. E. Mathews announced tonight.

Chief Mathews said the masked men took the Negro, Austin Callaway, from the jail by forcing the jailer at gunpoint to open the cell door. A searching party found the Negro on the Liberty Hill Road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm and took him to a hospital, where he died late this afternoon.

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SEP 12 1940

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Youth Is Arrested In Assault Case

SEP 23 1940

Special to THE CONSTITUTION.

MARIETTA, Ga., Sept. 22.—Cobb county officers early today placed a Negro youth, listed as Louis Willcoxon, 17, in Fulton tower in Atlanta, charged with assaulting a young woman at her farm home near here early this morning, Sheriff George McMillan said.

County Policeman A. C. Allgood said the youth admitted making the attack and that another Negro who had been held in the case was released after the admission was made by Willcoxon.

Willcoxon, according to the officer, was tracked from the scene of the attack to his home by dogs.

Youth, 18, Lynched By Six Men In Georgia

Found Dying on Road of Bullet Wounds After Being Taken From Jail

LA GRANGE, Ga. — Georgia went on record this week for lynching a Negro youth. Officials pursued an investigation Monday and Tuesday into the lynching of the 18 year old boy, who, they said, was taken from the La Grange jail by six masked white men.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews said the youth, Austin Callaway, was arrested Saturday on a charge of an attempted attack on a white woman.

Early Monday, he added, Callaway was found lying on the Liberty Hill road near here with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

Mathews quoted acting Jailer S. S. Wallis as stating the men marched to Callaway's cell and forced him at gunpoint to unlock the door.

Mathews said the men seized Callaway, carried him to an automobile and sped away.

The New York office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was notified of the incident and will make a complete investigation of the lynching. Also attempts will be made to get the Federal Bureau of Investigation to probe the lynching.

Charlotte, N. C., News
September 11, 1940

True To Form

Georgia Lynching Follows Well-Established Pattern

To LaGrange, Ga., goes the loathsome distinction of having spoiled the South's good record for lynching in 1940. In 1939 the number of those who were dispatched by mobs reached the all-time low of only three. But down until Sunday there had not been a lynching this year.

But Sunday at LaGrange it happened, and strictly according to standard pattern.

There was a Negro locked up in the hoosegow. He was charged with attempted attack on a white woman — dynamite in Georgia. But the LaGrange police chief hadn't even dreamed that a mob might want the prisoner. Neither had the jailer. The jailer didn't hear them coming, the six white men who marched upon him. And of course he was sure they would shoot him and so put their necks in the hangman's noose, if he didn't obey their orders to the letter. So he dutifully unlocked the cell and handed over the black man. Then the six men got in an automobile and rode.

And then, of course, the jailer notified the police chief and the police chief notified the sheriff and the sheriff started in hot pursuit of the criminals? It does not appear. Apparently the sheriff spent the rest of the night trying to decide which way they had gone. Anyhow, the next morning the Negro was found, lying beside a country road, full of bullets.

And — you guessed it — the jailer hasn't the faintest notion as to who the criminals were. In towns like LaGrange it is usual for sheriffs, police chiefs, and jailers, as political jobholders, to know virtually every white man in the county. But somehow they are often curiously unable to recognize the members of a lynching party. It is in towns where the cops and jailers are dumb-like that that you have lynchings.

Danville, Va., Register
September 14, 1940

Current Opinion

MAKE IT THE LAST

(Raleigh News and Observer)

The lynching which occurred at La Grange, Georgia, last Sunday night is the direct responsibility of the State of Georgia, but the consequences must be shared by the entire South.

Prior to that lynching there had not been one for 15 months and the country was well on the way to the first calendar year without a lynching. Perhaps an isolated instance of mob law was inevitable and the lynching in Georgia could be accepted with better grace were it not for the surrounding circumstances. But even if an occasional lynching be accepted as inevitable, there is no excuse for a lynching which apparently accompanied by an utter disregard for duty on the part of the county sheriff. For a lynching to have occurred in the spite of real efforts to prevent it would have been one thing. For it to have occurred in the absence of such effort is quite another thing. The sheriff who permitted a mob to take a young Negro out of his jail and shoot him not only did not stop the mob but reports himself "unable to recognize any of them."

The time when such conduct on the part of law enforcement officers was generally blinked at has happily passed. Such official conduct should not be tolerated in any instance. If the statutes of Georgia provide for such procedure, the sheriff should be promptly removed by the governor. If there is no such law, the people should remove him from office at the first opportunity.

Unfortunately, the State of Georgia has shown no disposition, so far to deal with the mob or the sheriff who supinely permitted the mob to take his prisoner.

Law-abiding people of Georgia should make themselves heard and law-abiding people of all Southern States should resolve that if this disgraceful incident in Georgia is not the last lynching in the South it shall be the last one to go unpunished.

One unworthy sheriff in Georgia and a complacent community have weakened the strongest argument there is against a federal anti-lynching law. There should be no further weakening of that argument.

LYNCHING-1940
CASES OF

GEORGIA

6320

3-1-56

THREE VICTIMS WHITE, KILLED BY KU KLUXERS

Put Heat on Senator Barkley to Bring Up Anti-Lynching Bill

LA GRANGE, Ga. (Special)--Georgia this week made it five for 1940.

With the brutal lynching of Austin Callaway, 16 - year-old schoolboy, by a mob of a half dozen men here Sunday morning, the

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Those killed were: Sarah Rawls, 19 years old. Denton Ford, 21 years old. Ike Gaston, age unknown. Elbert Williams, 19 years old. Austin Callaway, 16 years old.

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total of lynchings for the first eight months of the year reached five, but strange as it may seem only two of the victims were Negroes.

The Rawls woman, and Ford were snatched from their parked car on the outskirts of Atlanta on March 2 and beaten to death by members of the Ku Klux Klan. Gaston was killed under similar circumstances five days later, also in Atlanta. All three were white.

Williams, a member of the N. A. A. C. P., working in Tennessee among Negro voters, was beaten to death, then hurled into the river near Brownsville, Tenn., June 20, and now Georgia steps back into the picture with the lynching of young Callaway.

In a statement to The Amsterdam News Monday afternoon. Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. stated that he had directed a letter to Senate Majority Leader Alben L. Barkley, strongly urging that some definite action be taken on the anti-lynching bill before Congress adjourns. Sen. Barkley is already on record with a promise to see that the bill is voted on this session.

In his letter Mr. White called attention to the Tennessee situation, explaining that neither the state or federal authorities had done anything about the Brownsville case, despite the fact that officials of the association had furnished them with the names of at least 13 members of the mob that lynched young Williams. And despite Tennessee's Senator Kellar's statement that his state could and would stop lynching.

Mr. White also told Senator Barkley that the country is fully aware of the importance of preparing the defenses of this nation against its enemies from without, but that it is equally important to put an end to Hitlerism and bigotry within our own boundaries. This newest lynching, he said, makes it imperative that Congress remain in session until an anti-lynching bill is passed.

In describing the Calloway lynching Chief of Police J. E. Matthews said about a half dozen masked men, at least one of whom was armed, stormed the jail and forced the keeper, at gun's point to unlock the prisoner's cell.

Shortly after Calloway was taken from his cell a party discovered him on a lonely road eight miles from town fatally wounded with bullets in head and arm. He died a few hours later in a hospital.

Police record showed the victim had been arrested Saturday afternoon and lodged in jail following a report that he had attacked a white woman.

Colored residents in the section of Minden are concerned over the fate of R. L. Jones, 24-year-old laborer in the paper mill at Springhill, La., near here, whose disappearance is whispered about as a lynching.

According to available information, Jones was in bed with his brother and cousin on the night of Wednesday, Aug. 28, when he was awakened by the sheriff and two other white men who said they wanted to talk with him. Jones was carried away by the trio and hasn't been seen since then.

When Jones failed to return, his relatives contacted the sheriff who named three towns where the young man might be. They investigated and found nothing of him.

The fear has been expressed that Jones has been made a victim of the new silent lynching technique now prevalent in the South.

Mr. White said the N. A. A. C. P. is investigating seven other cases in which Negroes have disappeared, when he was told of the case of Jones.

Source: Amesterdam News
New York, N. Y.

FIND NEW LYNCH VICTIM IN KKK REIGN OF TERROR

Flogged Body of Isaac Gaston Found in Georgia Woods; Fifth Lynching in Recent Month During Wave of Violence

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ATLANTA, March 9. --A horrifying wave of Ku Klux terror in this area was climaxed yesterday by the discovery of the body of Isaac Gaston, 36, who had been "chastised" to death by night-riders.

Gaston's body was found near a pine knoll which has been the scene of many recent floggings by the vigilantes. A four-foot strap and the prints of many feet indicated that he had been

flogged unmercifully. Other victims of KKK terror in recent months in the same neighborhood include two Negro women, a minister and another man.

Source: Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

6321

Negro Boy Lynched At LaGrange

MASKED MOB TAKES PRISONER FROM JAIL. JAILER THREATENED

SEP 1 5 1940

A mob [illegible] an 18 year old Negro, charged with an attempt to commit rape from the city jail in LaGrange, Ga., and fatally shot him, according to Police Chief J. E. Mathews.

The Chief of Police said that the boy, Austin Calloway, was found on the Liberty Hill road about eight miles northwest of LaGrange and taken to a local hospital where he died shortly afterwards.

About six men, at least one of them was armed, came upon Acting Jailer S. J. Willis and ordered him not to turn around and was made to give up the keys to the cell in which Calloway was held. After being forced back to the cell the men returned the keys to the acting Jailer and then he was placed in an automobile and driven away.

Calloway had been arrested Saturday afternoon in LaGrange near the residence where the assault and attmpted rape was said to have taken place.

Executive Secretary, Walter [illegible] of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has made a special trip to Washington to confer with Majority Leader Senator Barkley and Senator Wagner and to enter protest against this latest evidence of [illegible] madness in the south.

PRISONER LYNCHED AT LAGRANGE, GA.

(Morning Edition)

LAGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 8—(AP)—A 16-year-old Negro, Austin Calloway, charged with an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the City Jail here early today and lynched. Chief of Police J. E. Mathews announced tonight.

Chief Mathews said the masked men took the Negro from the jail by forcing the jailer at gunpoint to open the cell door. A searching party found the Negro on the Liberty Hill Road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm and took him to a hospital, where he died late this afternoon.

About six men, at least one of whom was armed, forced Acting Jailer S. J. Willis to release the prisoner, Chief Mathews reported. A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time.

Chief Mathews said he and Troup County Sheriff E. V. Hillyear were working on the case, but had few clews to aid them. Willis said he was unable to recognize any of the men who removed the Negro.

Callaway was arrested yesterday afternoon in LaGrange near the scene of the reported attempted attack.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
September 9, 1940

TROUP COUNTY SEEKS SIX IN LYNCHING PROBE

Victim Found Dying On Road After Being Taken From Jail

LAGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 9.—(AP). County and city officials today pushed an investigation into the lynching of an 18-year-old negro, who, they said, was taken from the LaGrange Jail by six masked white men.

The negro, Austin Callaway, was found lying on the Liberty Hill Road eight miles Northwest of LaGrange early Sunday with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms, Police Chief J. E. Mathews said. He died later in a LaGrange hospital.

Chief Mathews said the negro was arrested Saturday on a charge of attempted attack on a white woman.

At least one of the six men who entered the jail and demanded the keys to the negro's cell was armed, the chief declared. He quoted Acting Jailor S. J. Willis as saying the men marched him to the cell after taking the keys and then forced him to unlock the door.

After seizing the negro, the men carried him to a car outside and sped away, Mathews reported. Willis said the men came up from behind him and ordered him not to turn around. One of them kept a gun in his back, the jailor said.

A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time.

Chief Mathews said he was working with Troup County Sheriff E. V. Hillyer on the case, but few clues on the identity of the group had been uncovered.

LYNCHING - 1940
CASES OF

GEORGIA

6322

Negro Lynched By 6 In Georgia

By Associated Press

LAGRANGE, GA., Sept. 8.—A 16-year-old negro, charged with an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the city jail here early today and lynched, Chief of Police J. E. Mathews announced tonight.

Chief Mathews said the masked men took the negro, Austin Callaway, from the jail, by forcing the jailer at gunpoint to open the cell door. A searching party found the negro on the Liberty Hill Road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arms and took him to a hospital, where he died late this afternoon.

About six men, at least one of whom was armed, forced Acting Jailer S. J. Willis to release the prisoner, Chief Mathews reported. A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time.

The chief quoted Willis as saying the men came upon him from behind and ordered him not to turn around. Willis was asked what cell Callaway was in and then forced to hand over the keys.

After being marched back to the cell, the men returned the keys and forced Willis to open the cell. The jailer was quoted as saying he felt a gun pressed in his back during most of the time.

The negro was then placed in an automobile and driven away. When he was found there were three bullet holes in his head and several in his hands and arms, the chief said.

Chief Mathews said he and Troup County Sheriff E. V. Hillyer were working on the case, but had few clues to aid them. Willis said he was unable to recognize any of the men who removed the negro.

Callaway was arrested yesterday afternoon in LaGrange near the residence where the assault was said to have taken place, the police chief reported.

Officials Probing LaGrange Lynching

LAGRANGE, [AP] — Officials pushing an investigation today into the lynching of an 18-year-old Negro, who, they said, was taken from the LaGrange jail by six masked white men.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews said the Negro, Austin Callaway, was arrested Saturday on a charge of an attempted attack on a white woman.

Mathews said the men seized the Negro, carried him to an automobile and sped away.

Negro In Georgia Is Lynched By Mob

LAGRANGE, Ga.—(AP) —Officials pushed an investigation today into the lynching of an 18-year-old Negro, who, they said, was taken from the LaGrange Jail by six masked white men.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews said the Negro, Austin Callaway, was arrested Saturday on a charge of an attempted attack on a white woman.

Early yesterday, he added, the Negro was found lying on the Liberty Hill Road near here with bullet wounds in his heads, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

The police chief quoted Acting Jailor S. J. Willis as saying the men marched him to the Negro's cell and forced him at gunpoint to unlock the door.

Mathews said the men seized the Negro, carried him to an automobile and sped away.

Prisoner Is Slain; Six Men Sought

Special to THE CONSTITUTION.

LAGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 9.—Police Chief J. E. Mathews and Troup County Sheriff E. V. Hillyer today sought clues to the identity of six men who snatched an 18-year-old Negro prisoner from the city jail yesterday and shot him fatally.

The body of the Negro, Austin Callaway, who was being held in connection with an attack on a woman, was found lying on the Liberty Hill road about eight miles northwest of here.

Acting Jailor S. J. Willis said a gun was pressed to his back as he stood at the jail, watching a fire nearby, and that he was forced to turn over the jail keys to one of the group. The Negro was placed in an automobile and driven away, he said.

BAND INVADES JAIL AND LYNCHES YOUTH

(The Associated Press)

Lagrange, Ga., Sept. 9.—A 16 year-old Negro, charged with an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the city jail here early Sunday and lynched Chief of Police J. E. Matthews announced Sunday night.

Chief Matthews said the masked men took the Negro, Austin Calloway, from the jail, by forcing the jailer at gunpoint to open the cell door. A searching party found the Negro on the Liberty Hill road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm and took him to a hospital, where he died late this afternoon.

About six men, at least one of whom was armed, forced Acting Jailer S. J. Willis to release the prisoner, Chief Matthews reported. A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time.

The chief quoted Willis as saying the men came upon him from behind and ordered him not to turn around. Willis was asked what cell Callaway was in and then forced to hand over the keys.

Mobsters Raid Jail, Kill Youth

Victim's Body Riddled With Bullets; Probe Atrocity

LAGRANGE, Ga. — A mob of masked white men, armed "to the teeth", with pistols, shotguns and other weapons, broke into the city jail, dragged a defenseless youth from his cell and lynched him Monday.

The victim, Austin Callaway, 18, was found hours later on a road eight miles from town by a searching party. He was taken to a hospital, where he died shortly afterwards from bullet wounds.

Chief of Police J. E. Matthews said that Callaway had been arrested on a charge of attempting to attack a white woman.

When the mob crashed into the jail, six men forced Acting Jailer S. J. Willis to release the prisoner, Chief Matthews reported.

After marching Willis to the cell where Callaway was held, the men forced him to open it. The jailer said he felt a gun pressed in his back.

The victim was then placed in an automobile and driven away. When he was found there were three bullet holes in his head and several in his hands and arms, the chief said.

Authorities jailer reported they were working on the case, but had few clues to aid them. Willis said he was unable to recognize any of the men who dragged Callaway out the jail.

The lynch victim was arrested last Sunday afternoon in Lagrange near the residence where the attempted assault was said to have taken place.

Masked Men Lynch Negro At LaGrange

Jailer Held Up During Plant Fire

SEP 9 1940

LAGRANGE, [AP]—A group of masked men took an 18-year-old Negro, charged with assault and attempt to commit rape, from the city jail early Sunday and fatally shot him, Police Chief J. E. Mathews said.

The chief said the Negro, Austin Callaway, was found on the Liberty Hill road about eight miles northwest of LaGrange and taken to a local hospital where he died shortly after 6 p.m.

About six men, at least one of whom was armed, forced Acting Jailor S. J. Willis to release the prisoner, Chief Mathews reported. A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time.

The chief quoted Willis as saying the men came upon him from behind and ordered him not to turn around. Willis was asked what cell Callaway was in and then forced to hand over the keys.

SEP 9 1940

After being marched back to the cell, the men returned the keys and forced Willis to open the cell. The jailor was quoted as saying he felt a gun pressed in his back during most of the time.

The Negro was then placed in an automobile and driven away. When he was found there were three bullet holes in his head and several in his hands and arms, the chief said.

Chief Mathews said he and Troup County Sheriff E. V. Hillyer were working on the case, but had few clues to aid them. Willis said he was unable to recognize any of the men who removed the Negro.

Callaway was arrested early Saturday afternoon in LaGrange near the residence where the assault and attempted rape of the woman was said to have taken place, the police chief reported.

17-Year-Old Negro Lynched By Masked Georgia Marauders

SEP 14 1940

LAGRANGE, Ga.—Officials here were investigating the lynching of a seventeen-year-old Negro, Austin Callaway, who was taken from the local jail early Sunday by masked men who forced a prison attendant at gun point to open the cell door. The youth, who was awaiting trial on charges of an attempted attack on a white woman, was found by a searching party on the Liberty Hill road, eight miles from town, a bullet wound in his head and arm. Taken to a hospital, he died late Sunday afternoon.

Chief of Police J. E. Matthews said that six men, at least one of whom was armed, forced Acting Jailor S. J. Willis to release the prisoner. They then placed him in an automobile and drove him away.

Callaway had been arrested Saturday afternoon in Lagrange near the residence where the assault and attempted rape of the woman was said to have taken place.

Contacted by telephone, Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told The New York Age that Executive Secretary Walter White had gone to Washington on Tuesday to confer with Majority Leader Senator Barkley and Senator Wagner and to enter protest against this latest evidence of mob madness in the South.

Lynch Youth In Georgia

SEP 13 1940

LAGRANGE, Ga.—A youth, 16, was taken from the city jail here early Sunday, September 8, by masked men and later found on the Liberty Hill road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm. He was taken to a hospital where he died late Sunday afternoon.

The youth, Austin Callaway, had been arrested Saturday afternoon near the residence of a white woman who claimed he assaulted her.

In answer to the lynching Chief of Police J. E. Matthews and Sheriff E. V. Hillyer, Troup county sheriff, were working on the case but had few clues to aid them. They said the jailer had stated he did not recognize any of the masked men who forced him at gunpoint to open the cell door of the lynch victim.

Georgia Boy Lynch Victim

SEP 14 1940

LaGRANGE, Ga.—Charged with an attempted criminal attack upon a white woman, a 16-year-old colored youth was taken from the city jail here early Sunday morning and lynched by a band of six white men.

In making the announcement Chief of Police J. E. Matthews said that the six men, who were masked, took the victim, Austin Callaway, from the jail after forcing the jailer, at gun point, to surrender his keys.

The youthful victim was found by a searching party on the Liberty Hill Road eight miles out of town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm. He was carried to a local hospital but died late Sunday afternoon.

Officer S. J. Willis was acting as jailer at the time of the abduction. A fire was in progress at a nearby packing plant at the time of the lynching, it was stated.

Greensboro, N. C. Patriot
September 9, 1940

Georgia Yields To Lynch Mob

A 16-year-old negro, charged with an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the LaGrange, Ga., jail early Sunday and lynched, Chief of Police J. E. Matthews announces.

Chief Matthews said the masked men took the negro, Austin Callaway, from the jail by forcing the jailer at gunpoint to open the cell door. A searching party found the negro on the Liberty Hill road, eight miles from town, with bullet wounds in his head and arm and took him to a hospital, where he died late Sunday afternoon.

Albany, Ga., Herald
September 11, 1940

This Is My Personal Column

By H. T. M.

ONCE AGAIN LAW IS LYNCHED The hope that Georgia would get through another year without a lynching was shattered when a small group of masked men took from the Troup County jail in LaGrange a Negro charged with attempted criminal assault and shot him to death. There were six men in the lynching party, according to the LaGrange story, and apparently they had no difficulty in carrying out their program.

Law and order is having to fight for its life on many fronts. Organized assaults on constituted authority never stop. The "majesty of the law" very often appears to be anything but majestic. Crime laughs at authority, and it seems far easier to put criminals behind prison bars than it is to keep them there.

It is natural to wonder what effort will be made in Troup County to bring the lynchers of a Negro to justice. He may have deserved death, but law and order did not deserve to be outraged. The law is weaker in Troup County today than it has been in a long time. Its majesty is in the gutter. Its courts have been weakened. Its ability to protect the weak and measure justice according to standards of the white man's civilization has been flouted by a handful of masked men.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
September 13, 1940

Lynched Law

(The Albany Herald)

The hope that Georgia would get through another year without a lynching was shattered when a small group of masked men took from the Troup County jail in LaGrange a negro charged with attempted criminal assault and shot him to death. There were six men in the lynching party, according to the Grange story, and apparently they had no difficulty in carrying out their program.

Law and order is having to fight for its life on many fronts. Organized assaults on constituted authority never stop. The "majesty of the law" very often appears to be anything but majestic. Crime laughs at authority, and it seems far easier to put criminals behind prison bars than it is to keep them there.

Itis natural to wonder what effort will be made in Troup County to bring the lynchers of a negro to justice. He may have deserved death, but law and order did not deserve to be outraged. The law is weaker in Troup County today than it has been in a long time. Its majesty is in the gutter. Its courts have been weakened. Its ability to protect the weak and measure justice according to standards of the white man's civilization has been flouted by a handful of masked men.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
August 30, 1940

Reported Lynchings Denounced by Speaker

Reported lynchings at Brownsville, Tenn., were denounced last night by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in addressing a mass meeting called by the Nashville chapter of the organization.

The meeting, which was held at St. John's AME Church, was attended by several hundred persons. Lynchings were branded by White as "Hitlerism in practice." The Rev. Pickens Johnson also addressed the group.

The group adopted a resolution opposing the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill.

Wilmington, N. C. News
September 9, 1940

NEGRO IS LYNCHED AT LAGRANGE, GA

Six Masked White Men Police Chief Says, Took Attack Attempter

LaGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 9.—(AP)—Officials pushed an investigation today into the lynching of an 18-year-old negro who, they said, was taken from the LaGrange jail by six masked white men.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews said the negro, Austin Callaway, was arrested Saturday on a charge of an attempted attack on a white woman.

Early yesterday, he added, the negro was found lying on the Liberty Hill road near here with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

The police chief quoted acting Jailor S. J. Willis as saying the men marched him to the negro's cell and forced him at gunpoint to unlock the door.

Mathews said the men seized the negro, carried him to an automobile and sped away.

Oneida, Tenn. News
September 13, 1940

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY MASKED GEORGIA MOB

Negro Accused of Attempted Assault on White Woman

Chief of Police J. Matthews of LaGrange, Georgia, said that Austin Callaway, 18-year-old Negro suspected of attempted criminal assault on a white woman, had died from bullet wounds suffered after "between four and seven" masked white men spirited him away from the city jail.

"We found the boy lying on the road with about eight or 10 bullet wounds," Chief Matthews said. "He died in the city hospital."

Chief Matthews said his force was making every effort to track down the men who apparently lynched the Negro but so far had found no clue.

S. J. Willis, jailer, said the masked men came up to the jail early Sunday, forced him at pistol point to surrender the prisoner and fled with the Negro into the darkness.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
September 11, 1940

A Georgia Lynching

Georgia slipped in her administration of justice when a group of six masked men, early Sunday morning, took a negro boy from the jail at LaGrange and shot him to death. The jailor said he was forced to give the cell keys to the little mob and that they were returned to him after the prisoner had been removed. The wounded prisoner was found out on a highway a few miles from town and was taken to a hospital where he died.

A jailor is supposed to protect his prisoners. He is supposed to be on guard when a prisoner is in danger from a mob. He is not supposed to yield a prisoner to a little group part of whom are unarmed. The city of LaGrange and the state of Georgia are in disgrace. What of the jailor

LYNCHING CASES OF 1940 GEORGIA

6323

"Was Forced To Surrender Prisoner To Mob"--Jailer

SEP 21 1940

Pittsburgh Courier

Gruesome Details of LaGrange, Ga., Lynching Aired—16-Year-Old Austin Callaway Was Made to Take Ride Which Ended in His Death Near Highway—None of "Lynch Gang" Identified.

Pittsburgh Post

LaGRANGE, Ga., Sept. 19.—No arrests have yet been made in connection with the lynching of Austin Callaway, 16-year-old youth, who was taken early Sunday from the city jail, where he was being held on a charge of criminally assaulting a white woman, and shot to death by a group of six white men who, according to the jailer, S. J. Willis, forced him to surrender the prisoner to them.

While a fire was raging in a nearby factory and the vicinity of the jail was deserted, Chief of Police J. E. Matthews quoted the jailer as stating, the group of men which he estimated to number not more than six, suddenly appeared behind him and warning him not to turn around, forced him to give them his keys after asking him where the youth's cell was located.

The jailer said, the Chief of Police added, that with a pistol held against his back most of the time, the group forced him to precede them to the cell of the prisoner and unlock it, when they made Callaway accompany them to a waiting car and get in, driving away immediately. Jailer Willis is said to have declared he did not recognize any of the six men, nor did he know how many of them were armed.

Just before dawn the body of the youth, with bullet wounds in the head, hands and arms, was found about eight miles from here near the Liberty Hill Highway. Still alive, though unconscious, Callaway was taken to a local hospital where he died late Sunday afternoon.

Only the most meager clues have been developed so far as to the identity of the lynchers, it has been announced by Chief of Police Matthews and Sheriff E. V. Hillyer who are in charge of the investigation.

Georgia Chalks Up Its 6th Lynching For 1940

Defender Chicago, Ill.

SEP 21 1940

NEW YORK.—The lynching of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Ga., September 8 by a mob of six masked white men who forced the local jailer to release the boy from a cell, and then took him eight miles from town where he was shot to death, constitutes the sixth authenticated lynching of 1940, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced here today.

Young Callaway was accused of an attempted attack on a white woman. The complete list of 1940 lynchings, together with the dates, places and manner of lynching follows: Sarah Rawls, March 2, Benton Ford, March 2, Ike Gaston, March 7, all white, and all beaten to death at Atlanta, Ga.; Elbert Williams, June 20, drowned, at Brownsville, Tenn.; Jesse Thornton, June 22, shot to death, Luverne, Ala.; Austin Callaway, September 8, shot to death, LaGrange, Ga.

Youth Taken from Ga. Jail and Lynched

Pittsburgh Courier

SEP 14 1940

LA GRANGE, Ga. — Austin Callaway, 18-year-old suspect in an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from the local jail, early Sunday morning, by six masked white men who riddled his body with bullets and left him to die on the Liberty Hill Road near here.

Efforts to save his life at a hospital to which he was taken when found with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms, were futile.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews, who announced that an "investigation" was under way, said Callaway was arrested on Saturday, and that the mobsters came to the jail that night and forced Acting Jailer S. J. Willis to open the cell door at gun point.

They then drove off with the prisoner in a waiting automobile.

GEORGIA PROBES LYNCHING OF BOY

LA GRANE, Ga. (ANP).—Investigation into the lynching of Austin Callaway, 18, who was taken from the La. Grange jail by six masked white men, was reported under way Monday by local officials.

According to Police Chief J. E. Mathews, Callaway was arrested Saturday following an attempted attack on a white woman. Early Sunday he was found lying on the Liberty Hill road near here with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

SIX NORDIC MEN LYNCH YOUTHFUL GEORGIAN NEGRO

SEP 21 1940

Pittsburgh Courier

Near LaGrange

Atlanta Daily World

NEW YORK CITY—The lynching of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Georgia, September 8, by a mob of six masked white men who forced the local jailer to release the boy from a cell, and then took him eight miles from town where he was shot to death, constitutes the sixth authenticated lynching of 1940, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced here today.

Other Lynchings

Young Callaway was accused of an attempted attack on a white woman. The complete list of 1940 lynchings, together with the dates, places and manner of lynching follows: Sarah Rawls, March 2; Benton Ford, March 2, Ike Gaston, March 7, all white, all beaten to death at Atlanta, Ga.; Elbert Williams, June 20, drowned, Brownsville, Tenn.; Jesse Thornton, June 22, shot to death, Luverne, Ala.; Austin Callaway, September 8, shot to death, LaGrange, Ga.

Women Condemn Ga. Lynching

Daily World

SEP 19 1940 Atlanta Ga

GRANTVILLE, Ga.—(SNS)—The Methodist women of the LaGrange district, in annual session here Monday, denounced in vigorous terms the lynching near LaGrange on September 7, of a Negro youth accused of attempted criminal assault.

The resolutions, which were adopted unanimously, condemned "unreservedly" the failure to provide adequate safeguards for the accused, and called upon the officers of the county to do all in their power to discover and punish "the lynchers who committed this terrible murder and brought reproach upon Georgians and American citizens."

The resolutions also expressed gratitude to another Negro who, it is said rescued the intended victim of the assault and turned the attacker over to the law.

The resolutions were signed by Mrs. William Banks and Mrs. Durand Miller, president and secretary respectively of the district organization, and Mrs. Stewart Colley, superintendent of Christian Social Relations of the North Georgia Conference.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Sentinel
September 9, 1940

Probe Begun In Lynching

LaGrange, Ga. (AP).—Officials pushed an investigation today into the lynching of an 18-year-old Negro, who, they said, was taken from the LaGrange jail by six masked men.

Police Chief J. E. Mathews said the Negro, Austin Callaway, was arrested Saturday on a charge of an attempted attack on a white woman.

Early yesterday, he added, the Negro was found lying on the Liberty Hill road near here with bullet wounds in his head, hands and arms. He died later in a hospital.

The police chief quoted Acting Jailor S. J. Williams as saying the men marched him to the Negro's cell and forced him at gunpoint to unlock the door.

LYNCHINGS - 1940
CASES OF

HISTORICAL

6324

Mormons and Polygamy

Every schoolboy knows that the Mormons (the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints) used to practice "celestial marriage," better known as polygamy. Last summer sombre Idaho Novelist Vardis Fisher, no Mormon himself though of pioneer Mormon stock, won the $7,500 Harper Prize Novel Contest with *Children of God*, a 769-page epic of Mormons and their two famed leaders, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Author Fisher told in lusty detail of Prophet Smith's plural marriages before his lynching by a mob at Carthage, Ill., in 1844. To Reorganized Mormons, who believe that Joseph Smith neither practiced nor preached polygamy, the book was a plural pain.

Not to be confused with Mormonism proper is Reorganized Mormonism. After Founder Smith's death, most Mormons followed Brigham Young on a 1,500-mile trek to the Promised Land of Utah. There in 1852 Prophet Young publicly proclaimed polygamy as a divine doctrine which, he said, Founder Smith and a chosen few had secretly initiated a decade before.

But none of Joseph Smith's children followed Young or was ever a polygamist. The Mormons who stayed in the Middle West set up the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at Independence, Mo., chose Founder Smith's son Joseph as their president. When he died, he was in turn succeeded by his son, Frederick Madison Smith. The Reorganized Mormons claim that Young's attribution of polygamy to Joseph Smith was a base libel. Emma Hale, say they, was the prophet's first and only wife, even though the *Dictionary of American Biography* credits him with 27.

Last fortnight 3,000 Reorganized Mormon delegates met for biennial conference at Independence, fumed over Vardis Fisher's book. Said goateed President Frederick Smith: "This book is of the same type that besmirched Washington and Lincoln." Everyone laughed when another grandson, Lawyer Israel A. Smith, reported that in the genealogical records of the rival Mormon branch he had found his grandfather listed with the women who had been "sealed to him in celestial marriage" in Salt Lake City. "Joseph Smith," said he, "met his death before Salt Lake City was founded. But it was a real thrill to pull grandmas out of a filing cabinet."

Last week the Reorganized Mormons, still seething, decided to bring libel suits against Novelist Fisher and his publishers. Author Fisher was unperturbed. "Joseph Smith has been called epileptic, fraud, drunkard, thief, libertine and murderer," said he. "I have made him a great and lovable man and not an impostor. . . ." He added that a round dozen people had written him that they had been converted to Mormonism by reading his novel.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
CASES OF

MISSISSIPPI

6325

Mississippians Deny Unrecorded Lynchings Of 4

CLEVELAND, Miss., Feb. 23—Mississippians were disturbed this week by a statement made by Walter White, executive secretary of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in which he charged that four unrecorded lynchings took place in the state.

Although White did not name the lynched men specifically, he indicated that he had complete evidence that the lynchings occurred.

White Mississippians, who deny that there were four unrecorded lynchings, have challenged White to give the names and addresses of the alleged lynched victims.

6326

Noted Crusader To Give Facts About Lynching In State

Southern-Born Leader In Fight For Human Rights Comes For Address At St. John A. M. E. Church

The man who has the facts and figures that will prove that the profession of America that it is a land of [illegible] is a self-evident lie [illegible] coming to Nashville on Thursday of next week to deliver an address on "Shall the Mob or Justice Rule."

He is a Southern-born Walter White, National Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a man who knows more about lynchings and also more about the perfidy of politicians who, with a chance to uproot America's No. 1 Crime, always find ways and means to dodge their responsibilities and prove false to their promises.

Walter White comes to Nashville under the auspices of the local branch of his organization of which the Rev. S. L. McDowell is president and Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant is secretary. The speaking will be held at St. John A. M. E. Church, of which Rev. F. D. Coleman is pastor. Indications are that he will be heard by a capacity audience. Interest in Mr. White's appearance here at this time is heightened because of the fact that he is fresh from Western Tennessee where he made a first hand investigation of the birth of Fascism in Brownsville, where one colored man was lynched, others were run out of town and a condition of terrorism was visited upon the entire Negro population of a town where Negroes are the overwhelming majority of the population.

Fascism raised its head in Brownsville solely because Negro citizens of that place sought by peaceful and humble means to qualify for citizenship in their home town. They sought to do what the law required them to do in order to vote for President of the United States and for state officials.

They had joined a branch of the N. A. A. C. P. which specializes in getting Negroes to vote, and urges that they use their ballot not particularly for any one particular party, but for the best men and measures and in the interest of securing justice for their race.

Albert Williams, said to have become one of the leaders in the movement to pay poll taxes, register and get ready to vote, was visited by a group of the Fascist Vigilantes. They took him from his home, not even permitting him to put on his clothes. That was the last time his family saw him. Later his body was found in a creek. He had been beaten to death.

For some time an effort was made to "hush up" the Williams lynching. Newspapers of the state found it convenient to dodge publishing the news of what had happened but Mrs. Ames, a noted white woman of Georgia, and leader in the fight to wipe out lynching went to Memphis and challenged the people of Tennessee to take action against the mob. In the meantime, Walter White went to the area and made a careful investigation. Walter White is always able to get information such as would be available to few other Negroes. This was because he can not be told from a white man. He has used this personal characteristic to a great advantage down through the years and is believed to have used it effectively in unearthing the bare facts of what took place in Brownsville and in getting the name of the "brave and determined" leaders of Brownsville society and Brownsville Christianity, who took part in the mob that lynched young Williams.

The "law" of Brownsville has met since the lynching, and solemnly advised that the lynched man came to his death at the hands of parties unknown. It is an old, ortho-dox, Southern custom—this failure ever to find out who took part in a mob. The officers are never able to nab mobbists even when pictures of a lynching are taken and the mob participants are shown at the spot of the crime.

Walter White will tell all about mob; all about the fight to enact a Federal Anti-Lynching Law and all about "Bloody Brownsville."

It will be a rare treat for Nashville citizens of both races to hear Walter White next Thursday night, and it is safe to predict he will be greeted by the kind of audience he deserves to have.

LYNCHING - 1940
CASES OF

TENNESSEE

6327

Brownsville Lynching Follows Hitler Plan, Walter White Tells Nashville Citizens At Meeting

SEP 7 1940

New York Age

N. Y. H. E.

NASHVILLE, TENN.—"The white people of Brownsville, Tenn., who last June lynched Elbert Williams and drove seven other Negroes from their homes because the Negroes of Brownsville wanted to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the coming presidential election, thereby helped Hitler and deserve a letter of thanks from the Nazi Bund."

SEP 7 1940

This was the statement made here by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at an N. A. A. C. P. — sponsored mass meeting held here at St. Johns A. M. E. Church, August 29, for the purpose of raising funds to continue the fight to bring the lynchers to justice and to broaden the right-to-vote campaign in this state.

The lynching of Williams was the first death resulting from a campaign of terror launched by whites in Brownsville against members of the N. A. A. C. P. in an attempt to head off the register and-vote drive. The Rev. Buster Walker, president of the N. A. A. C. P. branch, and Elisha Davis, a member of the executive committee, both of whom worked with Williams in leading the vote drive, were run out of Brownsville and have not been allowed to return.

Deriding the whitewash investigation of the Williams lynching by the Haywood County grand jury in a no indictment verdict handed down August 13, the N. A. A. C. P. secretary said:

"The grand jury report that no evidence could be found as to the perpetrators of that outrage is ridiculous. I am no expert investigator but in a very few days I was able to gather concrete evidence establishing the participation of thirteen persons in the kidnapping and murder of Williams and the driving out of seven other Negroes from Brownsville.

"All this evidence and the names of witnesses willing and eager to testify have been placed in the hands of the United States Attorney at Memphis and the Department of Justice at Washington. Section 18 of Title 51 of the United States Criminal Code, the conspiracy statute, clearly covers the Brownsville case. It provides for and requires federal action when two or more persons conspire together to deprive another person of the rights due him under the Federal Constitution. The sole reason for the Brownsville affair was the asking by these Negro citizens of what they should do to qualify and register so that they might vote in next November's election of a president and vice president of the United States. We maintain that the conspiracy to prevent their doing so is a clear and unmistakable violation of this Federal statute and we insist that the law be enforced to the fullest extent."

The Brownsville lynching, White declared, gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertions of Southern senators that no federal anti-lynching bill is needed because the states can act "vigorously and promptly" to prevent this crime. Pointing to the obvious guilt of the law enforcement agencies of Tennessee, he said:

SEP 7 1940

"In 1938 your Senator Kenneth McKellar was one of the most active opponents of the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan federal anti-lynching bill during the seven-weeks filibuster which cost the American taxpayer nearly a half million dollars. During the course of that long and bitter fight, Senator McKellar put into the Congressional Record of January 17, 1938, telegrams from the governors of fifteen Southern states, one of them being the then Governor of Tennessee, which stated that no federal legislation against lynching was needed as the states could and would vigorously, promptly and honestly to prevent lynchings and punish lynchers.

New York Age

Pledges No Good

"The Brownsville lynching clearly shows how much faith can be placed in those pledges. As far as the public record shows, the State of Tennessee has done absolutely nothing to punish Williams' lynchers whose identities are known, and obviously does not propose to do anything. It is therefore imperative that the fight for federal legislation must be renewed and doubled in intensity, since more the impotence of the states has been demonstrated.

"Dark and perilous days lie ahead of America. The tides of totalitarianism sweep ominously down upon the shores of what some orators call the last remaining democracy. We ask America if she wants the twelve million Negroes of this country to believe in their country's honesty when it says it opposes race hatred and bigotry and dictatorship. If so, then America must wipe out the kind of Hitlerite bigotry for which the Brownsville tragedy stands."

LYNCHING - 1940
CASES OF

TENNESSEE

6328

Brownsville Lynching Follows Hitler Plan, Says Walter White

Kansas City Kansas

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—"The white people of Brownsville, Tennessee, who last June lynched Elbert Williams and drove seven other Negroes from their homes because the Negroes of Brownsville wanted to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the coming presidential election, thereby helped Hitler and deserve a letter of thanks from the Nazi leader."

This was the statement made here by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at an NAACP-sponsored mass meeting held here at St. John AME Church August 29 for the purpose of raising funds to continue to fight to bring the lynchers to justice and to broaden the right-to-vote campaign in this state. Plaindealer Sept. 6, 1940

The lynching of Williams was the first death resulting from a campaign of terror launched by whites in Brownsville against members of the NAACP in an attempt to head off the register-and-vote drive. The Rev. Buster Walker, president of the NAACP branch, and Elisha Davis, a member of the executive committee both of whom worked with Williams in leading the vote drive, were run out of Brownsville and have not been allowed to return.

Deriding the whitewash investigation of the Williams lynching by the Haywood county grand jury in a no-indictment verdict handed down August 13, the NAACP secretary said:

"The grand jury report that no evidence could be found as to the ...sors of that outrage is ridiculous. It am no expert investigator but in a very few days I was able to, gather concrete evidence establishing the participation of thirteen persons in the kidnaping and murder of Williams and the driving out of seven other Negroes from Brownsville. All this evidence and the names of witnesses willing and eager to testify have been placed in the hands of the United States Attorney at Memphis and the Department of Justice at Washington. Section 18 of Title 51 of the United States Criminal Code, the conspiracy statute, clearly covers the Brownsville case. It provides for and requires federal action when two or more persons conspire together to deprive another person of the rights due him under the Federal Constitution. The sole reason for the Brownsville affair was the asking by Negro citizens of what they should do to qualify and register so that they might vote in next November's election of a president and vice president of the United States. We maintain that the conspiracy to prevent their doing so is a clear and unmistakable violation of this Federal statute and we insist that the law be enforced to the fullest extent."

The Brownsville lynching, White declared, gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertions of southern senators that no federal anti-lynching bill is needed because the states can act "vigorously and promptly" to prevent this crime. Pointing to the obvious guilt of the law enforcement agencies of Tennessee, he said:

"In 1938 your Senator Kenneth McKellar was one of the most active opponents of the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan federal anti-lynching bill during the seven-weeks filibuster which cost the American taxpayers nearly a half-million dollars. During the course of that long and bitter fight, Senator McKellar put into the Congressional Record of January 17, 1938, telegrams from the governors of fifteen Southern states, one of them being the then governor of Tennessee, which stated that no federal legislation against lynching was needed as the states could and would act vigorously, promptly and honestly to prevent lynchings and punish lynchers. The Brownsville lynching clearly shows how much faith can be paced in those pledges. As far as the public record shows, the State of Tennessee has done absolutely nothing to punish Williams' lynchers whose identities are known, and obviously does not propose to do anything. It is therefore imperative that the fight for federal anti-lynching legislation must be renewed and doubled in intensity, since once more the impotence of the state has been demonstrated. Plaindealer

"Dark and perilous days lie ahead of America. The tides of totalitarianism sweep ominously down upon the shores of what some orators call 'the last remaining democracy.' We ask America if she wants the twelve million Negroes of this country to believe in their country's honesty when it opposes race hatred and bigotry dictatorship. If so then America must wipe out the kind of Hitlerite and bigotry for which the Brownsville tragedy stands."

Lynching Of NAACP Official Fails To Halt Franchise Fight

NEW YORK.—Despite the death of Elbert Williams, a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People member, active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the Association living in this small Tennessee town prepared to appear at the courthouse September 4 and 5 to test their right to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections

The group made its decision in the face of anti-Negro hysteria which forced Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member shorty after the Williams lynching, and despite the fact that between thirty and forty Negro families have moved out of the town for safety.

Calling for federal protection of these citizens in the exercise of their constitutional right to vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent the following telegram to Assistant United States District Attorney General O. John Rogge:

"We are informed Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tennessee, are presenting themselves tomorrow September 4 and Thursday, September 5 to pay poll tax and register to vote in Presidential election in November. Because of lynching of Elbert Williams for inquiring of Brownville officials regarding procedure to register, and driving out of other Negro citizens from Brownsville for doing same thing, those who plan to register anticipate possible trouble unless Department of Justice and State of Tennessee restrain those who may possibly use mob violence to prevent that exercise of federal right to register for federal election. We ask you instruct Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to be present as observers to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent violation of federal constitution. Am also wiring Governor Cooper.

(Signed) "Walter White, Secretary."

The Association also sent a telegram to Governor Prentice Cooper, at Nashville, urging him to "instruct state agents to be present as observers to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent mob violence."

Commenting on the courageous action of NAACP members in Brownsville, Walter White, executive secretary of the organization said:

"We will back up to the limit the forthright action taken bythe members of our organization in Brownsville. They demonstrate to the nation the fine spirit and the high courage of Negro citizens in the South, who are determined to win the right to vote, a fundamental element which constitutes the backbone of our fight for democracy.

Mr. White recently returned from Nashville, where he addressed an N. A. A. C. P. sponsored mass meeting held there August 29 for the purpose of raisin funds to carry on the voting campaign throughout the

Kidnaping, Lynching In Tennessee Town Denounced Vehemently

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—"The white people of Brownsville, Tenn., who last June lynched Elbert Williams and drove seven other Negroes from their homes because the Negroes of Brownsville wanted to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the coming Presidential election, thereby helped Hitler and deserve a letter of thanks from the Nazi leader."

This was the statement made here by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at an N. A. A. C. P.-sponsored mass meeting held here at St. John's A. M. E. Church last Thursday evening, for the purpose of raising funds to continue the fight to bring the lynchers to justice and to broaden the right-to-vote campaign in this state.

The lynching of Williams was the first death resulting from a campaign of terror launched by whites in Brownsville against members of the N. A. A. C. P. in an attempt to head off the register-and-vote drive. The Rev. Buster Walker, president of the N. A. A. C. P. branch, and Elisha Davis, a member of the executive committee, both of whom worked with Williams in leading the vote drive, were run out of Brownsville and have not been allowed to return.

Derides Whitewash

Deriding the whitewash investigation of the Williams lynching by the Haywood County grand jury in a no-indictment verdict handed down August 13, the N. A. A. C. P. secretary said:

"The grand jury report that no evidence could be found as to the perpetrators of that outrage is ridiculous. I am no expert investigator but in a very few days I was able to gather concrete evidence establishing the participation of thirteen persons in the kidnapping and murder of Williams and the driving out of seven other Negroes from Brownsville. All this evidence and the names of witnesses willing and eager to testify have been placed in the hands of the United States Attorney at Memphis and the Department of Justice at Washington.

"Section 18 of Title 51 of the United States Criminal Code, the conspiracy statute, clearly covers the Brownsville case," he continued. "It provides for and requires federal action when two or more persons conspire together to deprive another person of the rights due him under the Federal Constitution. The sole reason for the Brownsville affair was the asking by these Negro citizens of what they should do to qualify and register so that they might vote in next November's election of a President and Vice President of the United States. We maintain that the conspiracy to prevent their doing so is a clear and unmistakable violation of this Federal statute and we insist that the law be enforced to the fullest extent."

Recalls Senator's Action

The Brownsville lynching, White declared, gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertions of southern senators that no federal anti-lynching bill is needed because the states can act "vigorously and promptly" to prevent this crime. Pointing to the obvious guilt of the law enforcement agencies of Tennessee, he said:

"In 1938 your Senator Kenneth McKellar was one of the most active opponents of the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan federal anti-lynching bill during the seven-weeks filibuster which cost the American taxpayer nearly a half million dollars. During the course of that long and bitter fight, Senator McKellar put into the Congressional Record of January 17, 1938, telegrams from the governors of fifteen southern states, one of them being the then Governor of Tennessee, which stated that no federal legislation against lynching was needed as the states could and would act vigorously, promptly and honestly to prevent lynchings and punish lynchers.

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HITLER GRATEFUL TO BROWNVILLE, WHITE CONTENDS

NAACP Secretary Flays Fake Investigation In Tennessee Lynching

NASHVILLE—"The white people of Brownsville, Tenn., who last June lynched Elbert Williams and drove seven other Negroes from their homes because the Negroes of Brownsville wanted to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the coming presidential election, thereby helped Hitler and deserve a letter of thanks from the Nazi leader."

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Attacks "Investigation"

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"Lynch" Death Held Blameless

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. (ANP) — The death of Everett Williams, whose body was found in the Hatchie River bottoms recently after he had been warned by whites not to organize a chapter of the NAACP here, was due to causes unknown, according to the verdict of the Haywood County grand jury, which ended its two-day "investigation" last Tuesday.

Reporting to Judge W. W. Bond that they had been unable to uncover any evidence that would lead to an indictment, the jury foreman said:

"The jury has made a careful and earnest investigation, examining people from all walks of life, and no evidence has been brought out that might place suspicion on anyone as having a part in the case."

Others who worked with Williams in an attempt to establish an NAACP chapter here, have fled in fear that they might receive the same treatment given Williams, who is believed to have been the victim of a lynching party in June before his body was thrown in the river bottoms.

Negro's Body Found In Hatchie River; Foul Play Evident

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LYNCHING 1940
CASES OF -

TENNESSEE

6329

FBI MAKES THOROUGH PROBE OF BROWNSVILLE

Star of Zion
7-18-40
Charlotte N.C.

New York—The situation at Brownsville, Tenn., where Elbert Williams was lynched and nearly a dozen Negroes driven out of town because of their effort to register and vote, is being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In a letter to the N.A.A.C.P, July 12, O. John Rogge, assistant attorney general, states:

"You will be glad to know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been requested to make a thorough investigation of violations of civil liberties of Negroes in Brownsville, Tenn.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON ELBERT WILLIAMS CASE - SEE LYNCHING, SIDELIGHTS TENNESSEE

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING

6355

Miami, Fla. Herald
November 10, 1940

Will Speak Here



MRS. J. D. AMES
. . . will visit Miami

Mrs. Ames To Talk At Anti-Lynch Meet

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta will come here for a meeting Wednesday in the Y. W. C. A. of the Florida Council, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

Mrs. Ames, prominent Democrat and member of the Georgia League of Women Voters, is a director of the association and general field secretary of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation.

Other speakers on the program will be Sheriff D. C. Coleman and a negro spokesman, James Scott. Mrs. Henry Havens will preside.

Members of the committee arranging the meeting are Mrs. R. J. Broyles, Mrs. Roy A. Morrison, Mrs. C. D. Leffler, Miss Marian Frank, Mrs. Sydney Weintraub, Mrs. Walter H. Beckham, Mrs. Fred Hosea and Mrs. J. A. Guyton.

Jacksonville, Fla. Times-Union
November 13, 1940

Anti-Lynching Body's State Council to Meet

MIAMI, Nov. 12, (AP)—Miamians will hear tomorrow about the activities of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The Florida council will hold a meeting to which Miami women have been invited. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, the association's executive director, will discuss its aims and accomplishments.

Southern Women Help To Abolish Lynching Evil

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
NOV 23 1940

MIAMI, Fla., Nov. 21—Describing the work of the organization since it was founded 11 years ago, to prevent lynchings by creating, through education, an understanding of conditions that cause them, so that those conditions can be successfully combatted and eliminated, deep satisfaction at the reduction that has taken place in crimes of this character was expressed by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, Ga., in an address here Thursday at a special meeting of the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The meeting which was an all-day session, was held in the Y. W. C. A. Building.

It was pointed out by Mrs. Ames who is a director of the association, and general field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, that only three lynchings occurred in the United States last year. There have been only two so far this year, she said, one at Brownsville, Tenn., and the other at LaGrange, Ga. In both instances the victims of the lynchings were colored.

Miami, Fla. Herald
November 14, 1940

Cites Recent Lynching Drop

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames Addresses Council

Recent decreases in the annual number of lynchings were cited Wednesday by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta in an address before the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The all-day meeting was held in the Y. W. C. A. building.

Mrs. Ames, a director of the association and general field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, told the group only three lynchings occurred last year and only two this year, one in LaGrange, Ga., and the other in Brownsville, Tenn.

She described the organization's efforts during the 11 years since it was founded to prevent lynchings by creating an understanding of the conditions that cause them.

6356

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSION

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHINGS

West Palm Beach, Fla. Post
May 11, 1940

AN EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT

Advocates of Federal anti-lynching legislation appear to be getting into the position of a hunter with nothing to shoot at.

Midnight Wednesday marked the end of a 12-month period without a single lynching in the South. Not since the beginning of tabulations in 1882 had a year passed previously without mob-law being applied South of the Mason and Dixon line. The peak was attained in 1892 when 231 mob killings were recorded.

In the first lynchless year, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, sees a triumph for education and effective police work. The past year's record, preceded by only three lynchings during the previous 12-months, represented "the fruits of long years of campaigning to bring about lynch-consciousness," Mrs. Ames said.

Unquestionably the never-ending propaganda against mob rule has been largely responsible for wiping out mostly, if not completely, this disgrace to the South. However, it is necessary to agree with Mrs. Ames that more effective police work, made possible by the establishment of State law enforcement units and the use of radio patrols, are partly responsible.

Regardless of the reason for it, the entire South can take pride in the fact that lynching appears to be headed for extinction. The excuse that lynch-mobs only acted in defense of women has been exploded long ago. Not one of the lynchings reported year before last involved a crime against women, according to Mrs. Ames.

In their battle to prevent Congress from enacting an anti-lynching bill, Southern members now have the strongest argument that could be advanced. It is up to the people of the South to see that the argument is not taken away from them.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal
May 11, 1940

A Lynchless Year

Midnight on Wednesday marked the end of the first year in which the South has not had a lynching since the records began to be kept in 1882. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings made the announcement with a proper pride shared by the people of this entire section. Credit for this result is given effective education, plus ever speedier police work made possible by improved communication facilities and spurred on by active public sentiment, and that is a fair analysis.

What we hope is that this signal achievement in the South will be a potent suggestion to politicians and starry-eyed reformers in other parts of the country that we may be safely relied on to hold up our end in the matter of combating the mob spirit that every decent citizen in this or any other country abominates. Our efforts in the past have many times been handicapped by ill-reasoned or demagogic attempts to inject outside influences.

The problem presented by the spirit of the mobster has never been single to the South alone, as witness gang killings and goon murders in other places this past year, sorry occurrences that we have never felt met with the approval of the whole people where they took place. May we keep up the fight against mob violence in a spirit of national sympathy and understanding.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
May 11, 1940

A Perfect Record

The South, for the first time since 1882, passed 12 months without a lynching on May 8.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, commended the record, the only unblemished 12-month period since statistics have been kept on mob murder and extra-legal methods of dealing with lawbreakers. In 1892 at least 231 persons were killed by mobs in the South.

During the preceding 12-month period only three persons were lynched in the South. None of these three victims had committed crimes involving women.

Mrs. Ames attributes the improving lynch record in the South to education, conscientious and courageous law enforcement officers and to more efficient police systems. The radio patrol, she thinks, is partly responsible for the lynchless year.

Education, of course, is of prime importance. There was a time in the South, be it remembered, when law enforcement officers—or at least many of them—winked at lynching. That was in the days when many Southerners believed that an occasional lynching was necessary to "uphold law and order."

Every effort should be made by Southerners to maintain this perfect record. There is no better protection against federal intervention in the guise of a national anti-lynching law.

Education And Speedy Police Work Credited For Lynchless Year

Modern South Has First 12 Months Without Mob Killings In Its History

ATLANTA — (AP) — The modern South ended its first year without a lynching last midnight, and today a foe of mob rule credited this new record to effective education, plus swift work of police radio patrols.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, said midnight marked the close of the first 12-month lynchless period since tabulations were started in 1882.

In contrast to this is the peak mark of 231 mob killings recorded in 1892.

Mrs. Ames said swift action made possible by police radio alarm systems, particularly as used by highly mobile state trooper units, was an efficient and relatively new technique in combatting mobs.

She declared the 12 months just past—and the previous year's record of only three lynchings—represented the fruits of long years of campaigning to bring about "lynch-consciousness."

Formerly, she said, lynchings were "hushed up" and therefore soon forgotten.

"Now, however," she added, "we get the facts and see that they are publicized. When we hear a lynch-mob has assembled, we make a direct appeal to law enforcement officials, so that a lynching cannot take place without the authorities knowing of it."

She said the association, representing about 41,000 Southern women and now in its tenth year, campaigned especially against public opinion that has "accepted too easily the claim of lynchers that they acted solely in the defense of women."

Of last year's three lynchings, she asserted, none involved a crime against women.

What Price Lynchings?

We have always known that most of the lynchings occur where cotton grows, but it remained for Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames to tell us that lynchings go up as cotton goes down.

In a study of the lynching problem published by the American Council of Public Affairs, made by Mrs. Ames, who is field secretary of the commission on interracial cooperation and executive director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, it is shown that there is a direct relation between lynchings and the economic conditions of the people who engage in these barbaric affairs and the people who are the victims.

For instance, it is shown that in 1929 there were ten lynchings, but in 1930 (the depression year reaction) there were 21 lynchings. The study shows that from 1930 to 1936 the record of lynchings moved in inverse ratio to the price of cotton, but after that time, lynchings continued to decrease, in spite of the fact that cotton continued low. But this is accounted for in the fact that work relief from the Federal and State governments took up the slack and kept the people employed, so there was an artificial economic factor, which served to prevent lynchings.

Mrs. Ames says, "Corn (whisky) and white supremacy have been the sole physical and emotional releases of the lives of most of the rural population; corn and subtle aggression the only physical and emotional releases of the depressed Negroes. Living side by side, under these stimulations, conflict has been inevitable."

The study offers a ray of hope in that "white people still feel their racial supremacy as a sacred and inherent trust, but they are beginning to occupy their minds with the more pressing and important problems of living and earning and spending . . . Negroes, long at the bottom of the pile are beginning to dig themselves out from under."

Lynchless Year Claim Held to Be Erroneous

3 Mobbings In 1940 Cited In Contradiction

Victims, All White, Put To Death In Georgia

NEW YORK — Refuting the statement released May 9, by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, that the period from May 8, 1939 to midnight, May 8, 1940 may be regarded as a "Lynchless Year," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed to three lynchings, all of which took place in Georgia during the month of March, 1940, as evidence that this period was by no means barren of this crime.

The story of these lynchings appeared in the April 6, 1940 issue of the Nation Magazine.

The list includes one woman and two men (all white). All were beaten to death by mobs, dominated by or made up of members of the Ku Klux Klan. All the lynchings took place in or near Atlanta, Ga. The list and the dates when the lynchings occurred follow:

NAMES AND DATES

Sarah Rawls, March 2; Benton Ford, March 2; Ike Gaston, a white barber, March 7. Miss Rawls and Ford were taken from their parked automobile in a Lovers Lane and charged with immorality. Gaston was charged with drinking too much.

Association officials also pointed out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Fulton County (Georgia) grand jury had revealed that some thirty persons in this area have been beaten by mobs and the Ku Klux Klan during the past twelve years.

UNPUBLICIZED LYNCHINGS

The manner in which lynching statistics may be distorted to give aid and comfort to southern reactionaries who "scream of states' rights,' and tell us that "lynching is dying out," was revealed by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a speech in Louisville, Kentucky, May 4, four days prior to the announcement made by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching to the effect that the period from May 8, 1939, to May 9, 1940, represents a "lynchless year."

NEW TECHNIQUE

"Lynching is not dying out," the lawyer said. "Lynchers have merely adopted the subcommittee technique. Instead of a large, noisy mob, a small group of five or six persons now kidnap the victim and maim or kill him. If it is a killing party, the body is sunk in water with heavy weights. Those kind aren't reported and so thye tell us that lynching is dying out."

Mr. Marshall was referring to a report published in January of this year entitled "Lynching Goes Underground," which reveals a southern white N. A. A. C. P. investigator's story of how lynch victims are done away with quietly by a few persons instead of by large mobs.

BASIS OF IMPROVEMENT

Crediting the purported "Lynchless Year" to effective education and improved police methods, Mrs. Ames contrasted this 12-month record to the peak mark of 231 mob murders recorded in 1892.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching regards the year just ended and the one previous, in which only three lynchings were recorded, as representing results of long years of work by them to bring about "lynch-consciousness," Mrs. Ames said. "Formerly," she continued, "lynchings were 'hushed up' and therefore soon forgotten.

"Now, however, we get the facts and see that they are publicized. When we hear a lynch mob has assembled, we make a direct appeal to law enforcement officials, so that a lynching cannot take place without the authorities knowing of it."

The association, organized ten years ago, has 41,000 southern women members.

Lynchless-Year Claim Termed Unauthorized

NEW YORK — The recent statement of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, characterizing the last twelve months as a "Lynchless Year," was made without the authorization of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility," according to Dr. Will Alexander, director of the commission.

Dr. Alexander made the statement in a telegram to the NAACP in response to an association inquiry. The commission, it is understood, pays Mrs. Ames's salary.

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "Lynchless Year" statement, the NAACP pointed out that in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, a quarterly magazine, two white women, natives of the State, give what might be described as an "adequate relpy" to Mrs. Ames's statement. The article said in part:

"And we let a colored man be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least — for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen — with no fuss and notoriety.

Less Wear on Nerves

"After all, why not get these little necessary tasks done as quickly and with as little wear and tear on one's nerves as possible?

"It was crude of us, wasn't it, in the old days to have mobs milling around, and to indulge our penchant for taking all the pieces of the victim save possibly his entrails, home with us as souvenirs.

"That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so . . . so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your n——r but for God's sake be refined about it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passers-by."

The "Lynchless Year" Report Seems Unfounded

ANY person who even pretends to know anything about the Southern scene is aware that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, whose executive secretary is Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, is an effective factor in reducing mob violence. On May 9 Mrs. Ames announced that a survey by the association indicated that for the 12-month period from May 8, 1939, to May 8, 1940, there had been no lynchings.

The association's new method is an interesting addition to the usual calendar-year tabulations of Tuskegee Institute, the NAACP, and the International Labor Defense, other chief tabulators of lynching records. The association said that the past 12 months were the first similar period since 1882, when records were started, that no mobbings had occurred.

A "lynchless year" would indeed be cause for encouragement, but from an authentic source, the NAACP, recognized as a reliable reference on the facts of lynchings, comes word that in 1940 there have been three lynchings. They were reviewed in detail in the April 6 issue of Nation magazine.

The victims were a woman and two men, all white, and they were done to death by mobs in Georgia dominated by or made up of members of the Ku Klux Klan. Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford were lynched on March 2 and Ike Gaston on March 7.

Apparently, with all good intentions, the earnest southern women have been mislead by the new technique of mobbists, vividly depicted in a southern white investigator's study published last January and entitled "Lynching Goes Underground."

The important point to remember is, that the steady and concerted efforts to make lynching a federal offense are acting both as a deterrent to would-be mobbists and a stimulus to southern authorities to forestall lynchings, and that such lynchers as continue to flaunt the law are less brazen in their lawlessness.

The prospect of a federal law coincides with the decline in recorded lynchings. How much more effective would actual federal legislation be!

LYNCHINGS -1940
DISCUSSION

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING.

6357

White Women Announce Lynch Attitude

Atlanta Daily World 2-9-40

The Executive Committee of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching white organization, Thursday disclaimed in a meeting here any support of the federal anti-lynching bill on which hearings are being held in the Nation's capitol and stated their desire to eradicate lynchings through education.

The group made plans for concentration on their 1940 activities in Georgia, Florida and Mississippi, where lynchings were reported in 1939.

The eight-point program of the Association for 1940 is as follows:

1. Obtain signed co-operation pledges from sheriffs to support the anti-lynching education program.
2. Obtain 5,000 new women members for the organization.
3. Actively reach the young people of colleges and churches with anti-lynching information.
4. Cultivate the co-operation of newspapers, police, governors and legislatures in the campaign.
5. Get civic and church organizations to adopt programs against lynching.
6. Get newspapers to notify local organizations of the association when threatened lynchings are reported.
7. Spread the organization into new states.
8. Cover the southern states with anti-lynching posters.

The resolution adopted by the white women is as follows:

"The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching does not support and never has supported Federal legislation to eradicate lynching. The association believes that the slow process of educating society to recognize and abhor the evils out of which lynchings grow is the only sure way to stop lynchings. The association places its major emphasis upon exposing and refuting the claim that the protection of white womanhood motivates lynchers.

"At the beginning of the tenth year since the movement started, southern women, to the number of more than 40,000, have committed themselves in writing to carry out a program of education against lynchings for any cause.

Mention Program

"Thirteen national and southern organizations, and 34 states organizations and 13 southern states have adopted active programs against lynching in their constituencies.

"Each year activities of state associations of southern women have been successful in preventing lynchings. The influence of this association, through members in co-operating church and civic organizations, has been wide-spread. Prevented lynchings are on record in which women and men have been the forces obstructing a lynching because of their adherence to the principle and program of the association, which had been brought to them through their local and state civic and religious organizations."

Dixie Women Deny Favoring Lynch Bill

Montgomery Advertiser 2-9-40

Educational Program To Curb Mobs Is Upheld As Best Course

Montgomery Ala.

ATLANTA, GA., Feb. 8.—(AP)—Representatives of 40,000 Southern women adopted today an anti-lynching program which they believe will accomplish more than could Federal legislation.

Executive committee members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching took no stand against the pending anti-lynching bill, but adopted a resolution stating the association "does not support and never has supported Federal legislation to eradicate lynching."

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, director of the 10-year-old association, expressed conviction that its educational work would prove more effective than any Federal statute might be.

Texas-born Mrs. Ames explained that active opposition to the bill would take time that the organization's 40,000 members could better spend in educating society to "recognize and abhor the evils out of which lynchings grow." The association says this "is the only sure way to stop lynching."

For 1940, the executive committee proposed addition of 5,000 new members, close cooperation with the press to see that mob action is publicized and renewal of an educational program among young people.

The committee also decided to renew efforts to obtain pledges from sheriffs to work against lynching, and to request all state chairmen to make personal acquaintance with peace officers.

Work of the association this year will be concentrated in Mississippi, Florida and Georgia. Mississippi had two of the South's three lynchings in 1939, Florida the other. Through months of work, the association found alive a negro who supposedly had been lynched in Georgia.

The association, founded in 1930 and supported by a $1,000 annual contribution from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has state councils in all Southern states. General chairman is Kentucky Author George Madden (Mrs. Atwood R.) Martin.

The goal of the association is to disband after seeing the South go two years without a lynching.

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EDUCATION URGED TO END LYNCHING

Telegram 2-9-40

Southern Women Believe Persuasion More Powerful Force Than Legislation

Memphis Press

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Knoxville Tenn. News Sentinel
March 10, 1940

WOMEN FORM ANTI-LYNCHING UNIT IN SOUTH

Group Sponsors Eight-point Program and Fights Federal Bill.

By BROOKS SMITH
United Press Staff Correspondent

ATLANTA, Ga., March 9—Representatives of 40,000 crusading Southern women have organized

to erase the blot of lynching from the South by means of education and not by Federal legislation.

Announcing they were strongly opposed to the anti-lynching bill before Congress, members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching mapped an eight-point program at their meeting here to:

1. Obtain signed co-operation pledges from sheriffs to support the anti-lynching education program.

2. Obtain 5000 new women members of the organization in 1940.

3. Actively reach the young people of colleges and churches with anti-lynching information.

4. Cultivate the co-operation of newspapers, police, governors and legislatures in the campaign.

5. Get civic and church organizations to adopt programs against lynching.

6. Get newspapers to notify local organizations of the association when threatened lynchings are reported.

7. Expand the organization's work into new states this year.

8. Cover the highways, towns and cities of the South with anti-lynching posters.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the association, said the organization had never favored Federal anti-lynching legislation. She contended that such a law could never be enforced, and that to seek outside aid was to admit that the women of the South were too cowardly to meet their own troubles.

"Too, we have found that in most cases the sanctity of womanhood merely was an excuse for lynchings and not the real reason," Mrs. Ames said. "We have entered the strongholds of the Ku Klux Klan and openly presented our findings that 'lynchings to protect Southern women' have nothing to do with women."

Mrs. Ames said that 40,000 women in the South now have signed pledges, committing themselves to carry out a program against lynching for any cause.

A number of lynchings have been prevented through the organization's work, Mrs. Ames said, and influence of the women is widespread.

40,000 WOMEN TO TRY TO 'SMOKE OUT' UNDERCOVER MOBS

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 8.—(Special)—Methods of reporting mob activities that are best adapted to their prevention and punishment, will be the subject discussed at a special meeting called to convene here Thursday, Feb. 8, by Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, executive director of the executive committees of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which now has a southwide membership of 40,000 women, all leaders in their respective places of residence.

Members of the committee will consider the best technique for reporting news of formation, threat of formation and activities of lynch mobs, with a view to increase the organization's efficiency in combating lynching by keeping both local and state authorities fully informed through the press so that no time will be lost in taking preventive measures of bringing mobsters to justice.

It is planned to arrange contacts between association members and newspapers at various points in each of the Southern states, so that information concerning the formation or prospective formation of mobs, their location and whether or not they have carried out their purpose, may be given prompt and widespread publicity. This will be especially helpful, it is pointed out, in making it impossible to keep secret actual lynchings occurring in small or isolated communities.

Its entire membership is in excess of 40,000 women, all of whom are mothers and housewives, has been supplemented by the association within the past several years by pledging the aid of approximately 1,000 peace officers and some 2,000 other influential men throughout the South, all of whom are sworn to cooperate with the organization in its work. A supreme effort will be made to similarly pledge every sheriff and chief of police in this section of the country before the end of 1940.

The association was organized in 1930 to conduct an organized fight against lynching "committed falsely in the name of woman's honor." It contends that the oft-repeated defense of lynch mob participants that they were actuated solely by the purpose to defend womanhood has been too easily accepted by public opinion. At the time the organization was formed, special stress was laid on the fact that in the preceding 54 years, crimes against white women formed the motive or alleged motive of only 21 per cent of the 4,297 lynchings that occurred in the United States during that period. Of last year's total of three lynchings, none were actuated by crimes against women.

Southern Vindication

Encouraging news is reported by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. For the first time since records began to be kept, in 1882, 12 consecutive months have now passed without a single lynching in any Southern State.

The ability of States and groups of States to cope with the lynching problem, without help or interference by the Federal Government, is thus emphasized. And particular credit for this constructive development belongs to the association which made the report, and which has rendered yeoman service in making every section of the South conscious of the imperative necessity of eradicating this form of mob murder.

The announcement also reveals the highly efficient technique being used by local governments to combat mob violence. Education, radio alarm systems and mobile State police units have alike proved their worth in eliminating the ugliest stain on the escutcheon of Southern civilization.

If the record of the last 12 months is maintained, the last vestige of excuse for the present antilynching bill will be wiped out. That measure, with its proposals for Federal penalties on State and county officials who fail to do their duty, and on the counties themselves, would provide a very dangerous invasion of local rights even if the apparent need for it were greater than is the case.

At the first appearance of the bill its partly political character was obvious; lynchings were already rapidly diminishing. In 1939 there were but three in the Nation. Yet the measure has twice passed the House, and now is on the Senate calendar. Now that lynching can at last be called nonexistent, it is difficult to see how arguments for the measure can be effectively sustained.

Passing of Judge Lynch

Advocates of an anti-lynching bill in congress are placed in the position of seeking legislation against an evil which practically does not exist.

For the first time since statistics on mob violence have been kept, a period of 12 months has passed in which there has not been a single lynching in the South, according to Mrs. J. D. Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

In striking contrast with this record is that of 1892, when a peak was reached with 231 victims of mob violence.

Mrs. Ames' swift action, made possible by police radio alarm systems, particularly as used by highly mobile state trooper units, was a relatively new but highly efficient technique in dealing with mobs.

In the calendar year 1938 there were only eight lynchings, according to the records kept at Tuskegee Institute, while last year there were only three, which indicated that the evil was decidedly under control and therefore, to say the least, there was no need for the anti-lynching bill pending in congress.

The organization of Southern women headed by Mrs. Ames has always been opposed to federal anti-lynching bills and the editor of The Telegraph has had special opportunities to know that outstanding leaders of the Negro race here in Georgia have condemned it.

Mrs. Ames points out that formerly reports of lynchings were hushed up and therefore soon forgotten. Today every effort is made to give the threat of mob violence all the publicity possible and rush to the scene of the prospective crime a sufficient group of enforcement officers to prevent a tragedy.

Only a few months ago there was a specific instance in which a lynching near Jackson was prevented by the prompt action of the highway patrol and the entire state joins Mrs. Ames in giving this alert and highly efficient organization full credit for playing a major part in the prevention of this as well as other crimes.

Moreover, when there has been a lynching in recent years the facts were given prompt publicity and a lasting stigma [illegible] over anyone suspected of having participated. There has been no disposition to "hush-hush" anything.

The Southern women belonging to the organization to which we have referred have been campaigning for the past 10 years against that form of public opinion that has "accepted too easily" the idea that nothing could be done to redeem the situation. The work of education has finally borne fruit, culminating in a perfect record for the past 12 months, with every prospect that the abuses will not revive.

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LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSION

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING

6358

Three Ga. Cases Are Listed

Society Says Statistics Are Distorted

NEW YORK—(SNS)—Refuting the statement released Thursday, May 9, by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, that the period from May 8, 1939 to midnight, May 8, 1940, may be regarded as a "Lynchless Year," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed to three lynchings, all of which took place in Georgia during the month of March, 1940, as evidence that this period was by no means barren of this crime.

The story of these lynchings appeared in the April 6, 1940, issue of the Nation Magazine.

THREE WHITE PERSONS LISTED

The list includes one woman and two men (all white). All were beaten to death by mobs, dominated by or made up of members of the Ku Klux Klan. All the lynchings took place in or near Atlanta, Georgia. The list and the dates when the lynchings occurred follow:

Sarah Rawls, March 2; Benton Ford, March 2; Ike Gaston, a white barber, March 7. Miss Rawls and Ford were taken from their parked automobile in a "Lovers Lane" and charged with immorality. Gaston was charged with drinking too much.

Association officials also pointed out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Fulton County, Georgia, grand jury had revealed that some thirty persons in this area have been beaten by mobs and the Ku Klux Klan during the past twelve years.

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The manner in which lynching statistics may be distorted to give aid and comfort to southern reactionaries who "scream of states' rights," and tell us that "lynching is dying out," was revealed by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a speech before a mass meeting held in Louisville, Ky., Friday, May 4, four days prior to the announcement made by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching to the effect that the period from May 8 1939, to May 9, 1940, represents a "lynchless year".

"Lynching is not dying out," the lawyer said, "Lynchers have merely adopted the subcommittee technique. Instead of a large, noisy mob, a small group of five or six persons now kidnap the victim and maim or kill him. If it is a killing party, the body is sunk in water with heavy weights. Those kind aren't reported and so they tell us that lynching is dying out."

Marshall was referring to a report published in January of this year, entitled "Lynching Goes Underground", which reveals a southern white NAACP investigator's story of how lynch victims are done away with quietly by a few persons instead of by large mobs.

LYNCHLESS YEAR STORY NOT AUTHORIZED COMMISSION SAYS

Chicago Bee

NEW YORK, May 23—The statement issued last week by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in which she characterized the last twelve months as a "Lynchless Year," was made without the authorization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility," it was revealed this week by Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission.

Dr. Alexander made the statement in a telegram to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in response to an association inquiry.

The Commission, it is understood, pays Mrs. Ames' salary and expenses in connection with her work with the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The Commission's headquarters are in Atlanta. The text of the N. A. A. C. P.'s telegram follows:

"Will you as director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which we understand, pays expenses and salary of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames as chairman Association of Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching, wire us if Mrs. Ames's statement of May 9 that that date marked end of twelve months lynchless period was authorized or endorsed by commission which statement was inexplicable in light of killing by Ku Klux Klan mobs of Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford near Atlanta on March 2 and of Ike Gaston on March 7?"

White Georgians Reply

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "Lynchless Year" statement, the N. A. A. C. P. pointed out that in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, a quarterly magazine, two white women, natives of the state, give what might be described as an "adequate reply" to Mrs. Ames' statement. The article said in part:

"'And we let a Negro be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least—for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen—with no fuss and notoriety.

"'After all, why not get these little necessary tasks done as quickly and with as little wear and tear on one's nerves as possible! It was crude of us, wasn't it, in the old days to have mobs milling around, and to indulge our penchant for taking all the pieces of the victim save possibly his entrails, home with us as souvenirs. That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so . . . so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your n—r but for God's sake be refined about it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passer-by'."

DECLARES HEAD SPOKE WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION

Georgians Say That Their Lynchings Are Quiet And Orderly

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"That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so....so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your nigger but for God's sake be refined about it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passers-by."

Declares Her Statement of a Lynchless Year Was Her View Alone

NEW METHODS ADOPTED IN MOB VIOLENCE SAID TO BE NOT SO OFFENSIVE

New York—The statement issued last week by Mrs Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Assocation of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in which she characterized the past 12 months as a "Lynchless Year," was made without the authorization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility" it was revealed today by Doctor Will Alexander, director of the Commission.

Dr. Alexander made the statement today in a telegram to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in response to an association inquiry.

The commission, it is understood, pays Mrs. Ames' salary and expenses in connection with her work with the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The Commission's headquarters are in Atlanta. The text of the NAACP's telegram follows:

"Will you as director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which, we understand, pays expenses and salary of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames as chairman Association Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching, wire us if Mrs. Ames' statement of May 9th that that date marked end of twelve months lynchless period was authorized or endorsed by commission which statement was inexplicable in light of killing by Ku Klux Klan mobs of Sidney Rawls and Benton Ford near Atlanta on March 2 and of Ike Gaston on March 7?"

White Georgans Reply

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "Lynchless Year" statement the NAACP pointed out that in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, a quarterly magazine, two white women, natives of the state, give what might be described as an 'adequate reply' to Mrs. Ames' statement. The article said in part::

"And we let a Negro be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen—with no fuss and notoriety.

"'After all, why not get these little necessary tasks done as quickly and with as little wear and tear on one's nerves as possible! It was crude of us, wasn't it, in the old days to have mobs milling around, and to indulge our penchant for taking all the pieces of the victim save possibly his entrails home with us as souvenirs. That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so. . so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your nigger but for God's sake be refined abcut it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passers-by.'"

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
May 19, 1940

'A Lynchless Year'

From The New York Times.

In the year that ended at midnight of May 8 not one person was lynched in the United States. Last year there were three. Statistics of this crime began with 1882. The most hideous year was 1892, which saw 231 lynchings. In the time of the opening of the West to settlement, horse thieves and cattle rustlers were the chief victims. After the War Between the States illiteracy and a low economic condition, frequent or usual concomitants or causes of mob violence, made the South, and especially the thinly populated and ill-policed parts of it, the favorite territory of lynchers.

The main effort to root out an evil that seemed to have become inveterate began soon after the close of the World War with the establishment of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation and its creation in 1920 of the Department of Woman's Work. In 1929 there were but ten lynchings. In 1930 they more than doubled to twenty-one. As a result the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed. It was widely and effectively organized with a central committee, with State committees in thirteen States and with co-operating units in hundreds of counties.

This association has worked intelligently and vigorously. It has carried on an educational canvass. It has intervened where trouble between persons of the two races has broken out. It has condemned public officers, cowardly or remiss in resisting mob law, and commended those prompt and courageous in enforcing the law of the State. The association has done a remarkable job. It has given the United States for the first time a record unstained by a long-standing disgrace. These women are to be greatly honored, for they have done much to end a national dishonor.

Royston, Ga., Record
May 30, 1940

NO LYNCHINGS IN A YEAR

Notwithstanding the acitvities of the advocates of the passage of the anti-lynch bill which has passed the lower House of Congress and now is in the Senate not one lynching occurred during the past year anywhere in the United States. That is up to midnight on May 8. Such a record is one to be proud of and proves that the law abiding people of this nation have frowned upon such violence and barbarism. This record is one that has not been equaled in more than a century.

Since 1892 the number of lynchings have steadily decreased—that year being a record breaker with 231 lynchings reported. A majority of those cases, however, occurred in the newly developed West. It was not long, however, until the tide of lynchings moved southward, and the southern states furnished a majority of the lynchings. That condition has now changed and the southern states bear clear records—that is for the past 12 months, and we hope that the people of these states will continue their good record.

Public opinion has gradually played its part in the enforcement of the law and caused such lawlessness and brutality to decrease in all sections of the South. This condition should prove a strong argument against the enactment of the anti-lynch bill which is now resting in the senate. However, it is expected that the parisans in the senate will insist on the bill being brought up at this session, but with the war legislation now before that body, it is not believed that it would be wise to inject a partisanship measure into the deliberations of the senate. Should it come to a test, however, it is expected that the block of southern senators would be able to filibuster the measure to delay, if not to defeat.

This is no time for such legislation to be brought up. The eyes of the world are resting upon the United States and the action of both branches of Congress should be for harmony and not discord, especially over legislation that is purely of sectional partisanship.—Athens Banner Herald

Birmingham, Ala. News
May 19, 1940

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Letters To The Association Of Southern Women For The Prevention Of Lynching, Atlanta Georgia

OCT 13 1940

The officers of the Virginia State Sherrifs' Association pledged their full cooperation to your Association in the prevention of lynching in Virginia.

We are proud of the fact that Virginia has not had a lynching in the past year. We shall endeavor to keep our record clean in this respect.

Sincerely yours,
Charles C. Curtis, Sect
Virginia has had no lynching since 1932.

* * *

I am in receipt of your letter and the literature published by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

At this time, I want to take the opportunity of saying what a fine work I think your organization is doing to make our country a better place in which to live.

I hope that all of the Sheriffs of North Carolina are highly in favor of the work you are doing and will do all in their power to keep the good work up.

Very respectfully,
E. G. Belvin,
Sheriff of Durham County.
North Carolina has had no lynching since 1935

6359

Over 40,000 White Women in Organization for the Prevention of Lynching

Atlanta, Ga.—The modern south ended its first year without a lynching Wednesday night, the Thursday s foe of mob rule credited this new record to effective education, plus swift work of police radio patrols.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, said midnight marked the close of the first 12-month lynchless period since tabulations were started in 1882.

In contrast to this is the peak mark of 231 mob killings recorded in 1892.

Mrs. Ames said swift action made possible by police radio alarm systems, particularly as used by highly mobile state trooper units, was an efficient and relatively new technique in combatting mobs.

Three in Previous Years

She declared the 12 months just past—and the previous year's record of only three lynchings—represented the fruits of long years of campaigning to bring about "lynch-consciousness."

"Formerly, she said, lynchings were "hushed up" and therefore soon forgotten.

"Now, however," she added, "we get the facts and see that they are publicized. When we hear a lynch mob has assembled, we make a direct appeal to law enforcement officials so that a lynching cannot take place without the authorities knowing of it."

"In Defense of Women"

She said the association, representing about 41,000 southern women and now in its tenth year, campaigned especially against public opinion that has "accepted too easily the claim of lynchers that they acted solely in the defense of women."

Of last year's three lynchings, she asserted, none involved a crime against women.

Commission Hits 'Lynchless Year' Statement

Interracial Group Says Southern Woman Made Statement on Her Own

The statement, issued last week by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in which she characterized the last twelve months as a "Lynchless Year," was made without the authorization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility," it was revealed today by Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission.

Dr. Alexander made the statement yesterday in a telegram to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in response to an Association inquiry.

The Commission, it is understood, pays Mrs. Ames' salary and expenses in connection with her work with the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The Commission's headquarters are in Atlanta.

WHITE GEORGIANS REPLY

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "Lynchless Year" statement, the N.A.A.C.P. pointed out that in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, a quarterly magazine, two white women, natives of the state, give what might be described as an "adequate reply" to Mrs. Ames' statement. The article said in part:

"And we let a Negro be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least—for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen—with no fuss and notoriety'."

A Lynchless Year

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Mrs. Ames Sneakes For Self Alone, Southern Interracial Commission Head Says Of Lynching Statement

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"Will you as director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which, we understand, pays expenses and salary of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames as chairman Association Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching, wire us if Mrs. Ames' statement of May 9 that that date marked end of twelve months lynchless period was authorized or endorsed by commission which statement was inexplicable in light of killing by Ku Klux Klan mobs of Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford near Atlanta on March 2, and of Ike Gaston on March 7?"

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"After all, why not get these little necessary tasks done as quickly and with as little wear and tear on one's nerves as possible! It was crude of us, wasn't it, in the old days to have mobs milling around, and to indulge our penchant for taking all the pieces of the victim save possibly his entrails, home with us as souvenirs. That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so. . so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your nigger but for God's sake be refined about it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passers-by'."

Ammunition for Lynching

How the Association of Southern Women reached its conclusion that the last twelve months was a "lynchless year" is a puzzle to folks who keep an eye on the news. The association explains that lynch parties are being controlled by radio and motor patrols; thus the South's "new record." But what about the policemen who often lead the mobs? What of the new lynching technique wherein, to avoid publicity, the victim is quietly spirited away and his body dropped into a river or left beside a highway? Obviously, the association's figures do not account for the three persons, all white, who lost their lives to Klan-led mobs during the month of March. The association's report will probably provide more ammunition for the Negro-hating Senator Connally of Texas who has used this group's earlier statistics to support his opposition to any kind of federal legislation against lynching.

Meanwhile the Anti-Lynching Bill remains undecided in the Senate. In his recent reply to the NAACP's query as to when the bill would be taken up, Senator Barkley of Kentucky indicated that the administration prefers to play ball with the Southern senators in opposition to the will of the people. The administration's attitude is as brutal as it is cynical. Supporters of the bill are now convinced that only intense political pressure will bring it to the floor. Steps toward applying such pressure are being taken by the new coalition of the National Negro Congress and Labor's Non-Partisan League, who have announced that they will use their energies "instantly and simultaneously" in a crusade to see that the measure becomes law.

Murfreesboro, Tenn., News-Journal
June 26, 1940

Memphis Meeting Reports Change In Lynch Methods

Memphis, June 26—(AP)—A city interracial relations meeting here last night heard a report of a lynching—minus the 'Roman holiday' 'atmosphere with its resulting publicity—at Brownsville, Tennessee last week.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Atlanta, field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations, referred to the alleged slaying as an example of the new "style" of lynching which attracts little attention.

She said she had been told here a Brownsville Negro had been "quietly taken out and flogged to death" because he was interested in organizing a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sheriff R. C. Hawkins, of Brownsville, sixty miles northeast of Memphis, said yesterday a Negro's body had been found by fishermen in Hatchie river swamps Sunday morning. The coroner's verdict he said, was that the man was "believed to have come to death by violence at the hands of unknown parties."

The body had been in the water too long for him to determine the exact cause of death, Sheriff Hawkins reported. A relative identified the Negro as Everett Williams, 33, the officer said.

"We are investigating the matter," the sheriff added.

The Brownsville incident came up last night when Mrs. Ames was asked about the anti-lynching bill under consideration by congress.

"I have never been for the bill. The style of lynching has changed so. There have been no actual cases of lynching this year, but three Negroes have been killed in Atlanta while resisting arrest' she answered Then it was she referred to the Brownsville Negro being "flogged to death." "They don't go in for a Roman holiday anymore. The lynching law couldn't do any good," she added

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
June 26, 1940

Mob Technique Changing?

A city interracial meeting at Memphis Monday night heard a report of a lynching at Brownsville, Tennessee, last week. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, Field Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations, referred to the alleged slaying as an example of the new "style" of lynching which attracts little attention. She said she had been told that a Brownsville Negro had been "quietly taken out and flogged to death" because he was interested in organizing a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There have been no press reports of a lynching or of a violent or unexplained death at Brownsville, which is 60 miles northeast of Memphis, but Sheriff R. C. Hawkins said yesterday that a Negro's body had been found by fishermen in Hatchie River swamps Sunday. The Coroner's verdict, the Sheriff stated, was that the man was "believed to have come to death by violence at the hands of unknown parties." The officer added that the body had been in the water too long for him to determine the exact cause of death, but that "we are investigating."

"There have been no actual cases of lynching this year," Mrs. Ames said in commenting on the death of the Negro at Brownsville, "but three Negroes have been killed in Atlanta while resisting arrest. The style of lynching has changed so. They don't go in for a Roman holiday any more." In other words, if lynchings still are being perpetrated they are being perpetrated quietly to avoid publicity. Only a few weeks ago the country was congratulating itself that a year had passed without a lynching. Now the question arises whether the mob is going out of business or merely is changing its technique. We prefer to believe it is going out of business.

Laurens, S. C., Adve
August 8, 1940

Lynchings Seen To Reflect the Price of Cotton

Washington, Aug. 5.—Lynchings go up as cotton goes down.

That is the conclusion of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames in a study of the lynching problem published today by the American Council on Public Affairs, a group of students, editors, churchmen and others interested in current affairs.

Basically, she said, lynching is a symptom of social conditions—of "poverty, disease, illiteracy, starvation from one generation to the next" among the rural white and Negro South.

"Corn (whiskey) and white supremacy have been the sole physical and emotional releases in the lives of most of the white rural population; corn and subtle aggression the only physical and emotional releases of the depressed Negroes. Living side by side, under these stimulations, conflict has been inevitable."

Linking lynchings with economic conditions, Mrs. Ames said: "True to form, the first year of depression—1930—showed an increase of lynchings from ten in the year 1929, the lowest record of any previous year, to 21 the next year. Up to 1936, in fact, the barometer of lynchings moved in inverse ratio to the price of cotton. But in 1936, with the price of cotton still low, lynchings dropped to a new record . . . and have continued to decrease.

"What happened? . . . Work relief from the federal and state governments put these people to work and reduced idleness and boredom and equally as important, gave them a little cash money . . .

"White people still feel their racial supremacy as a sacred and inherent trust, but they are beginning to occupy their minds with the more pressing and important problem of living and earning and spending than with that of finding a negro to lynch to prove their supremacy. Negroes, long at the bottom of the pile, are beginning to dig themselves out from under, and standing erect . . ."

Mrs. Ames is general field secretary of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation and executive director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSION

6360

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING



LEADS WAR ON LYNCHING—Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, is shown in her office in Atlanta, Feb. 2 after launching a movement to enlist housewives in prompt reporting of the formation of mobs bent on lynchings. Mrs. Ames believes lynchings will decrease when "citizens of a small community come to realize that they are not going to be able to keep a lynching secret."

for the Prevention of Lynching by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director.

"If the citizens of a small community come to realize they are not going to be able to keep a lynching secret, it will be another tool to use in preventing lynching," Mrs. Ames said.

Mrs. Ames advocates instructing strategically-situated persons in 15 Southern states how to arrange contacts that will inform them of forming mobs. She would have them learn to keep in touch with newspapers and press associations.

"We want to improve our ability to report inception and progress of mobs," she declared, "so that in every section we may cooperate with the press. It is our thought that in this way we may assist and encourage the spread of news of an impending lynching in time for level heads in a community and a state to bring counter action."

Now in its tenth year, the association will review methods found effective in spreading its doctrine that "public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood." (This doctrine was formulated in 1930, based on a survey of the 4,297 lynchings in the United States since 1886 showing only 21 per cent were motivated by crimes against white women.)

Lynchings have declined almost steadily, from 20 in 1930 to three last year (none of the 1939 cases involved crimes against women).

In addition to its 40,000 women, the association has pledges of co-operation from over 2,000 men and 1,300 peace officers. Its goal is 100,000 women members and signing of every sheriff in the South.

ers, pledged to fight lynching and especially to campaign against public opinion that has "accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood."

By spreading the ability of women strategically situated in 15 states to report the inception and progress of mobs, Mrs. Ames declared, the association hoped to speed facilities which could prevent a lynching.

Lynchings In Decline

Mrs. Ames said the record of lynchings, dropping from 20 in 1930 when the ASWPL was formed, to three last year was encouraging, but short of the asociation goal of no lynchings for any cause.

A survey of the 4,297 lynchings in the United States from 1886 to 1930, which showed only 21 per cent motivated by crimes against white women led to the association and its drive against the "defense of honor masquerade."

The percentage "done in woman's name" since 1930 has dropped below 21 per cent. None of last year's three cases involved crimes against women.

The organization has promises of co-operation from 1,300 Southern peace officers. Its goal is pledges of 100,000 women and all sheriffs.

Executive committee members are Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville Ky., chairman; Mrs. W. A. Hewell of Morgantown, N. C., secretary; Mrs Ames, Mrs. George E. Davis of Orangeburg, S. C., Mrs. Henry Havens of Jacksonville, Fla. and Mrs. L. W. Alford of McComb, Miss.

arousing mob violence, so public opinion can be mobilized swiftly to prevent lynching.

Local Watchers.

"Most lynchings occur in counties or small towns where there are no daily newspapers," Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary, points out. "We plan a strategically located system of correspondents, who will call the state chairman instantly when violence becomes even a possibility.

"The chairman then will go into action through every channel of civilized thought, and through official quarters, to assemble immediately the forces of public opinion and of law-and-order in support of the local peace officers who are faced with the prospect of a mob."

Details of the plan will be completed by the executive committee, which will meet here February 8 at the Piedmont hotel with Mrs. Attwood Martin, of Louisville, Ky., chairman, presiding.

Tired of Alibi.

The association is tired of the lyncher's alibi that he acts to "defend the honor of womanhood," and regularly gathers accurate statistics of just what does bring about lynchings.

Since 1886 only 21 per cent of lynchings have been motivated by crimes against women. Last year none of the three staged by mobs had this motive.

Ten years old, the association has a membership of 40,000 women over 13 southern states, and has pledges of co-operation from 2,000 men and 1,300 peace officers. It wants 100,000 women members, and pledges from every sheriff in the south.

Headquarters are maintained in the Standard building here.

cation, plus swift work of police radio patrols.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, said the 12-month lynchless period was the first since tabulations were started in 1882.

In contrast to this is the peak mark of 231 mob killings recorded in 1892.

Mrs. Ames said swift action, made possible by police radio alarm systems, particularly as used by highly mobile state trooper units, was an efficient and relatively new technique in combating mobs.

She declared the 12 months just past—and the previous year's record of only three lynchings—represented the fruits of long years of campaigning to bring about "lynch-consciousness."

Formerly, she said, lynchings were "hushed up" and therefore soon forgotten.

"Now, however," she added, "we get the facts and see that they are publicized. When we hear a lynch-mob has assembled, we make a direct appeal to law enforcement officials, so that a lynching cannot take place without the authorities knowing of it."

She said the association, representing about 41,000 southern women and now in its 10th year campaigned especially against public opinion that has "accepted too easily the claim of lynchers that they acted solely in the defense of women."

Of last year's three lynchings, she asserted, none involved a crime against women.

Southern Women Ponder Means To Halt Lynchings

Anticipating Moves Of Mobs And Preventing Them Among Plans

ATLANTA, Ga.—(AP)—Some 40,000 housewives and mothers, pledged to fight lynching "done falsely in the name of woman's honor," may soon be asked to study news reporting technique specializing in lynch-bent mobs.

The objective: To increase their ability to help stamp out all lynching below the Mason and Dixon Line.

Discussion of the best methods for reporting mob activities was placed on the agenda of a Feb. 8 meeting here of the executive committee of Association of Southern Wom-

WOMEN TO FIGHT LNYCH-BENT MOBS

Southern Association Pleased With Progress, Will Redouble Efforts.

ATLANTA, Feb. 2 (AP)—Methods of co-operating with newspapers and press associations to give wide publicity to lynch-belt mobs will be studied in a Feb. 8 meeting here of the executive committee of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director, said the organization planned to add the technique of news reporting as "another tool" in its campaign to stamp out lynching.

The association, going into its 10th year, has some 40,000 women, majority of them housewives and moth-

WOMEN ORGANIZE 'REVERE SYSTEM' TO STOP LYNCHING

Southern Association Plans 'Scout' Network To Spread Alarm When Mob Law Is Threatened.

A new means of fighting the rope, the blazing faggot, and the shrieking, blood-crazed mob—or at the least a new twist to an old method—is being projected by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

It's the "Paul Revere system" of letting the world know at the moment a crime has been committed which shows signs of

Modern South Completes First Lynchless Year

New Record Credited to Education Plus Fast Radio Patrols.

The modern south ended its first year without a lynching at midnight Wednesday and yesterday a foe of mob rule credited this new record to effective edu-

Say Southern Women Can and Must Stop Lynching



Constitution 2-9-40

Constitution Staff Photo—Bill Wilson

Southern women themselves must educate people against lynchings, these officials of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching declared yesterday at a meeting of the executive committee. The committee does not support the federal anti-lynching bill, however. Left to right, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Atlanta, executive secretary; Mrs. W. A. Newell, of Morganton, N. C., secretary, and Mrs. Attwood Martin, of Louisville, Ky.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL FLAYED BY WOMEN

Constitution 2-9-40

Association Formed to Stop Mob Rule Declares It Cannot Be Enforced.

Representatives of 40,000 crusading southern women, whose purpose is to erase the blot of lynching from the south, yesterday disclaimed in a meeting in Atlanta any support of the federal anti-lynching bill, and reaffirmed their desire to accomplish their goal through education.

Members of the executive committee of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching made plans for concentration of their 1940 activities in Georgia, Florida and Mississippi—the latter two states being the only ones in the nation in which lynchings were reported in 1939. A lynching was reported erroneously in Georgia.

Eight-Point Goal.

In an ambitious eight-point program for 1940, the women plan to:

1. Obtain signed co-operation pledges from sheriffs to support the anti-lynching education program.

2. Obtain 5,000 new women members for the organization.

3. Actively reach the young people of colleges and churches with anti-lynching information.

4. Cultivate the co-operation of newspapers, police, governors and legislatures in the campaign.

5. Get civic and church organizations to adopt programs against lynching.

6. Get newspapers to notify local organizations of the association when threatened lynchings are reported.

7. Spread the organization into new states.

8. Cover the southern states with anti-lynching posters.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary and spokesman for the committee, said the organization never has favored federal anti-lynching legislation, contending that it never could be enforced, and that to seek outside help was to admit the women of the south were too cowardly to clean up their own troubles.

"Sanctity" Excuse.

"Too, we have found that in most cases the sanctity of womanhood merely was an excuse for lynching, not the real cause," Mrs. Ames explained. "We have entered the strongholds of the Ku Klux Klan, and openly presented our findings that lynchings 'to protect southern women' have nothing to do with women."

To establish again their position regarding the federal anti-lynching bill, the committee passed the following resolution:

"The Association of Southern Women does not support and never has supported federal legislation to eradicate lynching. The association believes that the slow process of educating society to recognize and abhor the evils out of which lynchings grow is the only sure way to stop lynchings. The association places its major emphasis on exposing and repudiating the claim that the protection of white womanhood motivates lynchers.

"At the beginning of the tenth year since the movement started, southern women to the number of more than 40,000 have committed themselves in writing to carry out a program of education against lynching for any cause.

Programs Adopted.

"Thirteen national and southern organizations, and 84 state organizations in 13 southern states have adopted active programs against lynching in their constituencies.

"Each year activities of state associations of southern women have been successful in preventing lynchings. The influence of this association, through members in co-operating church and civic organizations, has been widespread. Prevented lynchings are on record, in which women and men have been the forces obstructing a lynching because of their adherence to the principle and program of the association, which had been brought to them through their local and state civic and religious organizations."

Southern Women And Lynching

Birmingham Journal OCT 3 1940

A movement of southern women to educate against the claim that the crime of lynching is necessary for their protection was started ten years ago. The twelve women who were responsible for the movement outlined the purpose—to expose lynchers and eradicate lynching; determined the policy—to educate but not to legislate; adopted the method—to work through already existing organizations of women; and selected the name—The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

Th women were free to develop the Association in any way they believed would be effectvie in achieving their purpose. At one an employee of the corporation.

Following the procedure usually adopted by other "star witnesses" who have testified before the committee, Appleby wildly accused the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of being controlled by "Communists" and said that he had found "evidence" of sabotage in the plant.

OCT 13 1940

The Texan undertook the probe following an explosion in the plant which resulted in the deaths of about 50 persons. Workers in the plant at an inquiry conducted by New Jersey police and the FBI attributed the explosion to failure of the company to provide urgently needed safeguards against blasts. The company manufactures highly explosive powder.

Birmingham

To maintain the appearance of looking into the Bund, the committee heard a sprinkling of witnesses who testified about the fascist outfit, but there was much scepticism as to whether the Texan will really conduct a searching inquiry into Hitler's mouthpiece in this country.

Commenting on this, William Carney, CIO president of New Jersey, declared: "They may hear some witnesses on the Bund for a day or two, and then they'll go into their usual smearing of the labor movement."

6336

Tampa, Fla Tribune
August 6, 1940

Judge Lynch Retires

New York Herald Tribune

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH from Atlanta informs us that at midnight May 8 the South passed its first full twelve months without a lynching. Explanations are necessary. In the first place, it is only since 1882 that statistics of lynchings have been registered, so that the record holds only for those fifty-eight years. In the second place, the calendar year and no mere equivalent stretch of months has always been the framework for the figures. Nevertheless, the announcement, coming from the secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, is most impressive. All three lynchings perpetrated in 1939 occurred before the date mentioned, so at least one can say that the country has successfully survived the normal season for such outrages.

And this stimulates the hope—the possibility—of a clean slate for 1940, which, if it comes to pass, will be a triumph of the first magnitude. Lynchings have steadily declined in number since they reached their peak of 231 in 1892. Much credit for this improvement belongs to the strengthening of the police in the states most affected and particularly to their establishment of mobile state trooper units equipped with radio alarm systems. But basically one must thank public opinion as organized and expressed locally. No laws and no police could have accomplished this extraordinary reform if it hadn't engaged the efforts of Southern women banded together for the purpose.

Let us remember that the stock excuse for lynchings has always been the protection of Southern women. It is easier thus to understand the nobility of their revulsion and the measure of the moral victory they have achieved through their association to prevent lynching. This association was founded in 1930. It has today some 40,000 members, backed by social and religious groups totaling more than two million. Yet it has used its influence quietly, preferring personal pressure on state officials and peace officers to any fanfare of publicity. And it has worked that kind of miracle which one likes to associate with the democratic process. That is to say, as a volunteer movement, without benefit of Federal action, it appears to have cured a cancer which perenially agitates Congress and invites it to further encroachment on state's rights.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
May 19, 1940

Lynchings Linked To Cotton Price in Southern Survey

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5.—(A.P.)—Lynchings go up as cotton goes down.

That is the conclusion of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames in a study of the lynching problem published today by the American Council on Public Affairs, a group of students, editors, churchmen and others interested in current affairs.

Basically, she said, lynching is a symptom of social conditions—of "poverty, disease, illiteracy, starvation from one generation to the next" among the rural white and negro south.

"Corn whisky and white supremacy have been the sole physical and emotional releases in the lives of most of the white rural population; corn and subtle aggression the only physical and emotional releases of the depressed negroes. Living side by side, under these stimulations, conflict has been inevitable."

Linking lynchings with economic conditions, Mrs. Ames said:

"True to form, the first year of depression—1930—showed an increase of lynchings from 10 in the year 1929, the lowest record of any previous year, to 21 the next year. Up to 1936, in fact, the barometer of lynchings moved in inverse ratio to the price of cotton. But in 1936, with the price of cotton still low, lynchings dropped to a new record . . . and have continued to decrease.

"What happened? Work relief from the federal and state governments put these people to work and reduced idleness and boredom and, equally as important, gave them a little cash money.

"White people still feel their racial supremacy as a sacred and inherent trust, but they are beginning to occupy their minds with the more pressing and important problem of living and earning and spending than with that of finding a negro to lynch to prove their supremacy. Negroes, long at the bottom of the pile, are beginning to dig themselves out from under, and standing erect."

Lynching Charge Draws Challenge

CLEVELAND, Miss.—(AP)—Declaring it a "libel that ought not to be unchallenged," spokesman for two Cleveland organizations Saturday challenged a statement that four unrecorded lynchings took place in this vicinity last year.

The charges were made Wednesday by Walter White, Negro secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, before the Senate judiciary subcommittee in Washington.

"This is news to us," declared Richard E. Davis, secretary of the Cleveland Exchange Club. He called on White to give the "names and addresses" of the alleged victims.

R. A. Scott, commander of the Cleveland Legion Post, declared White's claim "is of necessity false," and added that law enforcement officers had used "every means possible" to protect prisoners from mob violence.

LYNCHING CHARGE, HARRISON REPORTS SENATE TO PROBE

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Clarksdale, Miss., Feb. 11.—Walter White, negro secretary of the Association for Advancement of Colored People, who testified recently before the Senate judiciary subcommittee at Washington, will be recalled by the committee to substantiate statements he made at a recent committee hearing that there had been wholesale lynchings in Mississippi in 1939, according to telegrams received today from Senator Pat Harrison by the Cleveland Exchange Club and Gen. Crosby Post 165 of the American Legion.

White told the committee at its hearing that four negroes were lynched in Bolivar county near Cleveland last year. The Cleveland club and post denounced his statement as untrue and he was challenged to submit proof. Bolivar county leaders said there were no lynchings in the county last year.

Senator Harrison, after receiving the Cleveland protest, conferred with Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairman, who agreed to recall White and ask that he submit corroboration of his previous testimony. White testified recently in favor of a federal anti-lynching bill. In his testimony he said an unnamed Southern white man had told him of four supposed lynchings near Cleveland.

The committee is expected to go thoroughly into White's charges and take whatever action may be required, Senator Harrison advised Richard E. Davis, Exchange club secretary, and Commander R. A. Scott of the Cleveland post. Senator Conally revealed that White will be closely questioned, Harrison said.

Clergyman Tells U. S. Solons of Horrible Lynchings Before Committee Hearing

Washington, D. C. Feb. 7 — A gruesome eye-witness account of the lynching of two Negroes boys by a Texas mob, was given to a senate judiciary subcommittee Tuesday, the 6, by the Rev. Gresham Marmion, Washington Episcopal clergyman, who testified along with many others in support of the bill.

Rev. Marmion, told the committee how he pleaded with a mob "of from 300 to 500 persons" in Colorado County, Texas, the night of Nov. 12, 1935.

"After listening for a minute or two they began hissing and booing, the clergyman said, "and pulled me from the fender of an old car that furnished light for the gruesome scene. And the two boys aged 15 and 16 were hanged.

Mr. Marmion said the boys, Benny Mitchell and Ernest Collins, were charged with the murder of a 16-year-old white girl, and that officers had reported a confession from them.

Continuing his testimony, the clergyman said, "the boys were pleading for mercy." They pulled one up, and his neck was broken immediately, but the man handling the rope apparently did not do a good job on the second boy. They grabbed the boys feet and jerked him down in the most horrible manner I've ever seen. I left in digust."

"I tell you the angel Gabriel would not be able to stop a mob of this kind."

Senator Tom Connally (Dem. Tex.), a leader in the opposition has expressed his condemnation for lynching but has announced that he will use every possible means to prevent it from becoming illegal.

Many outstanding leaders of both races have been called to testify. The hearing will continue until all have been heard.

Negro Leader To Be Recalled For Proof Of Lynching Story

By GEORGE MORRIS

From The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—Senator Tom Connolly of Texas plans to recall Walter White, negro secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and demand that he substantiate statements of wholesale lynchings in Mississippi or have his testimony expunged from the record.

Testifying before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in favor of a Federal Anti-lynching Bill, White related a story of the lynching of four negroes in Mississippi last year, near Cleveland.

Bodies Never Found

White described how the negroes were lynched and their bodies thrown in the river. The bodies never were found and the lynching was carried out with such secrecy that not even the families of the victims knew anything about it, according to the story. White said he got the story from a prominent, but unnamed, Southern white man.

Judging from the turn of events, the purported victims, if they exist, are equally ignorant of having been lynched.

Senator Harrison received telegrams from the Cleveland Exchange Club and the Cleveland American Legion post challenging the story and asking for proof.

Immediately upon receipt of the telegrams, Senator Harrison held a conference with Senator Connolly and turned the telegrams over to him.

Exposure Is Sought

Senator Harrison said that he thought the committee should go thoroughly into the charges of White, expose the obvious falsehood, and take such action as might be required.

Some are inclined to doubt whether anybody gave White the information he described as coming from a "prominent Southern white man." In order to carry out the farce, it was anticipated that White would stand on his rights to not divulge the name of his informant or the names of the imaginary victims.

There was a question as to whether he could be held in contempt by the committee for making palpably false statements by using an unnamed informant as a subterfuge.

Senator Connolly made it clear that White will be closely questioned.

LYNCHING-1940
DISCUSSION OF

CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE(PRESS REPORTS ON)

6330

"Police Lynchings" Will, In Future, Be "Credited" By Investigators

Globe & Independent
Nashville Tenn.

Southern White Women, Opposed To Mobs, Unite With Tuskegee Institute And NAACP To Give Nation Complete Picture Of Area's Lawless Practice

DEC 20 1940

TUSKEGEE, Dec. 19—(ANP)—Representatives of the N. A. A. C. P., the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and of Tuskegee Institute, the three bodies generally accepted as authoritative in determining the number of lynchings which take place annually in the United States met here Saturday to compare methods, to exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

Accepting as a general base to be refined later, the definition of a lynching as "the killing of a human being by the act or procurement of a mob; a mob being a collection of persons assembled for the unlawful purpose of injuring any individual by violence and without lawful authority, the conference which was called by President Patterson of Tuskegee, debated every phase of the wanton killing of people by mobs and examined the evidence of every killing which occurred during 1940 and which might be classified as a lynching.

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The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetrate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killings by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied. The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly include killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

The conference was opened by an address by Dr. Monroe N. Work who described the methods through which for 30 years the department of Records and Research at Tuskegee had tabulated lynchings and the gradual acceptance of these figures by the most important newspapers and organizations of this country, Canada and England. Dr. Arthur Raper gave an appraisal of the criteria by which lynchings may be judged, submitting a number of case reports upon investigations which he had made personally. Walter White of the NAACP, Mrs. Ames of the Association of Southern Women and Ralph N. Davis, director of records and research at Tuskegee, reported upon the work and methods of their organization which have contributed so materially to the reduction of lynching. The entire conference helped in the development of the agreement as to basic evaluations by which lynchings will be judged in the future.

Among the members of the conference were Walter White, secretary of the NAACP; Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution; McClellan Van der Veer of the Birmingham Age-Herald; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta and Mrs. H. A. Ewell, Greensboro, N. C., director and secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, professor of sociology, Atlanta university; Dr. Arthur Raper, author of "The Tragedy of Lynching"; Dr. Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book and founder of the department of records and research at Tuskegee; Ralph N. Davis, present director of the department; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee; Dr. W. T. B. Williams, vice-president; Dr. Eli S. Marks, social science department, Fisk University; Howard Lee, Birmingham, secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Earl W. Brown, Time, Inc.; Albert L. Turner, Dr. I. A. Derbigny, A. L. Holsey, Charles G. Gomillion, assistant director of research; T. Rupert Broady, assistant in research, all of Tuskegee; Claude A. Barnett of Chicago and Mrs. Marianna Rabb, of Tuskegee's department of records and research.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

HOLD LYNCHING MEET, AGREE ON DATA METHODS

DEC 29 1940

TUSKEGEE, Dec. 28—(ANP)—Representatives of the N. A. A. C. P., the Association of Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching and of Tuskegee Institute, the three bodies generally accepted as authoritative in determining the number of lynchings which take place annually in the United States, met here Saturday to compare methods, to exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

Accepting as a general base to be refined later, the definition of a lynching as "the killing of a human being by the act or procurement of a mob; a mob being a collection of persons assembled for the unlawful purpose of injuring any individual by violence and without lawful authority, the conference which was called by President Patterson of Tuskegee, debated every phase of the wanton killings of people by mobs and examined the evidence of every killing which occurred during 1940 and which might be calssified as a lynching.

DEC 28 1940

Four Cases This 1940

While the final annual report will not be issued until the end of the year, the record to date for 1940 showed four lynchings; two in Georgia, one in Tennessee and one in Alabama. Four cases which at the present time are regarded as doubtful or where information was considered as uncertain or incomplete; and three cases which were controversial as to character were held in abeyance until further investigation.

Recognizing that variation and determinative methods had given rise to differences in figures issued, methods of cooperation which will make this impossible in the future were worked out by the group which comprised the most important forces working in the

held of providing statistics on lynching.

The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetrate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killings by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied. The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly iniclude killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

DEC 29 1940

Leading Agencies Coordinate Data On Lynching Figures

DEC 24 1940

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Negro Labor News
Houston Texas

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Walter White of the NAACP, Mrs. Ames of the Association of Southern Women and Ralph N. Davis, director of records and research at Tuskegee reported upon the work and methods of their organization which have contributed so materially to the reduction of lynching. The entire conference helped in the development of the agreement as to basic evaluations by which lynchings will be judged in the future.

WILL KEEP RECORDS STRAIGHT

Courier Pittsburgh

Reporting Agencies Hold Conference—Agree On Methods to Be Used to Check Lynchings.

DEC 28 1940

TUSKEGEE, Dec. 26—(By ANP) — Representatives of the NAACP, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and of Tuskegee Institute, the three bodies generally accepted as authoritative in determining the number of lynchings which take place annually in the United States, met here Saturday to compare methods, to exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

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6331

LYNCHING IS LYNCH LAW DESPITE THE EFFORT OF THE CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE TO EXPLAIN AWAY SEVEN LYNCH CASES

Clipped from Independent
Nashville Tennessee

DEC 27 1940

Since the retirement of Dr. Monroe Work from the Bureau of Vital Statistics at Tuskegee Institute, it seems to have been the philosophy of the Bureau to make the number of lynchings in America tellingly less each year. Not by figures and facts, but by explanations which do not explain, with a taint of abject apology for the crime; rather than the desire to find out the correct number of people illegally murdered in the United States of America, at the hands of a mob, and the alleged crime for which they were lynched.

The latest evidence of this policy, on the part of the Bureau, was the attempt to explain away seven of the lynch cases out of eleven reported by the Bureau; by giving a new definition to the word "lynching or lynch law." We prefer to take Mr. Webster's definition of lynching over the new definition of the word set up by the conference at Tuskegee a few days ago. In substance Mr. Webster defines lynching to be, the taking of human life with malice aforethought by more than one person, without due process of law. The Atlanta World says, that no definition of lynching was composed; the group agreed that lynching would be and we quote, "a dead man, illegally killed under the pretext of service to justice, a race or tradition." What this ambiguous statement means, of course, we cannot explain, possibly the Bureau of Vital Statistics at Tuskegee can. But the statement does suggest that it will be necessary to find out, both the attitude of the mind of the mob and the traditional justification for the crime, which violates our Constitutional provision of the due process of law, before it can be determined whether an illegal killing, is a lynching, or a plain case of murder, or justifiable homicide. The disease of lynch law cannot be cured indirectly or directly by suppressing the truth of numbers, because figures do not lie.

The Constitution asks in answering its own question, what is lynching? We quote:

"There met at Tuskegee Institute on Saturday, representatives of several associations which are interested in putting down lynching and in seeing that the laws of the land are applied equitably. Also present, on invitation, were representatives of southern newspapers.

"For more than 30 years Tuskegee's Dr. Monroe Work carried on the annual investigation into lynchings and issued semi-annual reports. It was a custom urged upon Dr. Work by the late Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee. Dr. Work now is retired but the office goes on in capable hands.

"The press of the nation and the reading public have come to accept the Tuskegee report as one of fact, lacking in any propaganda. Such it is. Lately other agencies have been reporting on lynchings. The meeting Saturday was an effort to arrive at, not a definition, but at some basis for establishing the fact of a lynching.

"A lynching has definite factors which differentiate from a gang killing or from a killing in a labor riot or picket-line dispute. It was an effort to arrive at these factors which brought about the meeting. Four essentials were set up. They were:

"1. There must be a dead person or persons.

"2. These persons must have been done to death illegally.

"3. They must have met death at the hands of a group.

"4. This group must have acted under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

These essentials are present in every lynching. Any lynching will fit them. A gang killing or a riot killing will not.

We do not agree with the sentiment in the fourth essential, or the last paragraph above; whether the mob under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition, that violates the law can serve the ends of justice. If this argument is true, what about the mob which takes a helpless Negro boy in the dark hours of night, hangs him to a limb; riddles his body with bullets; then, did the mob serve justice, race or tradition? The effort of the conference to exclude gang and riot killings from lynch and mob law, make real Negro manhood sick at the stomach, and places the Bureau in the category of that class of Negroes, who like to write "stuff" that will please the white folks; it matters not what it may cost the race in manhood or rights. It matters not what the Constitution or the Tuskegee Conference may say; lynching, whether the crime is committed by a mob of gangsters or rioters or not. If four of the eleven crimes were lynchings, Tuskegee ought to tell the public what were the other seven crimes. Webster says and we quote, "That lynching came from a Virginian named Lynch, who took the law in his own hand and acted or practiced the punishment of crime without due process of law; hence we have lynch law after a tyrant named Lynch, who killed innocent people without court or trial.

—Union-Review.

Hold Conference On Lynching Data

DEC 20 1940

TUSKEGEE, Dec. 20 (ANP)—Representatives of the NAACP, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and of Tuskegee Institute the three bodies generally accepted as authoritative in determining the number of lynchings which take place annually in the United States, met here Saturday to compare methods, to exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

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Recognizing that variation in information and determinative methods had given rise to differences in figures issued, methods of cooperation which will make this impossible in the future were worked out by the group which comprised the most important forces in the field of providing statistics on lynching.

The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetuate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killing by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied. The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly include killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

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DEC 20 1940

Hold Conference At Tuskegee On Lynching Data; Agencies Agree On Methods To Authenticate Records

DEC 23 1940

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Plan To Cooperate

Recognizing that variation in information and determinative methods had given rise to differences in figures issued, methods of cooperation which will make this impossible in the future were worked out by the group which comprised the most important forces working in the field of providing statistics on lynching.

The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetuate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killings by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied. The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly include killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

The conference was opened by an address by Dr. Monroe N. Work who described the methods through which for 30 years the department of Records and Research at Tuskegee had tabulated lynchings and the gradual acceptance of these figures by the most important newspapers and organizations of this country, Canada and England. Dr. Arthur Raper gave an appraisal of the criteria by which lynchings may be judged, submitting a number of case reports upon investigations which he had made personally. Walter White of the NAACP, Mrs. Ames of the Association of Southern Women and Ralph N. Davis, director of records ond research at Tuskegee, reported upon the work and methods of their organization which have contributed so materially to the reduction of lynching. The entire conference helped in the development of the agreement as to basic evaluations by which lynchings will be judged in the future.

Among the members of the conference were Walter White, secretary of the NAACP; Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution; McClellan Van der Veer of the Birmingham Age Herald; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta and Mrs. H. A. Ewell, Greensboro, N. C., director and secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, professor of sociology, Atlanta University; Dr Arthur Raper, author of "The Tragedy of Lynching".

Dr. Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book and founder of the department of records and research at Tuskegee; Ralph N. Davis, present director of the department; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee; Dr. W. T. B. Williams, vice-president; Dr. Eli S. Marks, social science department, Fisk University; Howard Lee, Birmingham, secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Earl W. Brown, Time, Inc.; Albert L. Turner, Dr. I. A. Derbigny, A. L. Holsey, Charles G. Gomillion, assistant director of research, T. Rupert Broady, assistant in research, all of Tuskegee; Claude A. Barnett of Chicago and Mrs. Marianna Rabb, of Tuskegee's department of records and research.

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

6332

Birmingham Ala Age-Herald
December 17, 1940

What Is A Lynching?

Representatives of various organizations and publications met last week at Tuskegee Institute to discuss the question, What is a lynching? Their basic general purpose, of course, was to contribute to further progress in the eradication of this frightful evil. But specifically they were concerned with arriving at a common basis for reports on lynching.

Tuskegee Institute has issued public reports on lynching since 1908. The lamented *New York World* began collecting statistics on lynching in 1885. *The Chicago Tribune* has published its reports for many years. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings are other organizations that have gathered these reports.

The common objective in the dissemination of these statistics is to curb and eliminate the crime. Publicity for lynchings is, of course, one of the main factors in fighting the evil. But, obviously, if there is a wide variation in the various reports, confusion results which may lead to a considerable handicap upon the common effort. The endeavor at Tuskegee, therefore, was to promote understanding and agreement as to what constitutes a lynching.

* * *

But the question is not easily answered. Here in the South where the majority of victims of lynching have been Negroes, the term is largely associated with mob violence involving racial animosity. But, of course, white men have, in considerable number, also been the victims of these unlawful killings.

The Encyclopedia Britannica reports that of 4,250 persons lynched from 1885 to 1926, inclusive, 3,205 were Negroes and 1,045 were whites. "The annual number has been gradually decreasing during the last 30 years," it declares in its 1939 issue.

But, as may be seen, victims have largely been Negroes, in a proportion of about three to one, and in the South that proportion has been higher. In arriving at any definition of a lynching, therefore, it is first of all important, it seems to *The Age-Herald*, to form a clear conception of the type of evil against which the reports and statistics are particularly directed.

If many Southerners, for example, think of lynching largely in terms of racial mob violence, reports of crimes which included various other types of lynching would create wrong impressions among many of these people—perhaps very harmful wrong impressions.

On the other hand, if killings which do in actual nature come under a broader and more accurate conception of lynching, are not thus reported to the public, the danger of the evil increasing under another name would be heightened.

There are many who believe that "lynchings" have been, in some instances, "driven underground;" that is, that there has been an increasing number of cases of unlawful killings actually in the category of lynching but which have been classified otherwise.

* * *

The conference at Tuskegee did not formulate a hard and fast definition of the crime.

It was wise not to do so, we think, because, in the end, the question comes down to a matter of judgment and any organization or group has its own right to form and present its conclusion with regard to any case.

But it is very desirable that all especially interested in this problem, and the general public, have as much of common understanding and agreement on the question as can be achieved.

Those participating in the Tuskegee conference did reach a broad basis of agreement. They held that a lynching would involve an illegal killing by a violent group under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

Such a description may not cover every case that should come under the classification of a lynching, but it does, we think, suggest a good beginning for an intelligent conception on the subject.

Beyond that general basis perhaps it would be better for individual students to formulate their own definitions.

It is, to be sure, very important in carrying on the fight against lynching that such crimes be not covered up under misleading terms. Nothing could be more vicious than for actual representatives of the law to follow the true technique of lynching, at the instigation of mob sentiment or in connivance with a mob and then for such horrible violence to be classified as a defensible action in law enforcement. That would be not only lynching of the law. It would be the law lynching the law.

The full truth should always be sought and there should be complete, fearless publicity for all that is learned. That is a major means of carrying on toward the complete eradication of the evil.

But, on the other hand, the progress being made should not be handicapped by too loose a definition, with a consequent classification as lynching of crimes that are really not lynching at all.

Especially would it be unfortunate, it seems to *The Age-Herald*, for any persons, however erroneously, to get the impression that lynchings involving racial animosity are decidedly increasing, if the opposite is really the case and other crimes have been classified as lynching.

Inter-racial prejudice and suspicion are, to a great extent, based on the more or less ignorant assumption that such feelings do exist or should exist. Human beings take some attitudes because they think such an attitude is expected of them. Let us not create inter-racial prejudice by assuming that it exists where it does not in fact exist at all.

We should continue to emphasize the progress—the fine progress—made in decreasing lynchings, while at the same time remaining exceedingly

Macon, Ga., News
December 16, 1940

Lynching Defined By Recording Group

TUSKEGEE, Ala., [AP]—Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race of tradition" will hereafter constitute lynching, according to agreement reached by representatives of several groups meeting here in an effort to stabilize the records of such crimes.

Headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, those attending discussed 11 deaths reported by various organizations as lynching last year, but agreed that only four came under that classification.

Two of the four deaths occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

Tifton, Ga., Gazette
December 16, 1940

At a meeting of a group of organizations in Tuskegee, Ala., to arrive at "some mutual basis for determining what constitutes a lynching," it was agreed that a lynching would be "a dead man illegally killed at the hands of a group which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition." Under this heading, while no definition of a lynching was given, the death of a Georgian who was flogged last March, was declared to be a lynching. But the meeting pointed out that gang killings are not lynchings, since they usually "are the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another." Deaths from "violence in labor disputes" also were excluded from the "lynching" agreement. In other words, killings taking place under conditions obtaining in the South are lynchings in the eyes of the group that met at Tuskegee, while killings under conditions that predominate in the North are not lynchings—they are just plain murders, without trimmings. Webster's New International Dictionary defines lynch as "to inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the form of law." No other definition is given. The same source defines lynch law as, "Act or practice by private persons of inflicting punishment for crimes or offenses without due process of law." No other definition is given. These two seem to be definite enough to suit anyone, so the reason for the meeting in Tuskegee is obvious. It is an effort to confine to the South whatever stigma there may be attached to lynching, since it has a more horrible sound than does plain premeditated murder. The Gazette does not defend lynching but condemns it. But it does believe that illegal killing in the South is called lynching, the same name should be applied to illegal killings in any other section of the country.

Mobile, Ala., Press
December 16, 1940

Lynchings Discussed At Tuskegee Meeting

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 16.—(AP) Representatives of over a score of groups, meeting here in an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings," have agreed that four deaths reported last year came under their new-formed definition of a lynching.

Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" was set up as the definition of a lynching.

Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

Two of the four classified as lynchings occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The session, held over the week-end, was attended by representatives of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, the Associated Colored Press, Time and Life magazines and a number of southern newspapers.

Selma, Ala., Times Journal
December 16, 1940

Plan To Stabilize Lynching Records Is Aim Of Meeting

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 16—(AP)—Representatives of more than a score of groups, meeting here in an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings," have agreed that four 1939 deaths came under their new-formed definition of a lynching.

Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" was set up as the definition of a lynching.

Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

Two of the four classified as lynchings occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The weekend session was attended by representatives of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of lynchings, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta universities, the associated negro press, Time and Life magazines and a number of southern newspapers.

Lynching Is Defined For Sake of Records

TUSKEGEE, AYA., (AP)—Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" will hereafter constitute lynching, according to agreement reached by representatives of several groups meetig here in an effort to stabilize the records of such crimes.

Headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, those attending discussed 11 deaths reported by various organizations as lynching last year, but agreed that only four came under that classification. Two of the four deaths occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

STABILIZING GROUP STUDIES LYNCHING

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 15—(AP)—Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" will hereafter constitute lynching, according to agreement reached by representatives of several groups meeting here in an effort to stabilize the records of such crimes.

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Two of the four deaths occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The definition agreed upon for a lynching will exclude gang killings which, the group held, are "usually the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another," and deaths resulting from "violence of labor disputes."

Mrs. Jessie Ames, of Atlanta, representing the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, summed up the meeting as an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings."

Attending the all-day meeting Saturday were representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, the Associated Negro Press, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, Time and Life Magazines and some Southern newspapers.

Those attending agreed to meet again next November to check reports and records and seek further advancement in checking lynchings in the South.

Gaston Slaying Is Adjudged Lynching

DEC 16 1940

TUSKEGEE INST., Ala.—(SNS—In an all-day deliberation, representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk University, Atlanta University, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the Associated Negro Press, Time and Life magazine and southern newspapers met here to agree on "some mutual basis for determining what constitutes a lynching."

Daily World

The death of Ike Gaston white Hapeville, Ga., barber, flogged to death last March in one of a series of particularly brutal outrages, allegedly by Klan principals, was classified as a lynching here Saturday.

Atlanta, Ga.

While no definition of a lynching was composed, the group agreed that a lynching would be "a dead man illegally killed at the hands of a group of which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition."

The group was careful to exclude gang killings from this category, counselling that such killings are "usually expressions of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another." Deaths resulting from labor disputes were also excluded.

1940 LYNCHINGS

In considering eleven deaths reported by various organizations as lynchings in 1940 the group agreed that only four were fit to be classified as such. Three others were listed as "doubtful."

Georgia, where more people have been lynched than in any other state in the Union, again led with a total of two. Added to the infamous Gaston case was the lynching at La. Grange, September 8, 1940, of Austin Callaway, colored. Alabama and Tenn. fourth and fifth in all time lynching offense, had a lynching apiece. Since 1908 this body has issued public reports on lynchings yearly in the United States.

From 1882 until 1938, a total of 3,630 lynchings have occurred in this country with several states in the deep south leading the way overwhelmingly. Dr. F. D. Patterson represented the NAACP. Mrs. Jesse Ames represented the ASWPL.

Newton, Ga., News
January 10, 1941

What Is Lynching?

T98

At a meeting of a group of organizations in Tuskegee, Ala., to arrive at "some mutual basis for determining what constitutes a lynching," it was agreed that a lynching would be "a dead man illegally killed at the hands of a group which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

Under this heading, while no definition of a lynching was given, the death of a Georgian who was flogged last March, was declared to be a lynching. But the meeting pointed out that gang killings are not lynchings, since they usually "are the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another."

Deaths from "violence in labor disputes" also were excluded from the "lynching" agreement. In other words, killings taking place under conditions obtaining in the South are lynchings in the eyes of the group that met at Tuskegee, while killings under conditions that predominate in the north are not lynchings—they are just plain murders, without trimmings.

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It is an effort to confine to the south whatever stigma there may be attached to lynching, since it has a more horrible sound than does plain premeditated murder. The Gazette does not defend lynching but condemns it. But it does believe that if llegal killing in the south is called lynching, the same name should be applied to illegal killings in any other section of the country.

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

6333

Columbus Ga Ledger
December 16, 1940

Four More Deaths Called Lynchings

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 16.—(AP)—Representatives of more than a score of groups, meeting here in an "effort to stabilize the records regarding Lynchings," have agreed that four 1939 deaths came under their new-formed definition of a lynching.

Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" was set up as the definition of a lynching.

Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this (CQ) year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

Two of the four classified as lynchings occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The week-end session was attended by representatives of the association of southern women for the prevention of lunchings, the national association for the advancement of colored people, Fisk and Atlanta universities, the Associated Negro Press, Time and Life magazines and a number of southern newspapers.

Rome Ga News-Tribune
December 16, 1940

Only Four Cases In 1940 Classed As Lynchings

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 16—(INS) Only four of eleven cases of mob vengeance that were reported last year actually could be classified as a lynching, it was concluded here today by groups meeting to "stabilize records regarding lynching."

Delegates attending the meeting agreed to record as lynchings only killings that occur "under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition." This stipulation, it was pointed out, would nullify the inclusion in the records of gang murders and other forms of violence that were listed as lynchings during the last year.

Mrs. Jessie Ames, of Atlanta, representing the Association of Southern Women to Prevent lynching, said the purpose of the meeting is to "stabilize records regarding lynching."

Columbus Ga Enquirer Sun
December 16, 1940

Stabilized Records On U. S. Lynchings Is Purpose Of Body

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 15—(AP) Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race of tradition'" will hereafter constitute lynching, according to agreement reached by representatives of several groups meeting here in an effort to stabilize the records of such crimes.

Headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, those attending discussed 11 deaths reported by various organizations as lynching last year, but agreed that only four came under that classification.

Two of the four deaths occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The definition agreed upon for a lynching will exclude gang killings which, the group held, are "usually the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another," and deaths resulting from "violence of labor disputes."

Mrs. Jessie Ames, of Atlanta, representing the association of southern women for the prevention of lynchings, summed up the meeting as an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings."

Attending the all-day meeting yesterday were representatives of the national association for the advancement of colored people, Fisk and Atlanta universities, the Associated negro press, the association of southern women for the prevention of lynchings, Time and Life magazines and some southern newspapers.

Those attending agreed to meet again next November to check reports and records and seek further advancement in checking lynchings in the south.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
December 16, 1940

Lynching Defined By Tuskegee Meeting

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Memphis Tenn. Commercial Appeal
December 17, 1940

LYNCHINGS ARE RECORDED

Only Four Cases Listed By Group Meeting At Tuskegee

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Savannah, Ga., Press
December 16, 1940

LYNCHING DISCUSSED AT TUSKEGEE PARLEY

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Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

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Montgomery, Ala. Journal
December 16, 1940

Four Lynchings Reported for 1939

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The week-end session was attended by representatives of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, the Associated Negro Press, Time and Life Magazines and a number of southern newspapers.

Richmond, Va., Times Dispatch
December 31, 1940

A Definition of Lynching

ONE more lynching occurred in 1940 than in 1939, but there were only four, all told, and one of the four victims was a white man, it is revealed by PRESIDENT PATTERSON of Tuskegee Institute in his annual compilation, published at the head of today's Voice of the People. Four is four too many, of course, and the time must come when there are no lynchings in the South, or the United States, but it is impossible to deny that progress has been made. The decline in the total has been steady for five successive years, with the exception of the regrettable increase of one during the year now ending.

PRESIDENT PATTERSON held a conference of Southern leaders at Tuskegee the middle of this month, for the purpose of arriving at a formula whereby lynchings might be satisfactorily defined. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been using a different definition from Tuskegee, with the result that the N. A. A. C. P. lynching total has almost invariably been larger than that of the Alabama institute. It was partly for the purpose of reconciling this discrepancy, in so far as practicable, that the parley was held.

The Tuskegee conferees reached the conclusion that the death of a man or woman at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition," would constitute a lynching. As the N. A. A. C. P. was represented at the gathering, it presumably concurred in that definition. Whether the organization's lynching total for the country in 1940 will agree with that of Tuskegee, and be no more than four, remains to be seen. No announcement has been forthcoming on the point, as far as we are aware.

It seems manifestly unreasonable to classify as "lynchings" the three killings of white persons murdered near Atlanta last spring. The N. A. A. C. P. had termed these deaths lynchings, but perhaps it has receded from that position. The public will await with interest announcement of its attitude. It is to be hoped that Tuskegee and the association will have the same figures hereafter, and thus end the uncertainty which has existed in the public mind, as a result of their past disagreements.

Newport News, Va. Press
December 16, 1940

FIX LYNCHING STATUS

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Chattanooga Tenn. Daily Times
December 16, 1940

DEFINITION OF LYNCHING EXCLUDES GANG MURDER

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Mrs. Jessie Ames, of Atlanta, representing the Association of Southern Women for the prevention of lynchings, summed up the meeting as an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings."

Johnson City, Tenn., Press
December 16, 1940

Four Deaths Charged Officially To Mobs

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 16. (AP)—Representatives of over a score of groups, meeting here in an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings," have agreed that four deaths reported last year came under their new-formed definition of a lynching.

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Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

Two of the four classified as lynchings last year occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

Rome Ga. News-Tribune
December 18, 1940

About Lynchings

At a recent meeting of a group of organizations in Tuskegee, Ala., held for the purpose of arriving at "some mutual basis for determining a lynching," it was agreed that a lynching would be "a dead man illegally killed at the hands of a group which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

The Tifton Daily Gazette has a few timely remarks to make along this line:

"Under this heading, while no definition of a lynching was given, the death of a Georgian who was flogged last March, was declared to be a lynching. But the meeting pointed out that gang killings are not lynchings, since they usually 'are the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another.' Deaths from 'violence in labor disputes' also were excluded from the 'lynching' agreement. In other words, killings taking place under conditions obtaining in the South are lynchings in the eyes of the group that met at Tuskegee, while killings under conditions that predominate in the North are not lynchings—they are just plain murders, without trimmings. Webster's New International Dictionary defines lynch as 'to inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the form of law.' No other definition is given. The same source defines lynch law as, 'act or practice by private persons of inflicting punishment for crimes or offenses without due process of law.' No other definition is given. These two seem to be definite enough to suit anyone, so the reason for the meeting in Tuskegee is obvious. It is an effort to confine to the South whatever stigma there may be attached to lynching, since it has a more horrible sound than does plain premeditated murder. The Gazette does not defend lynching but condemns it. But it does believe that if illegal killings in the South is called lynching, the same name should be applied to illegal killings in any other section of the country."

One of the lynchings included in the Tuskegee report a year or so ago pertained to the seizure of a killer by two or three relatiyes of the dead person, and his murder. The circumstances did not even remotely resemble what most of us would term a lynching. There was no mob; no hysteria. It was a studied, cold-blooded act of revenge on the part of the relatives of the murdered person. Had this "lynching" taken place in New York Pennsylvania, or New Jersey, it would have gone down in the records as a simple murder.

The Gazette is right in saying that the best way to term a "lynching" is to use Mason and Dixon's Line. If the murder occurs north of that line, it is a murder; if it occurs south of that line, it is in all likelihood a lynching. For a murder to be a lynchng anywhere other than in the South, it must be a horrible, revolting lynching, such as the lynching of the two kidnappers in California a few years ago. Incidentally, that lynching was justified;. it was held proper by a lot of people living other than in the South.

Journal & Guide
Norfolk Va.

Three Groups Agree On 4 For This Year

Tuskegee, and Southern Women Confer

DEC 28 1940

TUSKEGEE, ALA. — (ANP) —Representatives of the NAACP the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and of Tuskegee Institute, the three bodies generally accepted as authoritative in determining the number of lynchings which take place annually in the United States, met here last week to compare methods, to exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

Accepting as a general base to be refined later, the defintion of a lynching as "the killing of a human being by the act or procurement of a mob; a mob being a collection of persons assembled for the unlawful purpose of injuring any individual by violence and without lawful authority," the conference which was called by President Patterson of Tuskegee debated every phase of the wanton killings of people by mobs and examined the evidence of every killing which occured during 1940 and which might be classified as a lynching.

FOUR IN 1940

While the final annual report will not be issued until the end of the year, the record to date for 1940 showed four lynchings; two in Georgia, one in Tennessee and one in Alabama. Four cases at the present time are regarded as doubtful or where information was considered as uncertain or incomplete; and three cases which were controversial as to character were held in abeyance until further investigation.

Recognizing that variation in information and determinative methods had given rise to differences in figures issued, methods of cooperation which will make this impossible in the future were worked out by the group which comprised the most important forces working the field of providing statistics on lynching.

The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetrate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killings by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied. The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly include killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

The conference was opened by an address by Dr. Monroe N. Work who described the methods through which for 30 years the department of Records and Research at Tuskegee had tabulated lynchings and the general acceptance of these figures by the most important newspapers and organizations of this country, Canada and England.

Dr. Arthur Raper gave an appraisal of the criteria by which lynchings may be judged, submitting a number of case reports upon investigations which he had made personally. Walter White of the NAACP, Mrs. Ames of the Association of Southern Women and Ralph N. Davis, director of records and research at Tuskegee, reported upon the work and methods of their organization which have contributed so materially to the reduction of lynching.

The entire conference helped in the development of the agreement as to basic evaluations by which lynching will be judged in the future.

CONFERENCE MEMBERS

Among the members of the conference were Walter White, secretary of the NAACP; Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution; McClellan Yan der Veer of the Birmingham Age Herald; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta and Mrs. H. A. Ewell, Greensboro, N. C., director and secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Dr. Ira DeA Reid, professor of sociology, Atlanta university; Dr. Arthur Rapper, author of "The Tragedy of Lynching"; Dr. Monroe N. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book and founder of the department of records and research at Tuskegee; Ralph N. Davis, present director of the department; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee; Dr W. T. B. Williams, vice-president; Dr. Eli S. Marks, social science department, Fisk university; Howard Lee, Birmingham, secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Earl W. Brown Time, Inc.; Albert L. Turner, Dr I. A. Derbigny, A. L. Holsey Charlles G. Gomillion, assistant director of research, T. Rupert Broady, assistant in research, all of Tuskegee; Claude A. Barnett of Chicago and Mrs. Marianna Rabb, of Tuskegee's department of records and research.

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

6334

CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE (PRESS REPORTS ON)

ONE WORD MORE

DEC 16 1940

By RALPH McGILL.

IKE GASTON AGAIN Ike Gaston, whose thong-lashed body was found on a lonely and frost-covered field one morning last March, is back in the news again.

He is classified as one of the victims of what the Tuskegee Institute Board of Records describes as one of the two lynchings to occur in Georgia during 1940.

Ike Gaston was whipped to death. His wife, whom he had beaten, according to police reports, loved him. But the great brave men in his community, who had come to think of themselves as greater than the law, whipped him to death.

I can almost see that scene as the ignorant brutes, far worse than Ike Gaston, who was a weakling, felt their victim crumple into unconsciousness. I can see them look at one another; stoop to feel his dying pulse, look at one another and then hurry away into the night. Certainly it was a lynching.

Tuskegee reports that in September a group of men in LaGrange seized a Negro, Austin Callaway, and killed him. No one knows much about it. No one in the mob which killed him was identified. They worked in the dark as did the Gaston killers.

Lynchings are becoming fewer and fewer as people become more civilized and become citizens enough to let the law, which protects them, punish the violators of the law.

Georgia courts could, and would, have taken care of any crimes which Ike Gaston or Austin Callaway had committed. One was done to death in cold blood and the other in hot blood. One mob was sadistic, enjoying seeing their victim writhe and suffer. The other was bent on a quick kill. Both were mobs. Both ignored the law. Both mobs were unthinking and have given the state shame.

WHAT IS A LYNCHING? There met at Tuskegee Institute on Saturday representatives of several associations which are interested in putting down lynching and in seeing that the laws of the land are applied equitably. Also present, on invitation, were representatives of southern newspapers.

For more than 30 years Tuskegee's Dr. Monroe Work carried on the annual investigation into lynchings and issuing semi-annual reports. It was a custom urged upon Dr. Work by the late Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee. Dr. Work now is retired but the office goes on in capable hands.

The press of the nation and the reading public have come to accept the Tuskegee report as one of fact, lacking in any propaganda. Such it is. Lately other agencies have been reporting on lynchings. The meeting Saturday was an effort to arrive at, not a definition, but at some basis for establishing the fact of a lynching.

A lynching has definite factors which differentiate it from a gang killing or from a killing in a labor riot or picket-line dispute. It was an effort to arrive at these factors which brought about the meeting. Four essentials were set up. They were:

1. There must be a dead person or persons.
2. These persons must have been done to death illegally.
3. They must have met death at the hands of a group.
4. This group must have acted under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

These essentials are present in every lynching. Any lynching will fit them. A gang killing or a riot killing will not.

THE MEASURE OF GASTON'S DEATH Ike Gaston's death will do as an illustration. More is known about it than the other one.

Ike Gaston had been charged with drinking and with beating his wife.

Therefore a group, drunk on its own power, feeling sure that police officers would not bother them, took the frightened Ike Gaston captive and took him to the lonely field.

They whipped him until he died. They did not mean to kill him but they so enjoyed the entertainment supplied by the screaming, writhing man, they whipped him a little too long. He died.

Observe how he fits into the four essentials.

He assuredly was illegally dead.

He died at the hands of a group. One man could not have done it.

They acted, most assuredly, under the pretext of service to justice.

Another killing might be under the pretext of service to race or to tradition.

At any rate, two men have been lynched in Georgia this year. One was a white man and one colored.

Tennessee had one lynching and Alabama one. Information is being sought on four more killing which may have been lynchings. Three reported as lynchings were not accepted as such.

The semi-annual reports serve a valuable purpose. They keep reminding the public that some members of the public still are willing to take the law into their own hands; to feel themselves superior to the courts, to the judges, to the juries. As long as we have masked bands, as long as we do not bring down the full weight of the law on those who engage in lynchings, they will continue.

The record indicates that education and the weight of public opinion is having its effect. That way lies success. Dr. Monroe Work's reports, issued for more than 30 years, have done more than any one factor to create public opinion against the crime of lynching.

Atlanta Constitution

What Is A Lynching?

Representatives of various organizations and publications met last week at Tuskegee Institute to discuss the question, What is a lynching? Their basic general purpose, of course, was to contribute to further progress in the eradication of this frightful evil. But specifically they were concerned with arriving at a common basis for reports on lynching.

Tuskegee Institute has issued public reports on lynching since 1908. The lamented *New York World* began collecting statistics on lynching in 1885. *The Chicago Tribune* has published its reports for many years. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings are other organizations that have gathered these reports.

DEC 17 1940

The common objective in the dissemination of these statistics is to curb and eliminate the crime. Publicity for lynchings is, of course, one of the main factors in fighting the evil. But, obviously, if there is a wide variation in the various reports, confusion results which may lead to a considerable handicap upon the common effort. The endeavor at Tuskegee, therefore, was to promote understanding and agreement as to what constitutes a lynching.

Birmingham Age-Herald

But the question is not easily answered. Here in the South where the majority of victims of lynching have been Negroes, the term is largely associated with mob violence involving racial animosity. But, of course, white men have, in considerable number, also been the victims of these unlawful killings.

The Encyclopedia Britannica reports that of 4,250 persons lynched from 1885 to 1926, inclusive, 3,205 were Negroes and 1,045 were whites. "The annual number has been gradually decreasing during the last 30 years," it declares in its 1939 issue.

But, as may be seen, victims have largely been Negroes, in a proportion of about three to one, and in the South that proportion has been higher. In arriving at any definition of a lynching, therefore, it is first of all important, it seems to *The Age-Herald*, to form a clear conception of the type of evil against which the reports and statistics are particularly directed.

Birmingham Ala.

If many Southerners, for example, think of lynching largely in terms of racial mob violence, reports of crimes which included various other types of lynching would create wrong impressions among many of these people—perhaps very harmful wrong impressions.

On the other hand, if killings which do in actual nature come under a broader and more accurate conception of lynching, are not thus reported to the public, the danger of the evil increasing under another name would be heightened.

There are many who believe that "lynchings" have been, in some instances, "driven underground;" that is, that there has been an increasing number of cases of unlawful killings actually in the category of lynching but which have been classified otherwise.

* * *

The conference at Tuskegee did not formulate a hard and fast definition of the crime.

It was wise not to do so, we think, because, in the end, the question comes down to a matter of judgment and any organization or group has its own right to form and present its conclusion with regard to any case.

But it is very desirable that all especially interested in this problem, and the general public, have as much of common understanding and agreement on the question as can be achieved.

Those participating in the Tuskegee conference did reach a broad basis of agreement. They held that a lynching would involve an illegal killing by a violent group under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

Such a description may not cover every case that should come under the classification of a lynching, but it does, we think, suggest a good beginning for an intelligent conception on the subject.

Beyond that general basis perhaps it would be better for individual students to formulate their own definitions.

* * *

It is, to be sure, very important in carrying on the fight against lynching that such crimes be not covered up under misleading terms. Nothing could be more vicious than for actual representatives of the law to follow the true technique of lynching, at the instigation of mob sentiment or in connivance with a mob and then for such horrible violence to be classified as a defensible action in law enforcement. That would be not only lynching of the law. It would be the law lynching the law.

The full truth should always be sought and there should be complete, fearless publicity for all that is learned. That is a major means of carrying on toward the complete eradication of the evil.

But, on the other hand, the progress being made should not be handicapped by too loose a definition, with a consequent classification as lynching of crimes that are really not lynching at all.

Especially would it be unfortunate, it seems to *The Age-Herald*, for any persons, however erroneously, to get

Inter-racial prejudice and suspicion titude is expected of them. Let us in decreasing lynchings, while at the the impression that lynchings involv- not create inter-racial prejudice by same time remaining exceedingly ing racial animosity are decidedly assuming that it exists where it does increasing, if the opposite is really not in fact exist at all. more or less ignorant assumption that to be concealed, under some other the case and other crimes have been such feelings do exist or should ex- name. classified as lynching. ist. Human beings take some atti- We should continue to emphasize tudes because they think such an at- the progress—the fine progress—made ward deebening and broadening the

DEC 17 1940

feeling that lynching is *not* to be expected, that it is the unthinkable crime that, in all reality, it is.

Let us do nothing to encourage the uncivilized idea that lynchings just will continue to happen. Let us strengthen the opposite conviction that lynchings just must go!

Lynching Defined By Tuskegee Meeting

DEC 16 1940

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Dec. 15.—(AP)—Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" will hereafter constitute lynching, according to agreement reached by representatives of several groups meeting here in an effort to stabilize the records of such crimes.

DEC 16 1940

Headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, those attending discussed 11 deaths reported by various organizations as lynching last year, but agreed that only four came under that classification.

Montgomery Advertiser

Two of the four deaths occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The definition agreed upon for a lynching will exclude gang killings which, the group held, are "usually the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another," and deaths resulting from "violence of labor disputes."

Montgomery Ala.

Mrs. Jessie Ames of Atlanta, representing the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, summed up the meeting as an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings."

Attending the all-day meeting yesterday were representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, the Associated Negro Press, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, Time and Life magazines and some Southern newspapers.

Those attending agreed to meet again next November to check reports and records and seek further advancement in checking lynchings in the South.

SOURCE: THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS
DECEMBER 16, '40

SOUTH REPORTS FOUR LYNCHINGS FOR YEAR

Tuskegee, Ala.-(AP) Representatives of more than a score of groups, meeting here in an "effort to stabilize the records regarding lynchings," have agreed that four deaths reported last year came under their new-formed definition of a lynching.

Killing of a man at the hands of a group "which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition" was set up as the definition of a lynching.

Eleven deaths reported by various groups as lynchings this year were discussed by the representatives who were headed by Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

Two of the four classified as lynchings occurred in Georgia, one in Alabama and one in Tennessee.

The session, held over the week-end, was attended by representatives of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, The Associated Negro Press, Time and Life Magazines, and a number of Southern newspapers.

COMPILE DATA ON EVIL, WEIGH PROBABLE CURE

Chicago Defender
DEC 21 1940

8 Committees Compare Statistics, Study Four 1940 Mob Murders

TUSKEGEE — (ANP) — Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and of Tuskegee institute, met here Saturday to compare methods and exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil in the future.

Chicago Defender
DEC 21 1940

Accepting as a general base to be refined later, the definition of a lynching as "the killing of a human being by the act or procurement of a mob; a mob being a collection of persons assembled for the unlawful purpose of injuring any individual by violence and without lawful authority, the conference which was called by President Patterson of Tuskegee, debated every phase of the wanton killings of people by mobs and examined the evidence of every killing which occurred during 1940 and which might be classified as a lynching.

While the final annual report will not be issued until the end of the year, the record to date for 1940 showed four lynchings; two in Georgia, one in Tennessee and one in Alabama.

Four cases which at the present time are regarded as doubtful or where information was considered as uncertain or incomplete; and three cases which were controversial as to character were held in abeyance until further investigation.

Recognizing that variation in information and determinative methods had given rise to differences in figures issued, methods of cooperation which will make this impossible in the future were worked out by the group which comprised the most important forces working in the field of providing statistics on lynching.

The growing tendency to "streamline" lynchings or to perpetrate them by "underground" methods was considered. The increasing practice in urban communities of killings by police officers while prisoners were held in their custody was also studied.

The generally accepted term of lynching will in the future undoubtedly include killings of this type by officers sworn to uphold the law.

South Reports Four Lynchings For Year

DEC 1 6 1940

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Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and of Tuskegee institute met last week at the institute to compare methods, exchange information on lynchings during the current year and to develop an exchange of procedure which will lead to authentic figures upon this national evil.

Chicago Defender
DEC 28 1940

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Chattanooga Herald

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Chattanoogam Tenn. Free Press. Dec. 16. 1940-

Anti-Lynching Group Reports 4 Mob Deaths

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LYNCHING-1940
DISCUSSION OF

CONFERENCE AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

6335

Camilla, Ga., Enterprise
January 10, 1941

What is Lynching?

T28

At a meeting of a group of organizations in Tuskegee, Ala., to arrive at "some mutual basis for determining what constitutes a lynching," it was agreed that a lynching would be "a dead man illegally killed at the hands of a group which killed under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

Under this heading, while no definition of a lynching was given, the death of a Georgian who was flogged last March, was declared to be a lynching. But the meeting pointed out that gang killings are not lynchings, since they usually "are the result of retribution or vengeance by one gang against another."

Deaths from "violence in labor disputes" also were excluded from the "lynching" agreement. In other words, killings taking place under conditions obtaining in the South are lynchings in the eyes of the group that met at Tuskegee, while killings under conditions that predominate in the north are not lynchings—they are just plain murders, without trimmings.

Webster's New International Dictionary defines lynch as "to inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the form of law." No other definition is given. The same source defines lynch law as, "Act or practice by private persons of inflicting punishment for crimes or offenses without due process of law." No other definition is given. These two seem to be definite enough to suit anyone, so the reason for the meeting in Tuskegee is obvious.

It is an effort to confine to the south whatever stigma there may be attached to lynching, since it has a more horrible sound than does plain premeditated murder. The Gazette does not defend lynching but condemns it. But it does believe that if llegal killing in the south is called lynching, the same name should be applied to illegal killings in any other section of the country.

—From the Tifton Gazette.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

WALTER CHIVERS SAYS:

Some More Remarks On Lynching

JAN 26 1941

By WALTER R. CHIVERS

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER has just come to my desk. It is a monthly news bulletin printed by the Southern Interracial Commission. This column recommends it to all persons either interested in or just plain curious about the aggravating problems involved in race relations. A considerable amount of the total space in the current issue is devoted to remarks about lynching.



CHIVERS

The general tone of the several articles agrees with what this writer said about lynching several Sundays ago. For there is the definition of a lynching which was formulated during the conference held at Tuskegee Institute on December 14, 1940. It is the most reasonable description that has come to this writer's attention and reenforces his arguments as to the real causes of lynchings.

MUST BE LEGAL EVIDENCE

It reads thus:

"There must be legal evidence that a person has been killed and that he met his death illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition."

The last dozen words are the most significant and demonstrably true. Instead of the word "pretext" it would be more nearly correct to say that the group "believes" that it is rendering service to justice, race or tradition. It seems vitally important to the writer that the active members of a lynching group believe that they are right and can defend themselves by citing traditions.

An editorial in this bulletin entitled, "South Approves Conditions Which Cause Lynching" strikes directly at the heart of the "lynch situation" when it says in part, that,

"The public supports the ends which lynchers desire; it does not like the method used to achieve the end. This must be true or there would be as much articulate and vigorous condemnation of the conditions out of which lynchings grow as there is of lynchings."

"DANGER SPOTS"

Every native Negro, who is guilty of the act for which he is lynched unless he is feebleminded or insane knows beforehand the penalty prescribed by tradition of the community if he is caught and every white person native to the community has known and recognized the acts for which Negroes will be lynched all of his adult life.

Attention is called by the bulletin to three "danger spots" in the south, "anyone of all of which may burst into flame at anytime. The causes for the smoldering fire are rooted in traditions and the communities will, in the main, justify violent reaction to their violation. In city A Negro citizens have been ordered "to stay in their place and do as they are told". That certainly has a familiar ring to any individual or group of Negroes who have shown determination to secure a due right such as the ballot. In city B the basic difficulty seems to be that Negroes needed and sought living space. They bought homes "near one of the Negro schools," but "white families living in the same section have taken violent exception to the presence of the Negroes". The writer has visited this city. It has a strong, aggressive Negro business organization that has been vigorously protesting injustices.

An effort was being made to get Negroes appointed to the local postal service during the writer's visit and was met with a flat refusal to break a long lived tradition if Negroes became postal employees.

STORY HEARTENING

The charge of criminal assault started the unrest in Community C. The potency of this charge is too well known to need comment. There is a definite and effective effort to avoid trouble in the community. The story in the bulletin is heartening.

A very wise friend of the writer advises extreme care when quoting other people lest they be innocently misinterpreted, especially when only parts of what they said or wrote are reproduced. Taking heed of this advise, this column would like for its readers to read the bulletin carefully and absorb the full stories from which the short and admittedly inadequate excerpts are taken.

Again, the warning is to be alert, inquisitive and interested in race relations but don't be lulled to sleep by false prophets who say that "all is well" for all is not well.

6335

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSION

HISTORICAL

6338

Birth of Lynch Law
Pro-Americana



5-23-40
Baltimore
Sun

Upper photo shows tree near Lynchburg, Va., where lynch law was initiated. The sign (lower photo) is erected 100 yards from the tree on Route 29.

GUEST EDITORIAL

This guest editorial feature is open to all readers, regardless of station or training. The only requisites are clear, concise English and an important message of not more than 250 words.

William Pickens, this week's guest editor, is the field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. An honor graduate of Yale, Pickens is famous as an educator, orator, lecturer and author.

AUG 31 1940

New York, N.Y.

TOWARD LYNCHLESS AMERICA

White people still feel their racial supremacy as a sacred and inherent trust, but they are beginning to occupy their minds with the more pressing and important problem of living and earning and spending than with that of finding a Negro to lynch to prove their supremacy. New York Amsterdam News

Negroes, long at the bottom of the pile, are beginning to dig themselves out from under, and standing erect, no longer are they moved by the desire to arouse the equally helpless white man to dangerous acts. The Federal Government has not finished its work in the field of preventing lynchings but it has made a good beginning as is indicated by the fact that in 1939 not one of the three lynchings were committed in strictly rural communities.

AUG 31 1940

Public opinion against lynching and the Federal Government in its socio-economic program are beginning to convince the South that Booker Washington was a sage of the greatest wisdom when he warned the South that "You cannot hold another down in the ditch without staying in the ditch with him." August 31, 19

Whatever else may be said about Southern women, it cannot be said that they lack the moral courage to act according to their convictions even though those convictions may run contrary to social custom . . . When from their own investigations of lynchings allegedly committed to protect Southern womanhood, they found that they were used as a shield behind which their own men committed cowardly acts of violence against a helpless people, they took the only action they could. They pledged themselves to educate against lynching in the towns where they lived and to publish by word of mouth the facts about women and lynching. It was at this point that woman suffrage made its contribution to the decrease in lynching and the changing of public opinion.

G-Men Report Silent On Lynching; Proud Of Other Accomplishments

THE Federal Bureau of Investigation (popularly known as G-Men) has just issued a summary of the accomplishments of the bureau for the fiscal year ending June, 1940.

Under several sub-heads the bureau's achievements are summarized. For instance, there is a paragraph headed "Espionage"; another, "White slave traffic act"; yet another, "Kidnaping". And on and on the report goes under eleven sub-divisions.

Yet the G-Men have found no way to help curb the lynching evil. Can it be that the FBI is influenced by the fact that kidnapers, to single out a field in which the bureau has been very active, invade the homes of the wealthy, while lynchers murder only the poor?

Lynch Victim Died Of 'Lack Of Breath'; '84 Report Reveals

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

SEP 14 1940

TOMBSTONE, Ariz., Sept. 12—(ANP)—Ways and means of evading the point about lynchings was rampant as early as 1884, the files of a newspaper published in Tombstone, once the toughest, wildest mining town of the Southwest, reveals.

A February, 1884, issue of one of the papers describes a mob of citizens storming Tombstone jail and removing Jack Heath, who had escaped the death penalty for murder. The coroner, learning that Heath had been hanged by the mob, investigated and then reported: "We find that Jack Heath came to his death from lack of breath."

Man Missing In La.; Youth Killed In Ga.

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

SEP 14 1940

SPRING HILL, La., Sept. 12 — (ANP)—Colored residents here believe that R. L. Jones, 24, a paper mill laborer, is a victim of the new silent lynching technique.

On the night of August 28, while in bed with a brother and a cousin, Jones was aroused by the sheriff and two white men who said they wanted to talk with him and took him away. SEP 14 1940

He hasn't been seen since.

After a few days, relatives contacted the sheriff, who named three towns where Jones might be, but investigation showed him in none.

Relatives are afraid to say much for fear of reprisals.

Pittsburgh

Meanwhile, officials at LaGrange, Ga., reported the probing of a lynching Saturday night of Austin Callaway, 18, taken from jail there by five masked white men following his arrest for an alleged attempted attack on a white woman.

Callaway was found early Sunday on Liberty Hill road with bullet wounds in the head, hands and arms. He died later at a hospital.

Attempt To Cover Up Lynching Begun In '84

Philadelphia Tribune

SEP 14 1940 Phila. Pa

TOMBSTONE, Ariz. (ANP)—Ways and means of evading the point about lynchings were rampant as early as 1884, the files of a newspaper published in Tombstone, once the toughest, wildest mining town of the Southwest, reveals.

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Lynching—Pastime in Dixie

DEC 7 1940

Another lynching has been chalked up in Dixie. Figures compiled by the N.A.A.C.P., which coincide with our own records, list the death of Edward Garret by a Hammond, La. mob last week as number eight for the year 1940. Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn.

In the country's fight for hemisphere defense, somebody ought to arouse congress to the crying need for some measure of defense for the millions of the Negroes in Dixie whose safety and security still rest on the whim and mercy of Southern bigots. New York Daily News

President Roosevelt has gone the limit in his efforts to solidify the Americas. Even Mexico, which has been, at best, a stepsister, is being ardently wooed.

There is no difference between a lynching in Louisiana and a lynching in Germany. Our public officials and the nation's press loudly condemn terrorism in Europe and Asia, but wink at similar tyranny in our own backyard. It doesn't make sense. Congress ought to pass the anti-lynching bill before it goes home.

MOBS

Lynching Goes Undergrour
Avoids Unfavorable Public

AFTER a mild filibuster in the Senate Judiciary sub-committee which was conducting hearings on the Gavagan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill, the measure was reported favorably to the entire committee and will reach the floor of the Senate in due course, since it is assured that a majority of the Judiciary committee favors the bill.

Southern senators have announced that the bill is going to be given the usual filibuster treatment accorded all of its predecessors.

Among those who will oppose the bill are a few sincere men who will plead that there is no necessity for such legislation because lynching is consistently on the decrease.

The figures of known lynchings substantiate this argument. But a recent report, sponsored by Senators Wagner and Capper and Representatives Gavagan and Fish, refutes this argument. What has happened, this report shows, is that the mobs have adopted a new technique of lynching, quietly and without publicity. Naturally, lynchings of this kind do not find their way into the statistics, because they are not known to the general public.

The report, made by a white Southerner, mentioned two quiet lynchings which had come to light and gave it as his judgment "that a careful study covering four or five states of the deep South for a period of months would reveal a startling number of lynchings unaccounted for."

In many sections of Mississippi, since the double blow torch lynching at Duck Hill, a small group of men, appointed in advance, handle all difficulties between Negroes and whites. In this way Southern lynch justice is dispensed without the attendant unfavorable publicity.

There is no valid reason why the bill should not be passed by the Senate; and those senators who favor the bill should vote for limitation of debate. so that a vote may be taken.

WHEN COTTON GOES UP, LYNCHINGS GO DOWN!

At Least That Is What Arthur Raper of the Carnegie Foundation, Recognized Authority on Evil, Says.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., April 18.—Arthur Raper of the Carnegie Foundation, a recognized authority on lynching in the United States, said in an adddress before the Southern Sociological Conference here this week. that there is a direct relation between the price of cotton and mob violence in the South and that except in recent years fluctuations in both have occurred simultaneously.

A decline in lynchings has taken place with rising cotton prices the speaker declared, but lynchings have increased when prices ranged in the lower brackets due to economic stress. Expressing fear of a lynching increase if the national relief program is substantially reduced or discontinued, he credited the liberal relief program of the past few years with the decrease in lynching that has been recorded.

SAYS FEDERAL LYNCH LAW VITALLY NECESSARY

Stating a federal anti-lynching law is as necessary as the one already on the statute books prohibiting peonage, Raper said that because of the very nature of both crimes, offenders will not be punished by local courts.

His investigations have disclosed, he added, that prison sentences of from one to two years was the maximum penalty imposed on lynchers in the few cases in which they have been punished, and that in less than one-half of one per cent of the cases investigated, was any punishment imposed on lynch leaders at all.

Despite the widespread belief that a majority of persons lynched are accused of sex crimes, the speaker concluded, actually only a small percentage are charged with such offenses. In a careful study of reports of some 5,000 lynchings, he said, he found that a third of the victims were accused of misdemeanors, and another third were innocent.

Bilbo's Mississippi -- America's Graveyard

Northwest Enterprise
5/17/40
Seattle Wash.

(From the Boston Chronicle)

Mississippi has just had another lynching.

For many years now it has been customary to read that Mississippi, the state of Senator Bilbo, led the nation in the number of lynchings committed. It is not unusual to find that Mississippi, has found new, more barbaric, styles of lynching than any other of the southern states could devise. This week, however, Mississippi has outdone itself.

This week Missippi lynched 200 people; it lynched them just as surely as it lynched two men last year with blow torches. It varied in only one point; a maddened mob of semi-barbaric hoodlums applied the blow torches that snuffed out the lives of the two men; sane, sober, but finally barbarous Mississippi legislators lynched the two hundred in a firetrap dance hall into which they forced Negroes by denying them city-owned and government-owned buildings that were safer, and what is more, are paid for by the taxes of the people who provided fuel for that fire. Two hundred young people in the prime of life died Tuesday night victims to an unbelievable, uncivilized southern prejudice that denies to a major factor in its population the simplest protections that the others take as a matter of course.

To us it is inconceivable that hundreds of people could be crowded into a sealed tinder box that did not even serve the needs of a garage some time ago. We cannot possibly imagine that that was the only place in which people who pay taxes and contribute the sole wealth of consequence to the state could go for a little enjoyment between days of work; yet that was the case. United States armories, civic auditoriums, downtown dance halls, all are closed to Negroes in other parts of the South and especially in Mississippi. Closed to them by the blind prejudices of legislators whose salaries are paid by Negro labor and whose laws bring Negroes death.

If anything at all can ever change the uncivilized South, Tuesday night's Mississippi lynching should.

LANDLORDS WHO TAKE WAGES, GOVERNMENT CHECKS, CAUSE LYNCHING, SAYS COTTON PICKER

Christian Recorder
6/13/40
Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW YORK—Praising the recent Anti-lynching broadcast sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a Negro worker in Mississippi told the association in a letter, excerpts of which were made public today, that the real factor responsible for lynchings in the South is the southern landlord who "will take what you make and the government check when it comes too."

Giving the lie to those southern leaders who say that the states are proving that they can "handle lynchers," and that there is "no need to pass an Anti-lynching bill," the writer of the letter, whose name is kept anonymous for obvious reasons, said:

"I just want to give some point on what bring about lynching in the South. It is the unjust landlord. They will take what you make and take the Government check too. When it comes they will not let you see how much the check call for. We will have to sign it, and if we speak about the check they are ready to shoot you down at once. You know in reason, that some colored man will fight them and then they will get up a mob crowd to lynch us."

Same article as above in;

Defender
6-1-40
Chicago, Ill

(Both side clipping)

"Lynching Is Our Business" – Bilbo

Age
6/22/40

(CNA)—Foes of lynching were told to "mind their own business" by Senator Bilbo this week in a letter to the International Labor Defence. The Senator, who owes his position in the U. S. Senate to the poll tax law which disfranchises some 90 per cent of Mississipians of voting age, elected to speak in the name of "the Southern people," the Crusader News Agency reports.

Bilbo's letter was in answer to wires sent by the I. L. D. three weeks ago to the governors of Mississippi and Alamba and the senators from both states urging action to avert a threatened lynching on the state line between Alabama and Mississippi.

In his letter, Bilbo cites the false claim of a "lynchless year" made by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Southern white woman, and attacks the Anti-Lynching Bill now before the U. S. Senate as unconstitutional and un—American." Mrs. Ames' claim of a "lynchless year" has been refuted by both the I. L. D. and the National Association for Colored people and by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchinb, of which Mrs. Ames is executive secretary.

"What are you kicking about the passing of the unconstitutional un-American anti-lynching bill for, when there has not been a lynching in the South in twelve or fifteen months? Bilbo asks in his letter to the I. L. D. "You had better be looking after 365 poor Negroes that are clandestinely killed in Harlem, New York every year. And what about your Murder Club, Inc., in New York.

"Quit trying to racketeer on the poor Negro about passing anti-lynching bills and pulling their leg for a contribution when the problem has been settled by the Southern people. Attend to your own business and we will attend to ours".

Bilbo was elected to the senate in 1934 by only 51,609 votes, or 2.5 per cent of the states population of voting age. Most of the people in his district, whites as well as Negroes, are disfranchised by the provisions of the poll tax law.

TAKE YOUR MONEY, GOV'T CHECK, TOO!

Courier
6/13/40
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK, May 30—Praising the recent Anti-lynching broadcast sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a Negro worker in Mississippi told the association in a letter, excerpts of which were made public today, that the real factor responsible for lynchings in the South is the southern landlord who "will take what you make and the government check when it comes, too."

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MARTIN DIES SHOULD GO TO BROWNVILLE, TENNESSEE

Plaindealer August 30, 1940

ACCORDING TO REPORTS Congress granted a quarter of a million dollars to Martin Dies, Texas representative, to investigate seditious and subversive activities in the United States. This money is the taxpayers' money. Dies has been conducting his investigations over a period of time, and so far very little has been accomplished in the way of getting at the real point. We would like to suggest that Mr. Dies take this committee and go to Brownsville, Tennessee, and we think that he will find a very well equipped laboratory for his investigation of un-American activities. Mr. Dies will find a community in which a Negro man was taken from his home by night and murdered and lynched because he fought for the right of Negroes to use their franchise. The Constitution of the United States guarentees that right to all American citizens and the hoodlums who murdered Williams deprived him of that privilege and used him as an example to frighten and terrify other Negroes who wish and desire to vote. This, in our opinion, is far more un-American than any activities conducted by the Communist party. Also Mr. Dies would perhaps see and rub elbows with criminals that ought to be punished but are free because a grand jury claims it was unable to find out causes of Williams' death. No doubt Mr. Dies will find cases of peonage and many other injustices heaped upon colored people by whites that are more un-American than anything he has run across in the spending of the taxpayers quarter of a million dollars. We think that a trip to Brownsville, Tennessee would do Mr. Dies good even though he might not find anything worthwhile putting in a report, but we are certain that he would find practically the same things that exist in his little home town down in Texas. If Mr. Dies is really concerned in protecting Americans from persons conducting un-American projects and planting totalitarian influences he will do something tangible about the conditions in the Southland, or else adjourn his committee and head back to Washington and let the whole thing be gone with the wind.

Throughout the Southland Negroes are mistreated and misused, exploited, lynched and not given their right to vote and act as citizens which is guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United Staes. They are cheated and exploited in the great industry of farming. They are robbed of educational opportunities because of inadequate appropriations by local school boards and the administrators of public funds. In many of the Southern states they are required to pay a poll tax—which is unconstitutional—in order to qualify for voting. In many cases injustices are heaped upon Negroes especially in cases where Negroes and whites are involved. There is only one side to the case when Negroes and whites are concerned. The white man always wins and the Negro is always wrong according to most courts in the South. With all this going on Dies and his committee have not yet made one step toward some investigation concerning these conditions and yet he lights here and there digging up the "Fifth Column" element, Communists and whatnot. The Southland offers a fertile field for Dies and his committee.

1-Man Lynchings Common in Dixie

Afro-American 1-27-40 Baltimore, Md.

Daily Editor Says He Knows of from 10 to 21 by "Respected" Citizen

Unreported lynchings—particularly those committed by one or a few whites—are common occurrences in the South, according to a recent article in Editor and Publisher, trade publication, which credits reputable white editors with the information.

One of these editors is quoted as saying he knew one prominent and "respected" white resident of a rural section who had killed between ten or twenty-one colored persons without ever being indicted for any of his crimes.

No Record

He said the causes for these killings ranged from trivial to serious offenses on the part of the victims, and none was included in any record of lynchings for the periods involved.

The same editor is quoted further as saying, in connection with the terrorism which greeted efforts to organize Southern tenant farmers:

"I have no doubt that violence was practiced to get rid of the organizers and that some colored persons were killed on farms far from towns. I have heard some circumstantial reports in later years, not all from Communists, about such episodes."

Slain in Court House

Another case mentioned was that of a youth who, following his conviction and sentencing to a long term for a minor abuse to a white child, was shot to death in cold blood by the child's father as they left the court room. The father was cleared by the grand jury.

Although some publicity was given the incident, the editor said:

"If the same thing had happened in one of our rural counties, with the murder anywhere but in the courthouse, there is a good chance that no paper would ever have found out about it."

The editors interviewed agreed that no efforts to suppress news of such occurrences could be charged to the newspapers of the South. One of them, an Alabaman, said newspapermen heard of some of the killings at a very late date, and ran against a stone wall when they tried to get the facts.

"Certainly," he said, "they would have printed the story if they could have gotten it."

west.

Indians Refuse, Africans Enlist

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (ANP)—Twenty-four Indian seamen recently refused to obey sailing orders of a British shipmaster and were sentenced to ten weeks in jail here. Native Africans have been enlisting for two weeks in the Protection Corps.

SECRET AGENT EXPOSES MURDERS

Countless Negroes Being Lynched With Streamlined Technique, Reports Show—Mobs Organized in Front—Ready to Act on Moment's Notice

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22.—While Congress debates, countless Negroes are being lynched from month to month despite the dwindling figures issued semi-annually by Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Investigation indicates that there are MORE lynchings taking place today than there were ten years ago.

Tabulations issued by Tuskegee and by the N. A. A. C. P. are not meant to deceive. But both these organizations record only the old-style lynchings. Old-style lynchings are becoming passe.

Today lynching has gone "streamlined" like everything else. Tuskegee and the N. A. A. C. P. have not been able to prepare figures yet on "streamlined" or "underground" lynching.

This method is being used to murder scores of Negroes. The mobs and the members of the mob are well known, but nothing is ever heard about the murders.

PROBE SPONSORED BY U. S. SENATORS

Information concerning "streamlined" lynching has come to light as a result of an investigation sponsored by United States Senators Robert F. Wagner, New York, and Arthur Capper, Kansas, and Congressmen Joseph A. Gavagan and Hamilton Fish, New York.

Into the heart of the South they sent an investigator, a native white southerner who has lived all his life in the South and still lives there. Obviously, the name of this investigator, still on the job, cannot be disclosed.

This native white southerner has recently reported:

"Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynched and the lynchers extends over a lifetime. In his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling, blood-thirsty mob composed of men, women and children. This is the new and dangerous method, devised by those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation."

This native white southerner reports upon two lynchings or murders in Canton, Miss., in the past year. One was the lynching of Joe Rodgers, mill worker and church deacon. The other was the brutal, callous shooting of Claude Banks.

NEWSPAPERS MUM

Scarcely a word got into public prints about these lynchings. The mayor of Canton, Miss., is the publisher of the town's newspaper, the Madison Herald. Not a word was published in The Herald. When photographers came from Jackson, Miss., to take pictures of the murdered Claude Banks, policemen, acting under the instruction of the mayor, chased the photographers away.

Lynching today is no longer left to irresponsible mobs. The mobs are formed and organized beforehand. When a cry is uttered against some Negro, this organized mob goes quietly into action. If possible, the Negro against whom the cry is made, is lynched. If this Negro escapes, some other Negro is made to pay the penalty. Then nobody talks.

In this way, by streamlining murder, the South is working to defeat the Federal anti-lynching bill.

Maryland Proves Need Of Anti-Lynching Law

THE recent attempted lynching of a woman and her 14-year-old daughter in Maryland presents a perfect case in support of the pending Federal anti-lynching bill, which seeks to prevent lynchings by placing the responsibility squarely up to sheriffs and other law enforcement officers. The proposed law would impose a fine or other penalties upon sheriffs or other responsible officers who permitted a mob to take from their custody an accused person.

To this feature of the proposed law the enforcement agencies of the southern states strenuously object. In their objection they are sustained by 55 per cent of the public opinion of the south, according to a recent Gallop poll. But the law as proposed places its finger upon the one remaining weakness in the state's resistance to mob violence, as the recent Maryland incident will show.

Time Magazine, which is usually an accurate reporter of facts, states that when the Maryland mob surrounded the jail, clamoring for the men who had been arrested in connection with the crime at Stockton, the men were not there, having been removed to another jail. But the common-law wife of one of the accused, and her 14-year old daughter, neither of which had anything to do with the crime, were in jail, held there as witnesses. Ordinarily a sheriff knows that when a mob goes out to vent its wrath, it is not particular about getting the real culprit, if it can get its hands upon anybody closely connected with him. Sheriff Hall must have known this. Yet, he walked out of the jail and passed through the mob, saying: "You've known me to play fair with you boys. There's only two women in there." Then the sheriff departed. He went home and retired for the night. The mob proceeded to take the woman and child from the jail, and but for the vigilance and the efficiency of the state police, dispatched to the scene on information, there would have been one of the most horrible lynchings in the annals of history.

Thus, it is clearly apparent that the terms of the proposed law are not without logic to support them.

'Cracker' Editor Advises Posse To Lynch Prisoners

(Special to The Courier)

POCOMOKE CITY, Md., Feb. 29—Despite a dastardly attempt to re-incite a lynch-mad mob by a former professor of English at Washington College, who is now editor of the nearby Worcester Democrat, residents of Worcester county, many of whom were members of a lynching posse during the past week because of the murder of a farmer Monday, appeared resigned to allow the law to take its course.

In a page one editorial, Dr. Edward J. Clark strongly urged "as a good American" that the people take the law into their own hands and hang the two men (Arthur Collick and John Manueal), now in jail accused of the crime.

"Give them the same road into the vast unknown by which they sent their innocent victim," the editorial read. 'A citizens' court is as just a tribunal as the most dignified bench and a rope's end is as suitable and fitting a passage to eternity for such tripe as is the best seat for an electric chair.

"It makes a good red-blooded American's blood boil when these 'better than thous' declaim from the housetops their adherence to the laws of the land."

Clark's editorial brought sharp comments from county officials here and also residents in the community where the victim, Harvey W. Pilchard, resided.

The editorial came as a post-climax to the capture of Collick in Snow Hill by State troopers early Saturday. The troopers beat the posse in the man-hunt and rushed Collick to Bel Air jail in a heavily guarded, swift car. Four others were also taken from Snow Hill because of the tension existing there.

It is alleged that Collick and Manueal, intent on robbing the farmer, became incensed when they got only $20. In a purported confession, Collick is said to have admitted that he shot the farmer and assaulted his wife.

Manueal was caught, but Collick escaped into the dense woods nearby. For three days he eluded the posse in the sternest man-hunt the Eastern Shore district, scene of previous lynchings, had ever seen.

With the devastating Valentine day storm, it was felt that Collick had frozen to death. The posse found socks and shoes that belonged to Collick and figured that soon they would come upon the corpse of their barefoot quarry.

Before the mob set out to capture Collick they invaded his home and dragged out his wife and daughter with the intent of lynching them. However, State troopers rescued the pair and rushed them to jail for safekeeping.

More Lynchings Today Than Ten Years Ago

(White Press—Northern—Refers to clipping of Pittsburgh Courier 2-24-40)

By William L. Patterson

(Noted Negro leader, member Nat'l Committee, C.P.U.S.A.)

THE National Negro Congress prepares its 3rd Congress meeting at a grave hour in the life of the Negro people, and of American democracy.

One word from the Pittsburgh Courier, a leading Negro paper, will give you a picture of what is happening behind the scene.

The Courier of February 24 says:

"While Congress debates, countless Negroes are being lynched from month to month, despite the dwindling figures issued semi-annually by Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Investigation indicates that there are more lynchings taking place today than there were ten years ago."

In this manner the February 24 issue of the Pittsburgh Courier begins an article on the spread of lynching and of terror against Negro Americans.

Murder in the South has gone "streamlined" says the Courier. Senator Robert Wagner of New York, was one of those who backed the investigation in the South out of which the Courier's facts came. And the investigators reported that:

"Countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge. In some lonely swamp, a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling, bloodthirsty mob composed of men, women and children. This is the new and dangerous method, devised by those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation."

"Those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation." Read the Senate debates on the anti-lynching bill. The Bilbos, the Cotton Ed Smiths, the Tydings of Maryland and the Georges of Georgia: these are the men who rule by terror and intimidation, these honored American Senators. The poll tax and the lynchers' rope and faggot make their seats secure.

It is the henchmen of these men, in lesser political jobs, who lead the Southern mobs. They form the "small body of men" who dump the bodies of militant black men into "some lonely swamp."

The howling mob era is passing. It recedes as the homeless, landless, white sharecropper and jobless begin to appreciate the terrible poverty and degradation that the "white supremacy" of the lynchers has brought to the poor whites. The poor white is no longer a willing dupe of those who cry "white supremacy."

Poll taxes have robbed the white South on the bottom of its vote. Sixty-one per cent of America's white families live on an income less than $1,000 per year, says the report of the National Resources Committee, set up in the Department of the Interior. They have no money for poll taxes.

"Grapes of Wrath" shows the perspectives which loom before those among these people who are homeless and landless. Eighty-seven per cent of the American families live on less than $2,500. These families average three or more. The "state of the nation" reveals the measure of American democracy—but not its true essence or its scope.

That essence and that scope will be more clearly recognized as the people set forth to achieve national unity.

The struggles against lynching, for jobs and bread tend more and more to expose the hollowness of what is now called democracy, it is democracy only for the rich.

Democracy has nothing in common with lynching or with millions of jobless, homeless men and women, or with millions of illiterate youth who, forgotten by their government have only recourse to roaming the country seeking a crust of bread. Democracy has nothing in common with a Martin Dies, who goes to Congress from a district where 95 per cent of the voters are disfranchised through the poll tax and lynch terror.

This period of our history begins more and more to take on the character of the era before the Civil War. Then millions were in motion. They sensed the dawning of an impending great change. Slavery was to go down before the whirlwind.

Black men still slaves were struggling desperately for freedom. White men were seeking to move that barrier of slavery which had to be overcome before the struggle for the freedom of the working man could blossom forth in full bloom.

That is the fight before which we stand today, that labor regardless of the color of its skin shall not be branded. Lynchings grow that the militancy of the Negro may be broken. Lynchings grow that the unity of white and black may not be achieved. But lynch terror will fail.

This is the historic moment when the National Negro Congress convenes for the third time.

The full and complete freedom of black America will be its theme song. That freedom is to be won in joint struggle with labor and the farmer for the right to work, for land and democracy.

Every trade union group should prepare its delegates for the Washington gathering of the National Negro Congress, April 26, 27 and 28.

Youth should be strongly represented at that meeting. The moment is a grave one and a great one. Our country was founded upon a democracy of the people and the people will not be denied their heritage.

LYNCHING, AMERICA'S BLACKEST CRIME, SAYS HON. MITCHELL

Mr. Mitchell of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we are discussing what is to my mind the most important piece of legislation insofar as the Negroes of the United Staes are concerned that has been brought before this House during the Seventy-fifth Congress. Many things have been said in the debate which I am inclined to believe were said either for political purposes or in the heat of argument. This is the first voice that has been raised by that group of people who have suffered most, of course, from mob violence. You have been told of the large number of people who were mobbed in this country. You have been told the number is more than 5,000. We have been asked to be absolutely truthful in all of our assertions, and I shall endeavor to be.

Mr. Speaker, there is not any danger in this country that so terrorizes the Negro and hinders him along all lines of development as this accursed thing we are talking about this afternoon. Think of what happened in Mississippi only 24 or 48 hours ago. Men who had been convicted of no crime, men who had pleaded that they were not guilty, not only was the law taken out of the officials' hands but the officers of the law said the mob was orderly and they proceeded to let them take from them those prisoners and snuff out their lives in the most horrible manner that could be conceived by human beings.

Now, what is the purpose of government except to protect the lives of the individuals of that government? What was the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution written into the Constitution for, except for the purpose of protecting the lives of the newly emancipated slaves? I know what you have done with it. You have taken it and have construed it as protection for corporations and corporate interests in this country That is to the credit of my Republican friends. It was never intended that the fourteenth amendment should do otherwise than protect human life. I ask again, if it is not the purpose of government to protect the lives of the people of the government, then what right has it to exist?

There are Negroes in all of the northern cities who would like to live in my beloved Southland. They have left, as I said in my speech last Monday, quoting the words of Booker Washington, because their lives were in jeopardy; not only by this accursed lawlessness that we are talking about by which lives are snuffed out, but if they take the lives of those people does it not follow mobs.

I have had my own experience. I shall never forget many years ago when I was a boy, Booker Washington, that great man whom we honored the other day, was invited to this city and dined with the President of the United States. When he returned to Tuskegee there was grave danger of that in much greater degree they will take the property of those people? And they cannot be heard in many instances in their own defense.

Now, this is the voice of one not who belongs to the race that has constituted the mob but this is the voice of one who is representing that race that has suffered most at the hands of the him being mobbed. He had committed no crime He was not even charged with having committed a crime, but because he was recognized by Theodore Roosevelt and was invited to the White House for a luncheon, when he returned to the South I shall never forget it was my duty to stand all night long with a rifle in my hand to protect the property of that institution and protect the life of that great man.

I am not charging the South with being any more lawless than some other sections of the country. You cannot find an instance where more brutality was resorted to than in Coatesville, Pa. I have here the sworn record. I have here a speech made by Theodore Roosevelt on that subject, that terrible crime that was committed by the State of Pennsylvania.

We are also thinking of what happened in California only 2 or 3 years ago when the Governor stood by and said:

It is the proper thing to do to lynch them for certain crimes, if you care to do it, and I am thinking seriously of paroling or pardoning certain other criminals and turning them over to the mob to be lynched.

It was then that our present President spoke out and said:

This is collective murder, and it is not to be condoned by those in high or low positions.

I say to you, Mr. Chairman that this does not seek to infringe upon the right of any State.

First of all, as individuals and as citizens of the United States we have a right to live in peace, in harmony, and in prosperity along with the other citizens.

I want to discuss just one other thought that has been offered here on this floor, and I am challenging the thought, but I want to bring to your minds something that should go along with it. We have been told by my friends from the South—and I am from the South; I come from Alabama, and I make no apology for it—but we have been told that our best friends are in the South. That may be true; I am not disputing that, but I want to say to you people that the best friend the white man has is the Negro, the best friend that the American Government has is the Negro. We have never raised our voices and our hands to strike down an Executive of this Nation. We have never planted bombs in various places because we disagreed with certain theories. We have taken all that you have done to us. You have shortened our school terms and discriminated against us in a thousand other ways, but we have remained loyal. You say, you are our friends. Then why not give us an equal opportunity along with you and let us develop our children the same as you do yours? This would prove your assertion of friendship. (Applause.)

My friends, it is upon the shoulders of this Congress to say to the 14,000,000 Negroes, at least 13,000,000 of whom are always in deadly fear that they will be attacked, to say to them that you are going to assure us the protection that the Constitution provides that every citizen shall enjoy. And I say to you in closing my remarks that I am speaking as one who has had some experience with the mob. I recall not so many years ago when I lived in the South and was president of an agricultural school, I was often referred to, as you heard my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Sumners) refer to me today, as being one of the leading citizens of my community, but do you know a bloodthirsty mob formed on one occasion and marched within 3 miles of my school for the purpose of snuffing out my life. I had not been charged with any crime. The only thing I had done was to stop payment of a $20 check that a fellow had secured from me by false representation. Because I would not pay the check this mob formed and marched within 3 miles of my school. I shall never forget how I stood with a Winchester rifle in my hand, how my wife stood with a pistol in her hand, waiting all night long for this mob to show up and to snuff out our lives. I did not have to commit a crime to be the subject of one of these lawless mobs.

They talked about the constitutionality of the bill. It is perfectly constitutional to protect migratory birds. It is all right and perfectly constitutional for us to go into these States and run down blind tigers. I shall never forget the other day when we had our hearing and the chairman of the Judiciary Committee was speaking on friendly terms to one of the men who had testified and said, "I hope we can do something for you."

The man replied, "Yes; I hope you will do at least as much for me as you do for the bootlegger and those who engage in the illicit manufacture of liquor."

Mr. Chairman, this legislation is constitutional. We have stood by the Government. We are going to continue to stand by the Government. I am going to vote for this bill, and I will vote for any bill that will safeguard the rights of individuals to enjoy their privileges as American citizens and protect their lives. I hope this bill will be passed overwhelmingly; and I say to you that you can do nothing that will encourage these 15,000,000 people, who are subject to mob attack, which would mean half as much as the passage of this bill. The best thing you can do to encourage them in their honest struggle to be citizens, and to be useful citizens, is to pass this piece of legislation as it has been presented to us. (Applause.)

CHURCH JOURNAL EDITOR REVIEWS AMERICA'S '39 LYNCHING RECORD

Cites Conflicting Reports from Two National Racial Sources—Says Christians of America Cannot Evade the Responsibility of the Nation's Greatest Moral Problem.

By ROBERT N. BROOKS, Editor
The Christian Advocate

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 18—The race problem is perhaps the most serious of the problems which confront the American people today. There is no other problem which more nearly demands the actual practice of Christian principles for an adequate solution. The Christian people of America cannot by any chance escape responsibility in this very vital social and religious problem. No person genuinely interested in the coming of the kingdom of God can be satisfied with the present situation, nor will be satisfied so long as there remains the necessity of making annual reports on inhuman practices which might be mildly heralded as barbarities.

This dissatisfaction must grip the whole people. It must not be confined to the minority element alone. It must be constantly kept in mind that while Negroes are factors in the problem, the solution is mainly the responsibility of the white people of this country who so thoroughly dominate the situation but have not yet arrived at a solution which is in accord with human brotherhood and Christian ideals.

TWO REPORTS

President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., has just released a report which is well worthy of much wider publicity than it will get. The report follows:

"Only three lynchings, a sharp decrease from former years, have occurred in the United States in 1939. Two occurred in Florida, where a white man accused of murder was shot to death by members of his own race, and a Negro, charged with the death of a white youth in an automobile accident, was taken from officers and slain. The third lynching was that of a Mississippi Negro, killed following an altercation with a white man. There were eighteen instances in which law-enforcement officers were credited with preventing lynchings, with twenty-five persons, including five whites, saved from the hands of mobs."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People makes a report which is somewhat different from the Tuskegee statement. We display both of these reports with the feeling that the public is entitled to both accounts. The N.A.A.C.P. report follows:

"There were five persons, two of them white, lynched in the United States during 1939. In only one case was the charge of molesting whites alleged. The other cases grew out of differences between employer and employee and an automobile accident. The list of lynch victims, in chronological order, together with the alleged causes, is a matter of record.

"Walter Lee Frazier, week of Jan. 29, Eldorado, Ark., shot, allegedly for molesting white couples; Miles W. Brown, white, April 1, Panama City, Fla., shot convicted of first degree murder for killing employer; Lee Snell April 29, Daytona Beach, Fla., shot, charged with fatally injuring white child with his taxicab; Joe Rodgers, May 8, Canton, Miss., shot, charged with defending himself in a fight with a lumber mill foreman; M. Eggleston, sometime in the spring of 1939, a national maritime union official, New Orleans, La., drowned, alleged to have uncovered graft among certain reactionary union members. Many lynchings have not come to light because of the new technique adopted by lynch mobs, who spirit away their victims quietly without attendant publicity."

REIGN OF TERROR

The whole nation knows that lynching is a serious indictment against the character of the American people, and especially against the character of the people of the South where lynchings have been much more prevalent through the years and where all the lynchings in 1939 occurred.

Florida and Mississippi vying for supremacy in the barbarous atrocities of lynching through the years, stand out in 1939 as flagrant examples of the fact that the reign of terror has not ended and that practices indescribably inhuman can yet be provoked on so slender a provocation as an automobile accident or altercation with a man. Surely this proves that the task of making America Christian is still unfinished.

GRADUAL DISAPPEARANCE

It is well for the reading public to consider some of the main reasons for the decrease in the number of lynchings as the years pass. President Patterson of Tuskegee gives large credit to the partially awakened Southern minister. Surely, all will agree that the Southern preacher is beginning to rub his eyes and may soon be shocked into wakefulness on this question of how far religion should determine conduct. So for the ministry to so completely change fronts in a single decade is, indeed, both columns, which almost without exception today, voice the demand for good will, justice, and opportunity. More than any other class in the South, the editors have been outspoken and unanimous in the condemnation of lynching and the demand that the nefarious practice be suppressed. Thirsty hoodlums, are now tabooed by every respectable newspaper, even in the South. Concurrently, stories which promote race pride and ambition on the one hand and understanding and appreciation on the other are given places of increasing importance.

The new attitude of the press is reflected also in the editorial interesting and encouraging.

Considerable publicity has been given to the splendid work of the Interracial Commission and to the work of Southern women through their clubs. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of these organizations. But it is necessary to mention here another factor which has played a major role in creating sentiment against lynching.

Facts About Lynchings:

1. More than 5,000 have occured in America since 1882.
2. More than 1,500 victims have been white people.
3. 103 Women have been lynched.
4. America is the only nation on earth where lynching occurs.
5. In 99.2% of the lynchings nothing has been done to apprehend or punish lynchers.
6. In the seven years, 1933-1939, there have been 102 lynchings, an average of better than one a month.

NEAR-LYNCHING OF 2 WOMEN SPURS LYNCH BILL FIGHT

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 22—The nation's leading civic organizations, among which are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the International Labor Defense sent vigorous protests to Governor Herbert R. O'Conor, of Maryland, in the near-lynching of a 32 year old woman and her 14 year old daughter last week.

Mrs. Martha Blake-Collick and her 14-year-old daughter, Lillian, were taken from the jail at Snow Hill, Md., by a Maryland mob of 1,000. The fight for immediate passage of the anti-lynching bill on which a Senate sub-committee is now holding hearing was spurred this week by what friends of the measure stressed as one of "the most brutal and eloquent arguments in favor of the passage of the bill."

NAACP Protests

The NAACP expressed deep concern over a statement carried by the Associated Press and attributed to Sheriff J. William Hall, of Snow Hill, and asked Governor O'Conor to direct the Attorney General to prosecute the leaders of the mob responsible for the attempted lynching. Sheriff Hall is quoted as saying that "there is no demand for action against the mob. We have no plan of action now. We know the ringleaders and feel that the situation is well in hand."

The I. L. D. telegram read: "Vigorous protest barbarous lynch attack on Mrs. Blake and her daughter. Three hundred thousand members and affiliates of the International Labor Defense demand thorough investigation and punishment of those guilty." A copy of the telegram was sent to the senate committee discussing the anti-lynching bill.

Governor Promises Action

In a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Governor O'Conor stated: "You may be sure that in conjunction with law-enforcing officials, I am determined to see that the law is respected and the orderly processes are followed."

Mrs. Collick, her daughter, her husband, Dave and George Selby are all held in the death of Harvey Pilchard, white farmer, on Sunday, Feb. 13. Pilchard's wife

...d her daughter."
...Collick and Lillian were
...l screaming form the jail
...in an automobile and
...ut of town. State troopers
...urriedly dispatched to the
...by Gov. O'Connor.

Tom Connally's Answer

Commenting on the attempted lynching, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, said: "This is the answer to Senator Tom Connally's assertions at the recent Senate hearings on the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill that lynching is dying out. Nothing shows more concretely the necessity of a federal anti-lynching law than this dastardly action by a mob of 1,000 white persons against this helpless Negro mo-

LYNCHING 1940
DISCUSSION OF

NEGRO PRESS, NORTHERN

6342

6343

THE SOUTH STILL LYNCHES

The Plain Dealer

The South still conducts its program of lynching Negroes without due process of law. World conditions do not disturb the rabid race haters of the South who lynch Negroes on hear-say or the slightest rumor of rape or attack on a white woman. Georgia is the latest state to send its All-American team into action at this writing.

SEP 20 1940

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a very interesting letter from one of its readers last week. We submit it for our readers.

Kansas City Kansas

The letter:

To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch:

The other day I noted an article in the Post-Dispatch concerning an 18-year-old Negro who had been lynched in Georgia.

To think that a group of six white men (masked, of course) would drag this boy from a jail to hang him is horrible enough, but reading further that he was found dying in the road with bullet holes in his body and that he died before he could be taken to a hospital, is enough to make anyone's blood run cold.

SEP 20 1940

The Plain Dealer

I don't know whether this boy was innocent or guilty of the alleged crime for which he was jailed. The fact remains that he was not given a chance to prove his innocence or his guilt—in a land where we pride ourselves on our jury system and where a man is deemed innocent until proved guilty.

Kansas City Kansas

Yet, when an anti-lynching bill was introduced into Congress in an attempt to abolish this inhuman, unjust "custom" of the South, congressional representatives from that region cried out that lynching had ceased, that the South could maintain law and order without interference.

How many more lives will be given in this gruesome, illegal, Un-American way before our Congressmen can be brought to a realization of the necessity for the proposed law? T.B.M.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

By JOHN H. SENGSTACKE

SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD BOY LYNCHED IN GEORGIA

SEP 21 1940

Defender

Chicago

Senator Alben W. Barkley, the senior senator from the state of Kentucky, is the personal representative of and spokesman for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the majority group in the Senate. That is clearly indicated by his title "Majority Leader of the Senate." The declarations of the Kentucky senator are therefore statements of party and administration policy when such statements deal with pending legislation. That is the reason why the words of Alben Barkley have grave significance.

Senator Barkley has recently written Walter White, the national spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His letter, answering the query of Mr. White as to what was going to happen to the Anti-Lynching bill, was short and to the point.

This Kentucky senator said that he "does not intend to bring up the Anti-Lynching bill in this session of Congress." We who are loyal American citizens have fought for 20 years for that anti-lynching bill. We have rightly come to regard that bill as an organic, an indivisible, an inseparable part of the fight Americans as a whole are making for democracy and its extension. We stand aghast, unwilling to believe, unable to accept.

Mr. Barkley states the policy of government toward that democratic fight which has been made for 20 years. Mr. Barkley states the policy of our government toward lynching. Our government declares "it will jump over the issue of lynching in order to more quickly get to the issue of national defense."

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House, Mr. President, members of the Cabinet and of the Supreme Court, we say to you simply: "This thing cannot be done. You cannot jump this page in history.

"Your attention is called to the lynching which but a few short days ago occurred in LaGrange, Ga. The victim was a 16-year-old Negro boy. The charge was that he had attempted to rape a white woman. There is no charge beneath the heavens above that can condone that crime of the state of Georgia.

"Let us not seek further to deceive ourselves. The crime of lynching lies at the door of those who wield the power of state. We have temporized with crime and it has grown so great we run before it.

"Lynching is a political crime, and the roots of lynching are buried deep within the economics of our country. The cultural backwardness of our people makes them more easily emotionally aroused. But the responsibility for the crime of lynching rests with the state. The failure to pass the Anti-Lynching bill nourishes lynching.

"To take any other position is to declare that the state no longer has the power to protect the lives of its citizens. To take such a position, is to say that anarchy reigns supreme and dominates good government. Life is the property of the individual citizen. 'Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' are of the very cornerstone of government. National defense begins, if it does not end there.

"For 20 years a bill that is of the soul of good government has been an effect, and accumulative effect, upon the thinking of all of America. Those defeats have cheapened the lives of black Americans. This is not the course to follow if 'national defense' for the immortal institution of democracy is to be achieved.

"We have watched our government defend that right of property, the indenture of which is stocks and bonds. We have seen and heard the call of martial law when great industrialists have declared against the movement of their workmen for a change of working conditions.

"Has 'property in stocks and bonds, in factories and mills and in plantation lands become more dear than property in life itself?

"No man who holds office by virtue of the will of the people will answer yes! Yet, the answer comes from the mouth of Senator Barkley, spoken as the voice of government.

"This is not a new policy of government—this failure to throw the whole machinery of democracy against the crime of lynching. This is the continuation of a policy not only of 20 years, but of three times 20 years. But today that policy is more ignoble than it was yesterday. Today that policy is more destructive of the ends we say that we are seeking than at any time before in history.

"Democracy stands at the crossroads. We will defend it through the unwavering, unqualified defense of the right of every loyal citizen to life and liberty, or it will be smashed asunder under the heel of an American dictator."

Let us not forget that this is an election year and your vote is pertinent. Pressure can be applied at this time as the opportunity is presenting itself than could possibly be brought six months later. We must make the Anti-Lynching bill an issue in this campaign. Both parties are silent on this bill. Drop a card or letter to President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie, or Chairman Flynn and Chairman Martin, Senator Barkley and your local congressman demanding that action be taken, or a statement WHY.

Lynch Bill Doom

OCT 6 1940

CONGRESS will soon adjourn. The anti-lynch bill has remained in its pigeon-hole throughout the present session while Congressmen debated over national defense. While the nation's solons were seeking national solidarity as a necessary weapon for this country's defense they have disregarded their obligation to the most loyal citizens in the United States—the Negroes. We say "their obligation" because the Constitution gives power to Congress to insure to every citizen the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Lynching is a denial of our constitutional rights. It is a denial of a fair and impartial trial. In fact, it is a denial of any trial to the accused. We believe, therefore, that Congress is remiss in its duty to national defense and to the colored citizenry when it refuses to even consider such vital legislation.

Chicago Bee

Negroes want some of those rights and privileges for which they have fought. They should like to have assurance that if again it will be their lot to fight that they will not be fighting solely to safeguard and preserve the rights of others. They want some of this democracy. They want it now.

Chicago

Some will argue that Negroes in the North and East are exercising their rights. That is true in a limited sense. But the Negro problem lies where over 80 percent of the Negroes live—South of the Mason-and-Dixon line. The solution of the Negro problem, therefore, must necessarily be directed to that part of the country. It is in that section of the country where we most need the assistance of the Federal government to prevent lynching peonage, the abolition of the poll tax laws and disfranchisement.

Ill.

Congress can do all of these. This is the most propitious time for it to act. There is no time to filibuster. The nation needs loyal citizens. This would give the colored citizen some hope that in the event of war he will be given a square deal after it is over unlike the armistice of yesteryear when he was lynched and beaten for wearing the khaki unform.

TWO HORRIBLE CRIMES

SEP 27 1940

THE TWO WORSE CRIMES that can be committed in our "Democracy" are LYNCHING and KIDNAPING. Kidnaping is a crime committed against the wealthy in most cases and lynching is a crime committed against Negroes. Now and then, persons of the other group meet up with the lynchers.

The Plaindealer

The most recent kidnaping took place in California, and we are indeed glad that the child has been returned to its parents and the kidnaper caught. We are sorry that we cannot say the same of the recent lynchings in Dixie. Human beings were murdered by hooded lynchers, and the law enforcing people reported that the Negroes met death by parties unknown. The report finishes the case and it goes down in the pages of history that a Negro or Negroes are dead as a result of mob violence and the lynchers go free.

Kansas City

Our federal government is fully prepared to apprehend and punish the kidnapers, but the federal government cannot do anything about the lyncher. The anti-lynching bill, now pending in congress, has been kicked about so much until it is no longer important in the eyes of some. In a few days, Congress is to adjourn and still the anti-lynching bill is pending.

Mob Versus Law

OCT 25 1940

The case against lynching must go on. Few people are put to death by the mob any more, but the mob spirit is a poison that still pervades many communities. Down in Tennessee Negroes want to vote. They have that right. That is the plain letter of the law. But the mob killed one and drove out others. Negroes in Tennessee have their warning! They will not vote in November! The mob, not the law, is supreme.

Kansas City, Mo.

What if the federal authorities say "We will stand by you Negroes!" They do nothing about the man who was killed, and another killed will also be another about whom nothing is done. An anti-lynch law is notice in advance that vengeance is the law's! It is the law's now—maybe, sometimes, hardly ever.

1884 Mob Victim Died Of "Lack of Breath"

SEP 14 1940

Journal & Guide

TOMBSTONE, Ariz. (ANP) —Ways and means of evading the point about lynchings was rampant as early as 1884, the files of a newspaper published in Tombstone, once the toughest, wildest mining town of the Southwest, reveals.

A February, 1884 issue describes a mob of citizens storming Tombstone jail and removing Jack Heath, who had escaped the death penalty for murder. The coroner, learning that Heath had been hanged by the mob, reported: "We find that Jack Heath came to his death from lack of breath."

Our newspapers all over the country have cried from the housetop of these evils. Many of OCT 13 1940 citizens have been forced flee their homes and farms under the same conditions the Turners were fired upon at their rural home near Rome. This menace has sent many a successful farmer and business man into the towns and cities and into the breadlines. They have been shelved from where they wanted to stay and where they could make a living and thrust on the backs of the taxpayers while their houses fell and their farms washed on to the seas. Any one, however loyal, must admit that some sort of rearrangement is in order for conditions like these in which the country and state openly admit they have no effective remedy.

Somebody may think up one some day.

The Riot At Rome

OCT 13 1940

Baltimore Afro-American

NOT to let up by the agitation of an anti-lynching bill, which would take away from the states the prosecution of such outlawry, or the ever distressing fact of war clouds, menacing the very life of the country, the mob and the mob spirit go like time, marching on. One of the most serious handicaps of this country today in its contention against international wrongs and outlaw nations prancing the goosestep over human rights, is the lynching record and the treatment accorded certain of its own citizens right here before its doorstep.

It is certain that the whole country deplores the manner and fact in which the aged farmer, Turner was snatched from the porch of his son-in-law by an angry mob near Rome, Ga., and dealth with for no other offense than he was a hard-working tenant farmer who had amassed some degree of success from the sweat of his brow. In addition to the serious handling of the elder Turner, his son was shot and still another who sought to protect his father must remain at large and in seclusion for fear of his life.

Atlanta Daily World

As forestated, while the country may deplore this terrible incident that in nowise wipes out the punishment meted to the Turners or deters future conflicts in which men of color are subjected to punishment outside of the law for the mere offense of being hard working law-abiding citizens. The president and the congress have been repeatedly appealed to in an effort to safeguard the life, property and rights of these forgotten and powerless citizens. These memorials have fallen apparently on cold, deaf ears and to this day nothing effectively has been done to curb lynching. The old southern wing in congress is always on the alert with its ear to the ground to fight any move to curb the lynching spirit. They are now calling all men for the aid of the country in its unprecedented peril without taking any notice of the same peril that has hung over colored men in this country since the Civil War. The colored citizens to a great extent has already been robbed of his life and liberty without due process of law. He is to a large degree in the same condition of the people in war-torn Europe whose defense he will soon register to effect.

DIXIE Highlights

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
JUL 14 1940

Lynching Definition Needed

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

THE TIME HAS COME when someone—an experienced person—should come forth with a good, sound definition for lynching.

That we need such a definition stood out very plainly last week when Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People released conflicting reports on the number of lynchings in this country during the first six months of 1940.

Dr. Paterson said, "None!"

"Four," cried Walter White.

A puzzled public stand by and wonders.

Take a look at the four victims listed by Mr. White and draw your own conclusions. A white couple Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford were beaten to death near McDonough, Georgia, last March. Ike Gaston, white, was flogged to death several days later near East Point, Ga. The bullet-riddled body of Elbert Williams, of Brownsville, Tenn., was fished from a river last month. A former inmate of the Georgia insane asylum has confessed murdering Miss Rawls and Benton; the death of Gaston, believed the work of Klansmen, could be classed as accidental (he was whipped too hard), and until now, it has not been proved that Williams was not murdered.

Murder is not considered lynching. The Williams' case in Tennessee appears to be the nearest thing to a "mob party". The newspapers are not so sure either. Most of them refer to the incident as an "off-record" lynching.

No doubt about it, lynching has gone streamlined. And that is why we need a good, sound definition. If for no other reason then to keep the records straight.

AFTER THE GEORGIA bar examination papers had been graded last week, not one of the six colored members of the class of 114 was among the 24 who passed.

"The exam was easy", one of the colored youths said after leaving the Fulton County Courthouse. And there were one or two graduates of the Howard University Law School who took the examination, too.

It must be remembered, however, that only 24 white persons passed out of a group of 108 members of the other race.

Maybe it wasn't as easy as some thought.

"STATE TAKES OVER JACKSON (Mississippi) COLLEGE"—Headline in newspaper. (Which should lessen the worries of teachers between paydays.)

John Miles Ward, 96-year-old resident of Orchard Hill, Georgia, who can't read, was perfectly willing to hold an open book in his hand while having his picture snapped, but he refused to hold a cigar in his hand because he never used tobacco.

DIXIE Highlights

DEC 8 1940
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

I DON'T LIKE TO think about lynchings. I don't imagine anyone does, for that matter. But that's what started circulating through my mind the other morning when I began the weekly task of finding an idea for this column.

A few hours earlier a piece of copy quoting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as saying a recent slaying in Louisiana was nothing less than a lynching had passed through my hands. I guess that's why I couldn't erase that mob business idea from my mind.

Every time I hear of a lynching, or something that resembles one, I recall a boyhood experience. I didn't see it, but the folk told me about it. Seems like a poor colored brother was beheaded, and his head, dangling at the end of a rope, pulled through some of the city streets.

It's hard to really classify a lynching these days. So difficult is it to say "it is" or "it isn't", we find the NAACP and Tuskegee Institute, two agencies who keep records on such things, unable to agree on the number of lynchings committed each year by mobs.

There comes a time when every colored newspaperman finds himself on the spot. And he's really on the spot when the boss says to him:

"Now son, there was a lynching down at Byhalia last night. We want you to go down there and do a little investigating. Get us a good feature story. Talk to the victim's wife and the sheriff too, if you think it necessary. But, do be careful."

That "be careful" is what gives you the shivers. It makes you think you might run into trouble. There might even be another lynching with you in the middle of it.

Once, on such an assignment with another reporter, I remember how we'd planned to pick up the first colored man in town and have him direct us to the scene of the lynching. Well, when we rode into that little village, there wasn't a member of the race to be seen—not even a colored child.

We circled the courthouse, but decided it would be useless to park the car and go into the building of justice to talk with the sheriff.

We spotted the railroad tracks. We knew the colored section of town would be on the other side of the rails. So away we went. We found a young fellow who was brave enough to point out the jail where the lynch victim was held until the mob came along and took him away. The jail was a very small frame building. A storm could have blown it down.

Someone else directed us to a road that led to the tree. There had to be a tree, you know. We found the tree, but were really afraid to get out and make a picture. So the picture of the tree was made from the automobile.

The most touching part of the "adventure" was the visit to the home of the lynched man. There we found a shy little widow surrounded by seven or eight children.

She wasn't crying, and she did not appear afraid. She said she would like to leave town and go to her relatives. Her boys were large enough to work.

She wasn't so hot on the idea of posing for a picture but she gave in after we told her there was a possibility of some organizations sending her financial help if the picture was seen in the newspaper.

We gave her a dollar bill, then got out of that town as fast as possible.

Mississippi Tops All States For Lynchings

WASHINGTON (CP)—Mississippi led the nation in the lynching of colored people since 1882 with a total of 522, Rep. Arthur W. Mitchell told the House of Representatives last Tuesday.

Georgia followed closely with a total of 478. Other states listed by Congressman Mitchell are Texas which lynched 375, Louisiana 333, Alabama 296, Florida 248, Arkansas 236, Tennessee 200, South Carolina 154, and Kentucky 141. There have been 3,884 lynchings of colored people since 1882.

Voice of the Press

The Law and The Mob

From The Philadelphia Record

THE swift action of Governor Herbert O'Conor and the courage of State troopers have conquered, for the time being at least, the lawlessness of mob spirit on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

State authorities are to be commended upon their determination that there shall be no aftermath to the murder of Harvey Pilchard save the legal process of a fair trial for the suspects, and the most drastic legal punishment if they are found guilty.

So far, "the law" has been signally successful.

One young Negro, accused of the crime, is in a cell in Bel Air—safe from mobs and yet so securely held that he may not escape a just penalty.

A second suspect is being sought by a posse—but sufficient troopers are on hand to see that his capture is not followed by summary exercise of lynch law.

And two women, wanted only for questioning and not implicated in the crime, are in protective custody far from the center of the disorder.

This is a splendid record for a section traditionally prone in the past to take the law into its own hands. And we are proud to direct particular attention to four troopers—Lieutenant Ruxton Ridgely, Sergeant W. H. Weber, Charles A. Disney and Harold C. Carl—for the bravery with which they fought through a crowd of 1000 men, seized the women, and cleared a road to safety for their prisoners.

Here is police work in the finest tradition. If the rest of the 50 troopers Governor O'Conor has dispatched to the scene are of the same high character, there need be little fear of later violence.

In the meantime, a responsibility devolves upon the local authorities—notably Sheriff J. William Hall, of Worcester county—to press the prosecution of the members of the mob which forcibly took the women from the jail at Snow Hill and held them until the troops arrived.

It is true that the crowd at the jail evidently meant the women no harm; they supplied them with clothing to replace their torn dresses and insisted that they were only questioning them to learn the whereabouts of the killers. But they wrecked the jail, nevertheless, and in the excitement freed all of the 12 prisoners inside.

It is not encouraging to hear Sheriff Hall announce that "the persons responsible for the riot were from outside our county." That is almost the same explanation offered by another Sheriff, at Princess Anne, when a man was lynched there in 1933.

Sheriff Hall says his men recognized "about 40" of the ringleaders in Tuesday's disturbance. It is to be hoped that upon calmer reflection he will recall the identity of most of them.

Lynchless Year?

IT may not be readily understandable why from some quarters came such prompt denials of the claim that we have just passed through a full year without a lynching. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, recently released a statement in which the claim of a lynchless twelve months was made. This was promptly disputed by the National Asssociation for the Advancement of Colored People. And last week the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which pays Mrs. Ames salary, disavowed sponsorship of the controverted announcement.

Both the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and the Interracial Commission subscribe to the NAACP's objective although it is not entirely clear that they endorse the means for attaining it. All three organizations desire that the evil of lynching be wiped completely away in this country. No morally honest person will contend that the practice ought to be tolerated in a civilized community.

However, obviously proceeding on the theory that lynching will not disappear unless there is a federal law, with sharp teeth in it, to punish lynchers, the NAACP in recent years has thrown the full strength of its organization behind the campaign for a federal anti-lynching bill.

Many determined Southern objectors are basing their opposition to the bill pending in Congress on the want of necessity for such legislation. They point out that in recent years the number of lynchings has declined so sharply that, given a few more years, the South will rid itself entirely of the practice.

If it were true that this nation had come through twelve months without a lynching, the forces opposing the anti-lynching bill in Congress would have a mighty strong weapon for a new salient against the bill's proponents. Its effect would be comparable to that of a false rumor of an armistice upon embattled troops. It is exceedingly difficult to put one's heart into a fight when it is known that already the battle has been lost, or won.

As much as the Journal and Guide wishes that at long last we had passed through a full year without a lynching, it cannot share the pride and joy of that accomplishment until it is actually made. The illegal killing during the past year of three persons by Georgia Ku Klux Klan mobs must be taken as proof that the battle against lynching is not yet won.

—GUEST EDITORIALS—

It Could Happen Here

On the front page of this week's issue of the Carolina Times, is another story of the reign of terror now going on in Brownsville, Tenn. Information contained in the article is enough to make one shudder with awe at the kind of liberty to be found in some parts of this so-called "Land of the Free and Home of the Brave." It proves further that there is still much for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to do and that the organization should have the fullest support from every Negro in America.

North Carolinians who read the story will doubtless take satisfaction in the belief that mob violence as characterized by that in Brownsville, Tenn cannot happen in this state. Such an attitude may be the cause for the lack of greater support for the NAACP in North Carolina.

The Carolina Times would like to but it cannot be so sure that this state is entirely safe from mob violence. Several lynchings which have taken place in North Carolina within the past ten years, without a single arrest being made, plus many other injustices which the Negro suffers are sufficient to warn all of us that this is no time for complacency. It may be that North Carolina Negroes are paying too great a price for their peaceful attitude, or it may be that the outward calm is the canopy of a great inward unrest that only awaits aggressive activity on the part of some Negro before it bursts forth in all its Fury.

The condition which now obtains in Brownsville, Tennessee did not happen when a few Negroes presented themselves to the polls to vote. It was there prior to that time and only needed igniting to blaze forth in an inferno of race hatred.

Elisha Davis, who has been run away from his home by a mob, in which rode the sheriff of the county, a night policeman and a county highway commissioner, and Elbert Williams who was found dead in the river with two wounds in his chest, have not been persecuted and put to death in vain, if the crimes will arouse law abiding citizens in the south to the fact that there is still need for a federal law against lynching and mob violence.

The appeal which Mr. Davis makes through the N. A. A. C. P. should touch the pocketbook of every Negro in America. The fight which he is making is not his fight alone, but that of every liberty loving white and Negro citizen in America. Enough money should be raised to reestablish his business.

—Carolina Times.

TENNESSEE CASE PROVES NEED FOR ANTI-LYNCH BILL

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—"The white people of Brownsville, Tenn., who last June lynched Elbert Williams and drove seven other Negroes from their homes because the Negroes of Brownsville wanted to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the coming presidential election, thereby helped Hitler and deserve a letter of thanks from the Nazi leader."

This was the statement made here by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at an N.A.A.C.P.-sponsored mass meeting held here at St. John's A. M. E. Church for the purpose of raising funds to continue the fight to bring the lynchers to justice and to broaden the right-to-vote campaign in this state.

The lynching of Williams was the first death resulting from a campaign of terror launched by whites in Brownsville against members of the N.A.A.C.P. in an attempt to head off the register-and-vote drive.

Rev. Buster Walker, president of the N.A.A.C.P. branch, and Elisha Davis, a member of the executive committee, both of whom worked with Williams in leading the vote drive, were run out of Brownsville and have not been allowed to return.

The Brownsville lynching, White declared, gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertions of Southern senators that no federal anti-lynching bill is needed because the states can act "vigorously and promptly to prevent this crim[illegible]

citizens to draft boards was told by him, "This is a white man's country."

Ignored Lynching

Last June, colored citizens in Brownsville, Tenn., tried to register to vote in the November election and one man was lynched for his efforts. Others were driven out of town by mobs. Governor Cooper did nothing to aid them or to try to catch the lynchers.

Said the Governor:

"This is a white man's country. America was settled by English, Scotch and Irish settlers who came here and shed their blood for it. White men cut down the trees, plowed the fields and developed America. The colored man had nothing to do with the settling of America.

"You fellows ought to feel proud that you are in a great country like America. One important thing you preachers ought to tell your boys is to go to the stations and register for military service, because if they don't they will be arrested and fined $10,000 or put in prison until they work it out.

"I have a job to do as Governor of Tennessee and that is to see that all men of draft age register, white and colored, and I don't intend to have any trouble or confusion doing it."

Tenn. Gov. Says We Are Lucky to Live in U. S.

NOV 2 1940

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Colored people have done nothing to aid or build up the United States of America, according to Governor Prentice Cooper, (Dem.), of Tennessee, and they are lucky to be able to live in this country.

A committee of colored citizens that called upon the Governor to ask him to appoint some colored

The FBI and Lynching

A recent press release from Washington revealed that since 1932 the Federal Bureau of Investigation has solved 154 of the 156 kidnaping cases investigated and that bank robberies have declined 80 per cent from the peak of 1932.

When organized crime challenged the majesty of American law and order, in the 'Thirties, writing one of the most bloody chapters in criminal history, it was found expedient to disregard the hue and cry of State rights in running down and bringing to justice organized bands of killers, kidnapers and bank robberies. Legislation was quickened to empower the FBI to cross state lines in search of its prey, and political lines were cast aside as state and city police joined with the FBI to smash notorious citadels of crime.

The same spirit of lawlessness and contempt for constituted authority, the same disregard for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which criminal mobs asserted prior to the FBI crusade, today dictate the excursions of lynching mobs. Lynching is one of the most un-American of social practices.

It is the crowning shame of Western civilization. Since the majority of states in the lynching belt have failed to halt the mob, the FBI should be assigned the task of doing the job by putting lynching under federal jurisdiction.

Louisiana Misses '39 Lynching List By Skin Of Teeth

NEW ORLEANS, La., Jan. 12—When Deputy Sheriff Standard of St. Bernard Parish shot and killed Ti. Smith last January, James B. Four[illegible] publicity director for the Southern Regional conference threatened to record this as the first lynching of the year.

The district attorney and sheriff immediately called a grand jury investigation and with the cooperation of Superintendent of Police Reyer of New Orleans all persons believed to know anything about the incident were summoned to the hearing.

This action made history as it was the first time in the South that a grand jury had been convened to probe a probable "legal" lynching.

However, the investigation went to nought and a no-true bill was returned by the jury against the officer by virtue of the fact that two of the witnesses called, did not show up, either on intimidation of authorities or for some other reason.

These two persons were never apprehended for failure to obey the court call. The case died, with Louisiana escaping the lynching recorders by virtue of calling the grand jury probe into the case of a deputy sheriff slaying a man, allegedly because he was frequently seen in the company of a woman with whom the officer was in love.

"Lynching Goes Underground"

THE above caption is the title of a printed report covering an investigation of unpublicised lynchings in the south. The report was sponsored by Senators Robert Wagner and Arthur Capper and Representatives Hamilton Fish and Joseph A. Gavagan. It is apparent from the report that many lynchings occur which are never reported in the press, as the report covers two specific cases, both in Mississippi, of comparatively recent occurence.

The investigator, who states that he has "probed numerous lynchings," and that his "acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime," goes on to say that, "it is his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge." This may be an overstatement of the case, but the findings as reported would bear out the report that there are many lynchings that are never reported in the press or otherwise.

One of the cases reported, which was as clearly a lynching as anything could be, was not mentioned in the town newspaper, the editor of which happened to be the mayor.

The reported lynchings were associated with certain economic conditions under which Negroes labor in the south. There are certain working conditions imposed and certain wage deductions, which are either unfair or unexplained, or both, against which protest often leads to argument and from this to assault upon the Negro worker by the overseer, paymaster or employer. Following this the hapless colored workman is often beaten to death by a gang and his body disposed of. Nothing is done about these affairs by the local law authorities. The papers don't carry any account of them.

If the report did not have some foundation in fact we do not think that the four members of congress who sponsored it would have had anything to do with it.

LYNCHING IN EFFIGY

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is urging the Department of Justice to investigate the group known as the "Congress of American Mothers" which a few days ago hanged Senator Claude Pepper of Florida in effigy on the lawn in front of the United States Capitol Building. The women said they were protesting against Senator Pepper's outspoken support of the conscription bill and his advocacy of all aid short of war for Great Britain. The hanging in effigy by these women is but saying—you ought to be lynched and we would lead a mob to lynch you, just as we have done in effigy.

And whereas we do not know by reputation the women who took part in this mob demonstration, still we are willing to bet dollars to doughnuts that they are a class of women that support and keep up the spirit of mob violence in this country. We think such a demonstration was uncalled for and most assuredly untimely and undemocratic in principle, and whereas we doubt that Senator Pepper of Florida has ever raised one finger against mob violence or the spirit of mob violence, yet we think that such an attack upon him was without justification and we here and now raise our protest against such actions. And we herewith join the NAACP in urging the United States Department of Justice to investigate and ascertain who is behind this latest fifth column movement which plants itself on the steps of the nation's capitol and uses its lawn as a camping ground.

The Globe Trotter

By Cliff Mackay

What, No Lynchings?

THURSDAY, May 9, in the year of our Lord 1940, according to the calculations of the Associated Press, marked the completion of an entire year without a single lynching having occurred in these civilized United States.



Of course this news item would not count for much in Norway, Sweden, Italy, Great Britain, France or even in the land of the very savage Mr. Hitler, for in none of these nations do the inhabitants engage in such brutal and inhuman pastimes as lynching.

But in the United States it is an item that rates front page. An years past this recognition would have not been accorded this fact by editors below the well known line, but circumstances and propaganda, mind, Mr. Walter White have had their effect. We see the situation, in a way, reversed.

TWO VIEW POINTS

Mr. White, staging a bitter battle to secure passage of the federal anti-lynching bill, to which even the authors now appear to be giving just lip service, is anxious to secure data proving the dire necessity of such legislation. Consequently all evidences of mob violence to him appear very important.

And on the other hand Southern senators and those few still unreconstructed white editors are doing their best to prove that no legislation protecting those who are victims of lynchers is needed. The only way to do this is to prove that the nightmare of lynching has completely disappeared as a pastime of a certain type of Southerner.

That's why the announcement of the Associated Press' claim to no lynchings for a year is greeted from this latter group with acclaim and jubilation. The story forms one more barrier in the long and hard struggle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to secure passage of this type of legislation.

ACCEPTED WITHOUT QUESTION

Already the release has been accepted without question as the gospel truth by one individual, who professes to be an ardent opponent of lynching, but who, nevertheless, has steadfastly refused to lend endorsement to any federal measure designed to eradicate ths American evil of evils.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, hailing the "achievement" credits "swift action made possible by police radio alarm systems, particularly as used by highly mobile state trooper units" together with "education" as being largely responsible for the alleged dearth of mob violences during the past 12-months period.

Elaborating on this "education" angle, she says lynchings in former years were "hushed up" and soon forgotten.

"Now, however," she asserted, "we get the facts and see that they are publicized."

HAS DONE FINE WORK

That Mrs. Ames through her organization has done a very fine work is not to be denied. Particularly effective has been her association's refusal to accept the easily given excuse of most lynchers that they acted to "protect white women." Facts and figures have been dug up to show that this alibi for mob outrages can be given in but a small percentage of cases.

All of this work is commendable and we would be the last person to belittle it. Nevertheless, we believe Mrs. Ames is several years behind on her understanding of the new lynch technique.

She shows this lack of knowledge in her statement contending that lynchings are now wide open, widely-publicized affairs. This was the old technique and despite Mrs. Ames' assertions, is just opposite the pattern followed by lynchers of 1939 and 1940.

GAVE ALL DETAILS

As was discussed in a previous column, the modern lyncher is the man who prefers the "hush-up" method. The lyncher of old apparently taking pride in his work, gave all the gory details to the press to be paraded before the nation.

This very system of lynching on the quiet, unquestionably is the basis for the Associated Press' unusual record of no lynchings. The record can easily be disputed in a dozen small and even larger towns in any of the regular lynching states.

For example right in Atlanta, those who make a serious business of keeping up with mob violence, would immediately challenge this spurious newspaper record.

Though some anxious to prove that the custom of lynching has just about disappeared may discount it, the death of Ike Gaston, the East Point barber, at the hands of floggers, was nothing but a lynching. It cannot be truthfully classified as anything else.

LYNCHINGS DESPITE AP

The same could be said for scores of persons, whose bullet-riddled bodies were mysteriously found in a deserted woods or floating down a lonesome river. Or for those others, who died with police bullets in their backs.

All of these are lynchings under our interpretation of the word lynching—the Associated Press report to the contrary.

Mob Technique Changing?

From the Bristol Herald Courier

A CITY INTERRACIAL meeting at Memphis Monday night heard a report of a lynching at Brownsville, Tenn., last week. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Atlanta, field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations, referred to the alleged slaying as an example of the new "style" of lynching which attracts little attention. She said she had been told that a Brownsville Negro had been "quietly taken out and flogged to death" because he was interested in organizing a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There have been no press reports of a lynching or of a violent or unexplained death at Brownsville, but Sheriff R. C. Hawkins said yesterday that a Negro's body had been found by fishermen in Hatchie River swamps Sunday.

The coroner's verdict, the sheriff stated, was that the man was "believed to have come to death by violence at the hands of unknown parties." The officer added that the body had been in the water too long for him to determine the exact cause of death, but that "we are investigating."

"There have been no actual cases of lynching this year," Mrs. Ames said in commenting on the death of the Negro at Brownsville, "but three Negroes have been killed in Atlanta while resisting arrest. The style of lynching has changed so. They don't go in for a Roman holiday any more."

In other words, if lynchings still are being perpetrated they are being perpetrated quietly to avoid publicity. Only a few weeks ago the country was congratulating itself that a year had passed without a lynching. Now the question arises whether the mob is going out of business or merely is changing its technique. We prefer to believe it is going out of business.

6348

LYNCHINGS - 1940
DISCUSSIONS

WHITE PRESS, NORTHERN

Who Reduced Lynchings?

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: The eagerness of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching to claim credit for the South and her organization in the war against lynching is understandable, though there are many white Southerners, including members of the association, who do not think the problem of mob violence is as near solution as is claimed by Mrs. Ames in her recent statement that there have been no lynchings during the year that closed at midnight on May 8.

Mrs. Ames's claim is all the more extraordinary in view of the fact that Fulton County Grand Jury and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have turned up three mob murders by the Ku Klux Klan almost under the window of Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta, Ga.

Last March 2 a young white woman by the name of Sarah Rawls and a young white man, Benton Ford were beaten to death by a mob just outside Atlanta because they were sitting in a parked automobile. Five days later a 37-year-old white barber, Ike Gaston, was beaten to death by a Ku Klux Klan mob because he occasionally got drunk and beat his wife.

One wonders at Mrs. Ames' jubilation over what she terms a "12 months lynchless period," in the light of these killings.

Nor do the facts bear out Mrs. Ames' statement that we know more about lynchings nowadays and that fewer lynchings are hushed up. One of the most distinguished editors of the South recently stated that, with all the efforts of his and other Southern newspapers put forth, they do not know how many lynchings take place in the rural areas of the South. This editor adds that he knows many such cases never come to light.

Two other Georgia white women tell a different story in the current issue of the Georgia Review.

Apparently also Mrs. Ames does not know of the increased mob violence which is being practiced on labor organizers and on persons suspected of sympathizing with the efforts to unionize workers in textile and other plants which have been moving southward during recent years.

Finally, we cannot agree with either Mrs. Ames or The Washington Post that the reduction in the number of known lynchings is due solely to "the fruits of long years of campaigning to bring about 'lynch-consciousness.'" One of the chief factors has been fear by certain States that unless either lynchings were reduced or the news of lynchings kept from the public Congress would pass Federal legislation against this evil. If this were not true Senators Connally, Bilbo and Ellender would not filibuster so desperately against legislation to lend the weight of the Federal Government to that of the States in preventing lynchings and punishing lynchers—99.2 per cent of whom have gone scot free in the more than 5,000 lynchings since 1882.

Mrs. Ames does no service to the cause of ending lynching and the threat of lynching by glossing over the real facts. As Dean William H. Hastie said in a recent radio address, "Where millions can be intimidated only a few need be lynched to hold the rest in check."

WALTER WHITE,
Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
New York, May 15.

What Is A Lynching?

A spirited controversy arose last May when Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching issued a statement claiming that 12 consecutive months had passed without a lynching in the United States. Her assertion was immediately challenged by a number of correspondents whose letters were published in The Post.

Probably the most specific contradiction of this claim came from Mr. Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In our letter column of May 21 Mr. White declared that the "Fulton County Grand Jury and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have turned up three mob murders by the Ku Klux Klan almost under the window of Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta, Ga." Those "lynchings" were said to have taken place last March.

Another chapter in the controversy is now written by President Patterson of Tuskegee Institution. Under date of June 30 he writes:

According to the information compiled in the department of records and research, there is no record of a lynching for the first six months of 1940. This information is based on news releases and on investigations made by persons living in various areas.

So we are confronted by the question: what is a lynching? Were the cases in Georgia lynchings or gang slayings? If "lynching" means taking a prisoner out of the hands of law-enforcement officers and putting him to death, then the Georgia slayings seem to be outside that classification. If it means any slaying by a mob or gang, then lynching has not yet disappeared.

In at least one respect this controversy should have a salutary effect. It seems to have put some advocates of the anti-lynching bill on record in favor of Federal action against gangs that resort to murder. There are various types of gang or mob murder, including those for which Chicago and New York have been notorious. Certainly there would be no point in passing a law designed to counteract one particularly barbaric type of slaying, which seems to be extinct, while ignoring the more prevalent forms of murder, which are still a grave problem.

This controversy has helped to emphasize that murder is a ghastly crime whether it is perpetrated by an infuriated mob, by fanatical vigilantes, professional gangsters or amateur bandits. It is indisputable that more effective methods of eliminating murders of every type are needed. The public welfare would be served if all the groups that have interested themselves in the unconstitutional anti-lynching bill would drop that politics-ridden measure and work for more effective means of protecting human life within the framework of our Federal system.

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New York, May 15.

WHITE PRESS, NORTHERN

6349

WHAT WILL THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE DO ABOUT THIS?

Two days after the highest tribunal of the land hands down a decision upholding Negro rights and outlawing third-degree "confessions," the lynch reactionaries on the Maryland Eastern Shore unleash a reign of terror to nullify every word of the decision.

A 32-year-old Negro woman and her 14-year-old daughter were brutally and unlawfully thrown into jail in order to torture "information" out of them against their husband and father. There were no charges against them. A lynch mob brandishing a noose, tenderly treated by the sheriff and encouraged by the authorities' own violation of constitutional rights, kidnaps the women from the jail and rides them out to beat a "confession" out of them. Simultaneously, other Negroes are "spirited away" from jails to "prevent lynchings."

As we go to press, the lynch mob is searching for the husband and father of the women, Dave Collick, on charges of "rape and murder." The facts of the alleged crime are suspiciously unclear, but it is charged that a Negro entered the home of one Harvey Pilchard (probably a landlord) and "demanded money" and getting none, killed Pilchard and allegedly attacked his wife.

The Maryland Eastern Shore, only a stone's throw from the nation's capital, has been the scene of many lynchings and brutal terror against the Negro people. It is a farm area where the landlords keep the poor in near peonage. A big landlord of the state is Democratic Sen. Millard Tydings, a former anti-New Dealer, with whom President Roosevelt is now making peace. Recently the poor farmers—Negro and white—have taken to trade unionism, and the Negro people achieved a major victory against jim-crow wage conditions in the public schools.

This developing progressive unity and the fight for the anti-lynching bill undoubtedly account for the fact that Gov. O'Conor felt compelled to send state troopers to "avoid a lynching." But these Negroes are not safe—neither are their people—in the face of the open encouragement given by the state troopers to the lynchers. The sergeant whitewashes the kidnaping, the violations of constitutional rights, and says the lynch mob only wanted "information" from the women for whom a noose had been prepared. It will be just too bad for Collick when the mob finds him, says the sergeant cynically. This is the talk of a lyncher not a "protector."

Already the landlords and capitalists in the South are initiating the race riots and lynch terror against the Negro people which were heightened by the last world war hysteria. As we pointed out yesterday the only way in which the democratic liberties upheld Monday by the Supreme Court will be enforced, is through the strength of labor and the people, and through demanding that the Supreme Court outlaw the unconstitutional poll tax.

Meanwhile, protests should be sent to Gov. Herbert O'Conor at Annapolis, Md., and the fight for the passage of the anti-lynching bill in the Senate should be pressed with emergency vigor. What will the Federal Department of Justice do about this brazen violation of the 14th Amendment?

Lynching—1940 Style

• With much fanfare, the press has played up the claim that a "lynchless year" has just transpired.

It's too bad, that it is not so; and the fact that it isn't so, must be laid at the door of the Republican and Democratic Senators who are slowly strangling the anti-lynching bill to death.

The claim is that from May 8, 1939 to May 8, 1940, no lynching took place. But there have been, at least, five lynchings this year, according to the International Labor Defense.. Three were of white persons, including one woman, beaten to death by Ku Klux Klan floggers near Atlanta, Georgia. The recent "trial" of the Klan gangsters in Atlanta has revealed that three deputy sheriffs in Fulton County (Atlanta), were Klan leaders.

Thus lynching has taken on a new technique—similar to the one now being used against the anti-lynching bill by the Republican and Democratic Senators behind closed doors. The lynchers are now an official part of the state government, and mobilize their small Klan gangs to murder in the dead of night, out of sight of the growing ire of Southern communities. That's lynching, 1940 style, which the reactionaries discount because they take place "secretly."

The Republican Herald Tribune shows why the press plays up false "lynchless" statistics. "Perhaps now we shall hear less of those anti-lynching bills," it says editorially.

These "statistics" are a deceitful optimism designed to disperse the fight for Negro rights and to insure killing of the anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress. More than ever the Negro people, labor and all white Americans should demand of their Senators that the anti-lynching bill be put on the Senate calendar for passage before the present Congress adjourns.

Richard Wright Answers a Lynch Apologist

• Professional apologists for the crimes of race hatred and national oppression inevitably meet their defeat when they come up against the practical achievements of the Soviet Union in wiping out all oppression of man by man.

For example, a certain Mr. David L. Cohn, reviewing "Native Son" in the Atlantic Monthly, slanders the Negro people in general and Richard Wright in particular for daring to fight for full equality. Cohn says, in effect, that it's just too bad and can never be solved. But the brilliant Negro novelist, in the June issue of the same magazine, answers Cohn:

"The Negro problem is NOT beyond solution . . . Russia has solved the problem of the Jews and that of all her other racial and national minorities. Probably the Soviet solution is not to Mr. Cohn's liking, but I think it is to the liking of the Jews in Russia and Biro-Bidjan. I accept the Russian solution. I am proletarian and Mr. Cohn is bourgeois . . . we see Russia differently." (Wright's emphasis).

Wright's reference to the Soviet Union's obliteration of all the shameful theories and practices of "race superiority" shatters Cohn's arguments and unmasks his cowardly apology for the lynch system.

It is a tribute to Wright's powerful and courageous novel that it arouses anger in the breasts of the excuse-makers for capitalist oppression. And Cohn's idea of the crowning "sin" of "Native Son" was that:

"He (Wright) wants not only complete political rights for his people, but also social equality, and he wants them now."

When Wright answers—"Certainly I want them now. And what's wrong with my wanting them now?"—he did some plain speaking for his people and for all fair-minded Americans.

Negro People in the South Fight Back Against War-Inspired Lynch Violence

By Ben Davis, Jr.

Against a wave of increasing lynch terror, the Negro people are exhibiting a magnificent determination to fight for their rights, come what may.

Down in Atlanta, Georgia—the heart of the deep South and the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan—a handful of Negro voters defeated a city bond issue which would have excluded them altogether from new schools, hospitals and other contemplated projects. (In some Southern city elections, where there are no white primaries, Negroes can vote—provided, of course, they can get up the prohibitive po.. tax.)

Meanwhile, in Elizabeth, N. C., a small jerkwater town, the entire Negro population turned out in mass protest against replacing a Negro theatre manager by a white one in the Negro community. Even the calling of the state militia by the city officials did not deter them, and when the Ku Klux authorities attempted to attack them they defended themselves with sticks and stones—until the authorities changed their minds.

This is not 1917 and the warmongers who are responsible for the growing wave of racial hatred and chauvinism against the Negroes are being compelled to learn this historic fact. The National Administration, the two-faced Republican leaders, and their satellites in the state offices are finding not only a more determined and enlightened Negro minority, but a minority strengthened through its close ties with the labor and progressive movement.

MOB VIOLENCE

Developing simultaneously with the progressive determination of the Negroes, is an increasing drive of mob violence to strike terror into the country's 15 million Negroes. They must be intimidated lest they expose the Hitler skeleton in America's closet.

Last Sunday, the horrible—almost cannibalistic — spectacle of lynching a 16-year-old Negro boy took place in LaGrange, Georgia. This hapless youngster, torn from his unhappy family in this great and glorious democracy, was shot to death by a gang which covered itself in the moral innocence of a "rape" accusation.

Fired by the war hysteria which is making shambles of civil liberties, the lynch mob is confined to no one section of the country. In Cedarhurst, L. I., governed as in Manhattan by the great "liberal" Gov. Lehman an old-fashioned Mississippi lynch hunt for a Negro was begun a few days ago. Since mob hysteria spreads like the proverbial wildfire, we learn in the metropolitan press two days ago that a Negro was almost done to death in Mineola, L. I., by police and vigilantes. The charge, which must try even the most devoted adherents of the capitalist press, was that a Negro—some Negro, which soon means, any Negro—attacked a 63-year-old white woman.

This is "national defense," which means, in actuality, intensified national oppression. This is what Roosevelt and Willkie would crucify Earl Browder for fighting; this is the state of affairs for which American boys would be herded into khaki uniforms to defend. Above all, this is the Hitlerism which the Negro people themselves are being told that they must die for on pain of being labelled Fifth Columnists or nourishers of treason.

Capitalism which degrades, oppresses and heaps every type of indignation upon the Negro man and woman in peacetime, now tells them they must die to keep this system alive. There is scarcely anything too monstrous, too treacherous, too heartbreaking for capitalism to impose upon a Negro during "normal" times. But the Negroes are supposed to "forget" all this for the benefit of plucking Churchill's chestnuts, or of making Wall Street the richest greediest imperialist oppressor the world has ever seen. While the Negro is supposed to become cannon-fodder with his white brother to "smash Hitlerism," Hitlerism is enforced against him at home. And even in the armed and naval forces the Negroes are barred and segregated, and would die a jim-crow death.

KNIFE ANTI-LYNCH BILL

At the same time that Roosevelt and Willkie express a sadistic impatience with Congress' momentary delay on the fascist draft bill, there is no time for passing the anti-lynching bill or the Geyer anti-poll tax measure. This, of course, is not "national defense." These measures do not make more war profits for Wall Street; they do not help Roosevelt and Willkie put the people into a military straitjacket, in preparation for American imperialism's intended war of self-aggrandizement.

Both the Geyer anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynching bill become two of the most important fronts on which to fight the military dictatorship in Washington which is headed toward war abroad, and is already warring against labor, the foreign-born, the Negro and all other Americans at home. The cold contempt which both major parties express toward these measures is a danger signal for the entire Amer-

can people. What possible excuse can be given the people for the cynical ditching of these bills!

Yet the Roosevelt Administration, sailing under New Deal colors it long ago abandoned, is coming to the Negro people with the most sickening demagogy. The Administration is the Fifth Column travelling in a Trojan Horse, which at the same time harbors the Willkie-ite hitch-hikers. The Negro people are told that Roosevelt is the "lesser evil"—although if Roosevelt has said one word against lynching, one word for passage of the anti-lynching bill, one word for the Geyer bill, then Willkie, the Democrat, is a Republican. Both Willkie and Roosevelt are too busy wooing the solid lynchers in the un-solid South, to make even a concrete promise with regard to either the anti-lynching or the Geyer bills. They are afraid to encourage the Negroes to even hope for anything from them.

It must be strange indeed to the Negro and white common people in the South—hounded by abject poverty and pellagra—to hear that Roosevelt is the "lesser evil." Republican and Democratic Presidents pass in and out—but lynching, pellagra and poll taxes go on forever under both and either. It must have been great consolation to the eight Negroes lynched in 1940 to know that it was done under the beneficient and serene Administration of Roosevelt while the Republican Party looked on with silent "Lincolnesque" approval.

The bold struggle against their oppressors which the Negro people are beginning to manifest in this crisis should be encouraging to the whole peace movement. The struggle of the Negro people for disappearing constitutional liberties, is the core of the struggle for democracy, for free public expression. In the same proportion that Negroes are made victims of lynch hysteria, so will the rights of white Americans be dashed into garbage. National oppression—especially in a war period—is a rapacious monster never satiated with devouring the inalienable rights of minorities.

LYNCHING CONDEMNED

"WHEREAS, the practice of lynching is a heinous form of timidation and terror against the Negro people and against labor.

"WHEREAS, it serves as an instrument in the hands of the reactionaries, enemies of Negroes, and poor whites alike, to divide the ranks of labor and to spread racial antagonism, and

"WHEREAS, this practice of lawlessness is un-American, undemocratic, and contrary to the fundamental laws and bill of rights upon which our democracy was founded,

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this convention of the FIREMEN AND OILERS go on record in condemnation of the practice of lynching, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that this convention go on record in support of the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynch Bill and urge the Senate immediately to bring this bill up for a vote, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be taken to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, to the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L., and to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for adoption, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that copies of the resolution be sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee, to the President of the United States, and to the press."

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSIONS

WHITE PRESS, SOUTHERN

6347

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
January 15. 1940

Gang Killings or Lynchings, Which?

"The distinction between lynchings and gang killings is one which it is sometimes difficult to make." says the Richmond Times Dispatch. "For example, Tuskegee Institute, which reports that only three lynchings took place in the country in 1939, included in that number one slaying which the Baltimore Evening Sun is inclined to regard as probably 'less an organized mob action than simple murder.'

"The case was that of a 12-year-old boy who was struck by a taxi in Daytona Beach, Fla. He was killed instantly, and the negro taxi driver was arrested for manslaughter. While being taken to the county jail by the sheriff, two grown brothers of the slain boy blocked the road with their car, and shot the negro to death.

"Now was this a lynching or a murder? Webster defines the verb 'to lynch' as to inflict punishment upon, especially death, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person.' There was no 'mob' here, in the accepted sense of the term, but there was punishment 'without the forms of law.'

"Perhaps there is a disposition on the part of our Northern friends to catalogue as 'lynchings' killings which in other sections of the United States would be placed in a different category. The South's record in this respect is bad enough, without its being made to seem even worse through incorrect listings of murders as lynchings."

Coolecmee, N. C., Journal
January 11, 1940

THOUGHT OF THE WEEK

"THE LEAVES OF THE TREE WERE FOR THE HEALING OF THE NATIONS."—Rev. 22-1.

DECREASE IN LYNCHING

We are starting off 1940 with a number of things on the credit side, in spite of the wars and disasters which sweep over the world. We in the South are particularly gratified that there has been a decided drop in the number of lynchings during 1939, there being only three. This is due, we believe, to a determination of the Southern people to rid our section of the blot laid upon it whenever a group of lawless men takes law into their own hands. Particularly, the Southern women have become aroused, and are determined to stamp it out. This is the task of the South, in voluntary effort, and not by the necessity of Federal imposition of legislation. It has long been a standing disgrace to our section that this, reputedly most religious section of America, should be guilty of the greatest number lynchings. Lynchings in the Bible Belt have thrown discredit upon religion itself. We, in the South, are determined to put an end to such acts of violence. It is gratifying to note that the forces for righteouness are making progress.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
January 7. 1940

With or Against Gavaghan?

In Anderson a man, a white man, has been arrested on the charge of complicity in the beating of another white man by a gang of hooded and robed persons. Recently a negro was beaten by hooded men in Greenville. Many of these masked committers of violence on defenceless persons can be detected and arrested. To accomplish it nothing more than energetic efforts by police, sheriffs, constables, is necessary.

If white men in masks can seize and beat a white man, and escape punishment, lynching of white men by white men will come to be not uncommon in South Carolina.

About seventeen years ago a gang of hooded men drove to the home of a citizen in Lancaster county with the supposed intention of "regulating" him. The man, in his house, fired upon the invaders, killing one of them. He was arrested, tried for murder and acquitted. There was no other course open for the jury and the court. If the gang had killed the man they would have been lynchers.

The Gavaghan bill to instigate and revive lynching in the South is about to be pressed in congress by Representative Gavaghan Senator Wagner, Guffey, and other Northern "Democrats." They will be assisted by many Republicans. Northern Democrats and Northern Republicans in congress are in coalition against the South. The Southerners will oppose this so-called "anti-lynching" bill.

If South Carolina would help the Southern congressmen in their efforts to save the South, its forces of law will put an end promptly to violence and intimidation by hooded groups.

If South Carolina would contribute to the Gavaghan campaign it will tolerate hooded violence and intimidation.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
January 11, 1940

'Defining Lynching'

From the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

The distinction between lynchings and gang killings is one which it is sometimes difficult to make. For example, Tuskegee Institute, which reports that 'only three lynchings took place in the country in 1939, included in that number one slaying which the Baltimore Evening Sun is inclined to regard as probably "less an organized mob action than simply murder."

The case was that of a 12-year-old boy who was struck by a taxi in Daytona Beach, Fla. He was killed instantly, and the Negro taxi driver was arrested for manslaughter. While being taken to the county jail by the sheriff, two grown brothers of the slain boy blocked the road with their car, and shot the Negro to death.

Now was this a lynching or a murder? Webster defines the verb "to lynch" as "to inflict punishment upon, especially death, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person." There was no "mob" here, in the accepted sense of the term, but there was punishment "without the forms of law."

The Evening Sun mentions another case which was listed as a lynching some years ago. "A murderer in Arkansas (a Negro) was pursued by a posse, and in a gunfight in which a member of the posse was shot, the fugitive was killed." The paper asks whether this was a lynching. In the absence of further details, it is difficult to tell. Certainly the death of Babyface Nelson in a running gunfight with G-men could not be termed a lynching, but was the Arkansas " posse" a lynching mob, or was it legally deputized, and headed by the sheriff?

Perhaps there is a disposition on the part of our Northern friends to catalogue as "lynchings" killings which in other sections of the United States would be placed in a different category. The South's record in this respect is bad enough, without its being made to seem even worse through incorrect listings of murders as lynchings. Undoubtedly the same definition should apply everywhere. If the death of a suspected criminal, at the hands of a posse, is to be termed a lynching in Arkansas, it ought to be similarly listed in Wisconsin or Pennsylvania.

Asheville N. C. Citizen
January 10, 1940

WITHOUT REASON

On top of the announcement that the number of lynchings in the United States was the lowest in history last year, there having been only three in 1939, the latest action of the House cannot help creating much wonder in the South as to just what the political purposes behind the move are. Surely the actual need for such legislation has past, and there must be something in the minds of its sponsors which does not appear on the surface, else they would not have brought the anti-lynching bill to the top of the calendar.

Leaving aside the fact that Federal interference with local police powers is clearly without the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, the South, where most of the Negroes still live, has dealt manfully with this admitted evil itself. It has practically wiped it out, for what other crime can be numbered on one hand with fingers to spare?

That disposes of any actual, practical reason for the passage of the bill. As to political reasons, it would seem to be poor strategy for a Democratic leadership to badger the solid South in election year. Could an appeal for Northern Negro votes have anything to do with it? If so, they will be purchased at a high price.

Greenville, S. C. News
February 9, 1940

GANG MURDER AND LYNCHING

In recent years at least, there have been a great many more "gang murders" in the metropolitan centers than there have been lynchings in the South.

But sponsors of the federal "anti-lynching" bill vigorously reject any proposal to include "gang murders" in the measure. They would make lynching a federal crime, but have no sympathy with proposals to put gang murders on the same basis.

Of course there is a legal distinction between a "lynching" and a murder committed by a "gang." The essence of a "lynching" is that the victim is being punished for an alleged violation of the law, frequently being taken from the custody of officers for that purpose.

But in either case a murder has been committed, and if the sponsors of this law were genuinely concerned to use the federal powers to prevent that crime, they could not logically refuse to make their measure all-inclusive.

Their attitude, however, makes it clear that their effort is to have the federal courts punish officers of the law from whom prisoners may be taken and lynched. To assert the need of federal governmental "intervention" for that purpose is, in effect, to charge that officers connive with lynchers and that the state governments regard that connivance complacently. That

clear implication, unfounded as it is, is what makes the bill so obectionable. It is patently an effort for a federal "crack-down" gesture toward Southern officers to please the northern negro vote.

Monroe, Ga., Tribune
February 2, 1940

LYNCHING

(Christian Science Monitor)

Lynching is cowardly, brutal degrading to a community, violative of the safety and justice it pretends to uphold, and thoroughly contemptible and unjustifiable on any count. There need be no misgiving at any point as to our feelings about this form of mass murder.

Yet this is not to say that every legislative method brought forward as a means of stamping out lynching is meritorious or warranted or would accomplish its purpose. As a matter of fact the purposes of the Gavagan bill which has passed the House of Representatives have already been accomplished by other means to a far greater degree than any legislative force could accomplish them.

Whereas the number of lynchings in the United States during the 1880's and 1890's used to exceed one hundred a year, it was recorded on this page just a few days ago that only three such crimes took place in the United States during 1939. What has brought about this momentous change? To some extent, the pressure of public opinion and criticism in the North. But for much the greater part, a revulsion of public feeling and a tremendous change of thought due to education by awakened Southerners. Vastly more for the glory of Southern womanhood has been done by Southern womanhood itself in the campaign to eradicate lynching than could ever have been done by the apologists of lawlessness.

But now that the campaign has been substantially won, just why should there be such a political effort to impose financial penalties upon a county which happens to have been the scene of a lynching? The answer appears to be mainly that it is an effort to capitalize upon the negro vote of a few Northern communities. Honest law enforcement in some of the thousands of other homicide cases may be more important than the marshaling of Federal penalties against the few remaining cases of mob violence. Education rather than federal legislation has already shown itself to be the remedy for lynching.

Florence, S. C. Morning News
February 25, 1940

END OF THE LYNCHING ERA.

In the fifty-seven years since Tuskegee Institute began to keep a record of lynchings in the United States, more than 6,000 of them have taken place. The victims have been white men as well as Negroes. The lynchings have occurred in the North as well as the South. The six New England states alone seem to have had no lynchings at all in that period, but a little farther back in history they used to burn witches at the satke. All the other states have one or more mob crimes to their dishonor.

Yet when Adolf Hitler and other foreign critics point to lynching in the United States as a national evil, they are merely repeating what anti-lynching zealots in this country have said, and are ignoring certain very important facts in the case. In the first place, lynching is not condoned by right-thinking citizens in any section of the country or any state in the Union. Lynching his never been a government policy. The forces of law and justice have striven for years to end the evil. And now it has been reduced to an almost negligible minimum.

Great progress has been made in stamping out lynchings. Leaders in the South have been courageous and outspoken in their fight against it. Officers of the law in many cases have prevented lynchings at the risk of their own lives. Last year there were only three lynchings in the whole United States. There were seven in 1938, eight in 1937, and nine in 1936. These figures encourage the belief that there will soon come a year when no lynchings occur. Today it is the rarest crime in the country—made so by the efforts of the individual states.

Culpepper, Va., Star
February 1, 1940

LYNCHING?

The body of a young girl was found slain in a sewer in New York. She was described as a good girl, forced to work overtime at night to make her living. Was this a lynching? Perhaps not. But it was just as bad. The slaying was the work of some person worse than a lyncher.

A gangster was shot down on the streets of New York or maybe Chicago. The incident was described by the newspapers as a mob shooting. Was it a lynching or not? In all intents and purposes it was.

A poor negro degenerate in the deep south killed a white man (possibly for cause) and was strung up to a tree. A lynching? Of course it was but not any more of a lynching than was the gangster murder in New York and Chicago.

Before the Congress passes the anti-lynching bill it would do well to consider just what is behind it. As we see it now, it is a direct blow at the south.

Salisbury, N. C. Post
March 19, 1940

Underground Lynching, Too, Must Be Wiped Out

In a report entitled "Lynching Goes Underground" written by an anonymous investigator sponsored by United States Senators Robert F. Wagner and Arthur Capper, and by Representatives Joseph A. Cavagan and Hamilton Fish, charges against certain sections of the South are made which, if true, reveal the South of today as the locale of a sort of terrorism and crime worthy only of Stalinist Russia or Hitlerean Germany.

The report asserts:

"Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime. It is his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling blood-thirsty mob composed of men, women, and children. This is the new and dangerous method, devised by those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation."

This report carries the bold implication that apparent progress made against mob-rule in the agricultural south, and for that matter in other sections of the country as well, has been only apparent, and that steadily declining statistics relating to recognized lynchings of recent years have been counteracted in fact, by the introduction of "secret executions" on a large scale.

With such an implication proceeding from so respectable a source as represented by the members of Congress who have sponsored publication of the "Lynching Goes Underground" report, we may confidently expect a revival of demand for federal investigation and legislation along the lines of the hotly debated anti-lynching enactments already considered by Congress.

We are presented with newly forceful evidence then, that if the South is to sustain the decency and validity of its pronounced objections to federal lynch-law statutes it must find proof that these stories of "secret executions" are false or, if find them true, it must rid itself of the lynching evil overground and underground if it can hope to retain its sovereignty in administering citizens is strongly and bitterly opposed. The South must rid itself of the lynching to any further incursions upon the sovereign rights of their various commonwealths.

But, if 'Underground Lynchings" report, and sponsored by Fish, Cavagan, Capper, and Wagner is representative of true fact, then the decent citizens of the South might as well make up their minds that either lynchers or state's rights must go; and if federal anti-lynch legislation encroaches as far into the territory of what are properly the spheres of the various states, then responsible people of those states to whom such legislation will be wholly repugnant will have no choice but to blame themselves.

There should be no doubt in anybody's mind that the great body of responsible citizenry in the whole Southland stands as firmly and honestly for law and order as any group of people on the face of the earth. It has been more than adequately established that this same great body of law-abiding, self-respect-

Gadsden Ala. Call
Post 5-17-40

Lynch 'Em, We Don't Care!

We agree with local sentiment that nothing will be done about the recent beating and killing of the Colored man in the Fairfield jail.

Mayor Gilley has shown his willingness to see justice done in the matter, just as many other intelligent white people have done before him. Where is the aroused public opinion to back him? Will we express our encouragement and appreciation to him for his fairness? The answer is NO!

Our social and civic clubs, religious organizations have failed to even adopt a simple resolution commending him. Of course, he is motivated by his sense of fair play now, but if an issue is developed of this case involving his career, he will be forced to back down, just as you and I.

We are not willing to encourage, protect and support our leaders, so what can we expect?

Would our leaders be willing to raise $100 locally to help him secure justice? our guess is "No", and it will take the cash-on-the-barrelhead to convince us. Incidentally our donation is waiting for whatever committee or agency foolhardy enough to attempt to raise the money.

Johnson City, Tenn. Chronicle
April 6, 1940

Survey Shows Cotton Rules All Lynchings

Cases In South Rest On Main Product's Cost In Section

KNOXVILLE, April 5, (AP)—Lynchings in the South go down when the price of cotton goes up, an authority on the subject told the Southern Sociological conference here today.

Arthur Raper, of the Carnegie-Myrdal studies, said that over a period of decades, he had found cotton prices to be a barometer of lynchings with mob rule usually prevailing in periods of economic stress.

However, he said that during recent years cotton prices haven't been high and neither has the number of lynchings.

Direct Relation With Cotton Price

"There is a direct relation between the two," Raper said, "but the decrease in lynchings in recent years probably is due to a wide relief program. I am afraid the number of lynchings will increase if the relief program is discontinued or sharply curtailed."

The speaker said he believed a federal anti-lynch law was as necessary as the federal law prohibiting peonage.

"By the very nature of the two crimes," he asserted, "local courts are not going to punish offenders. My investigation shows lynch leaders are punished in less than one-half of one per cent of the cases. In the few cases where they are punished, they receive sentences of one to two years."

His studies convinced him that more than one-third of the lynch victims are not guilty of the offenses charged and that one-third of them have been accused only of misdemeanors. He added:

One-Sixth Of Persons Accused Of Assault

"From reports of over 5000 lynchings in white newspapers, only one-sixth of the persons were accused of criminal assault. Three-fourths of the persons lynched were not accused of sex crimes."

Mrs. Margaret Jarman Hagood of the University of North Carolina, declared that tenant farms in the South are cradling a great proportion of the next generation and urged increased public health and other social services.

"This is not a strictly regional problem," she said, "because children from these tenant farms will to a great extent restock the nation. These people are not biologically inferior but their children are the victims of cultural starvation."

B. O. Williams of Clemson college, secretary-treasurer of the sociological society, asserted there were many definite things the South could do to improve social and economic conditions. The most imperative, he said, was to get farm people to "produce a living at home."

Miami, Fla. Herald
June 13, 1940

Mob Violence Down East

THE mob armed with clubs and torches marched to the flimsy one-story headquarters, fired it, wrecked the furniture and destroyed the literature of the group.

No, this is not an account of a Southern mob but The Associated Press description of a good old Down East mob in sedate New England, in the sleepy little town of Kennebunk, Me.

Yes, 2,000 Down Easters got the mob spirit against Jehovah's Witnesses after two Kennebunk men had been wounded by a shotgun blast from the sect's headquarters where members had barricaded themselves on reports of mob violence against two of their group in a nearby town.

We are not pointing any finger at the Down Easters. We have lived too long in a glass house to hurl stones. But those congressmen, whose anti-lynch bill is aimed directly at the South, may give themselves pause when they see cultured, enlightened, God-fearing, broad-minded New England sacking and burning a religious sect's headquarters in true mob fashion.

We are ashamed of New England as we are ashamed of the South's mob violence.

And to what purpose do the righteous New Englanders rise to smite any sect for an odd religious belief about not saluting the flag because it would be a violation of their construction of the commandment against worship of images?

The best way to handle them would be to let them alone. So far as we can see they are harmless and the country has too many problems with subversive and dangerous individuals to be worrying about Jehovah's Witnesses.

Savannah, Ga., Press
August 6, 1940

Current affairs experts have discovered that lynchings increase when cotton goes down. We might work up a plan whereby the government will pay us for the lynchings we don't produce.

Lynching Is Condemned By Methodist Women

Special to THE CONSTITUTION.

GRANTVILLE, Ga., Sept. 17.—The Methodist women of the LaGrange district, in annual session here yesterday, denounced in vigorous terms the lynching near LaGrange on September 7 of a Negro youth accused of attempted criminal assault.

The resolutions also expressed gratitude to another Negro who, it is said, rescued the intended victim of the assault and turned the attacker over to the law. The resolutions were signed by Mrs. William Banks and Mrs. Durand Miller, president and secretary respectively of the district organization, and Mrs. Stewart Colley, superintendent of Christian Social Relations of the North Georgia Conference.

Charlotte, N. C., News
September 23, 1940

Confusion

Some Lynchings Turn Out To Be Cases of Murder

The 30th annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is in disagreement with Tuskegee Institute as to the number of lynchings in the South in 1939. Tuskegee listed three. But the NAACP lists four positively, and suggests strongly that there was at least one other.

However, light on its method of computation is afforded by observing the circumstances in the various cases.

One victim was found on a lonely country road where a black prowler had been molesting white couples for some time. He had been shot and then run over by a car. What happened is plain enough.

Another victim was shot to death, while being taken to jail, by the two brothers of a man fatally injured by the taxi of the victim a few hours earlier.

What we obviously have in both these instances is plain murder and not lynching at all. And in the first instance, there is reason to suspect that the victim only got what was coming to him.

There is a correlation between the prevalence of the lynch psychology and the ease with which Negroes can be murdered in some parts of the South, of course. However, murder is not lynching and to set down murder for lynching just because a Negro happens to be the victim, merely breeds confusion withouut doing any good.

Charlotte, N. C. News
October 10, 1940

Dubious Test

Strictly, Only a Mob Can Commit a Lynching

Some time ago, noticing the discrepancy between the lynching figures of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and those of Tuskegee Institute, we opined that the circumstances indicated that many of the NAACP "lynchings" were in fact simply murders and that it did no good to confuse the situation that way.

But The Greensboro News has its doubts, suggests that the real test of a lynching is whether or not the criminals are apprehended and convicted, or at least whether the community bestirs itself to apprehend and convict them — and especially whether or not the cops "recognize" them.

Still, we are unconvinced. If that were true, then the lynching record for many parts of the South would have to be greatly extended — would have been Gargantuan in the past. It is common knowledge that in some parts of the deep South the murder of a Negro by a white man was for long unlikely to result in more than a perfunctory trial and very often not even that. The lynch spirit lay and still lies behind such crimes.

Nevertheless, ordinary murder is a crime committed by one or a small number of people, without mob action. Lynching is murder by a mob, which by Mr. Webster's definition is a crowd under the influence of mass emotion.

We still think that the distinction ought to be preserved, even though it is recognized that it is the lynch spirit or at least indifference to the lynch spirit which causes the community to fail to act against the criminals.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 31, 1940

20 Years Ago Today

(DECEMBER 31, 1920)

LYNCHINGS FEWER IN 1920 — Tuskegee— Lynchings were less numerous during 1920 than in 1919, records compiled at Tuskegee Institute show. Sixty-one persons, including eight white men were put to death by mobs this year as compared with 83 last year and 64 in 1918.

TOM WARD ALSO HAS EXCEPTIONAL BIRD DOG—Tuscaloosa hunters were greatly interested in the story that was related by Manager Gilder of the McLester about his dog stopping to point another bird while retrieving with two birds in his mouth. T. B. Ward, one of the most ardent sportsmen in the city, went Mr. Gilder one better. He says he was out hunting the other day with his favorite dog, when it scented a bird across a ravine filled with back water from the river. The well-trained dog plunged into the water and started to swim across, and when in the middle of the deep water scented another bird on the side of the creek. According to Mr. Ward, the dog immediately came to a stand in the middle of the creek and remained rigid for a few seconds, till it sunk beneath the water, which brought the intelligent animal to its senses and it immediately swan on across the creek, having learned the lesson that it was impossible to point a bird while swimming in water over its head.

COMMISSIONER ENTERTAINS FIRE DEPARTMENT—Fire Commissioner Hugh Prince entertained the Fire Department laddies and some of the city officials at a most elaborate dinner Monday at the Busy Bee Cafe. Those present were: Pete Mathews, Tully Chism, Jim Clinton, Bob Gay, Jim Gafford, Perry Andow, Boon Hight, Joe Tinsley, Truman Daniel and Fire C[illegible] Beatty. Others present were: J. Virgil Jone[illegible], city clerk, Commissioner Robertson, Commisisoner Harris, Chief of Police McDuff, Charles Abbot of the water department and Capt. George Morris of the street department.

WORK OF NEW CHURCH PROGRESSES—Workmen are now busy riveting the great steel trusses that are to hold up the roof of the First Methodist Church. There are six of these tresses and each one will weigh 3,500 pounds. They had to be made heavy so as to hold up the terra cotta roofing that will be put on the building. the work of hoisting the trusses to the top of the building will be quite a job.

A tree some forty to fifty feet long has been procured and it will be put in the building in an upright position and a block and tackle adjusted to the top of the long pole and in that manner the trusses on top of the walls of the church edifice. As soon as the trusses are placed in position the work of putting on the roof will be commenced and then it will be easy sailing to finish the interior of the church. When completed, it will be one of the handsomest places of worship in Alabama.

PERSONALS—Mr. and Mrs. Saul Smith, Miss Martha Smith and Misses Pearl and Curtis Parr have returned from a week-end visit with relatives near Greensboro.

Misses Mazie and Abby Hogan returned recently from a short but pleasant visit with relatives in Birmingham.

Miss Mary Sloss has gone to Birmingham for a short visit with relatives.

Miss Mary Evans Rose, one of the most attractive high school students in the city, has gone to Athens to spend the remainder of the Christmas holidays with relatives.

Mr. and Mrs. Owen Meredith and children of Tuscaloosa are visiting relatives in Eutaw.

Dr. and Mrs. George Denny of the University are spending the holidays with relatives in Atlanta.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSIONS

WHITE PRESS, SOUTHERN

6352

Gadsden, Ala., Times
January 5, 1940

How To Define Lynching

WE always learn. A few days ago, we were informed that there were only three lynchings in America during 1939—a record.

This was good news, but now comes R. B. Eleazor, educational director of the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, to give us some even more enlightening information on these "lynchings." Of the persons "lynched," two were negroes, one was white.

The year's first "lynching" occurred at Panama City, Fla., on April 1, when Miles W. Brown a white man, was shot to death after being taken from the Bay County jail by a band of "four or five" masked men. Brown had been convicted of the first degree murder of a former employer, with a recommendation for mercy which carries a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. Brown's jail guards quoted the masked men as expressing resentment that Brown had not received the death penalty, and saying that "the law didn't do justice but we will."

The second lynching occurred on April 29 near Daytona Beach, Fla. An automobile driven by Lee Snell, negro taxi driver, druck a bicycle ridden by Benny Blackwelder, 12. The boy was killed almost instantly. Snell was immediately taken into custody by Daytona Beach police and held for county authorities. A few hours afterward, a constable swore out a warrant for Snell, charging him with manslaughter. He took the prisoner in custody and started for Deland, the county seat. When he had got about four miles from Daytona Beach, the constable was overtaken and passed by an automobile occupied by Everett and Earl Blackwelder, brothers of the dead boy. According to the constable, the Blackwelders swung their car across the road and blocked it. When the negro got out of the constable's automobile several shots were fired into his body. The brothers were indicted on a first-degree murder charge but were acquitted.

The third lynching victim was Joe Rogers, a negro sawmill worker at Canton, Miss. Rogers allegedly engaged in an altercation with a white foreman of the sawmill. The foreman, according to witnesses, was struck on the head and knocked unconscious. Several days later the negro's body was found in the Pearl River near Canton, bound and badly beaten.

Those were all inexcusable crimes, but were they all "lynchings?" We know that it is a difficult matter to define accurately a lynching, but is not the popular conception that of a mob, composed at least in part by persons with no direct interest of their own in the original crime, which takes the law into its hands? Especially do we challenge the right to call the Daytona Beach incident a lynch case. Here were only two men involved, and both of these directly concerned in the case. There was no mob action; these brothers of the dead boy merely shot down this negro in a murder of revenge. In Kansas City a few years ago, there was a murder of revenge, by gangsters, at a great railroad station, with the victims in the cutody of officers precisely as was this negro. Was that murder called a lynching, and if not, why not? Was it not as much of a lynching as this Daytona Beach case, and if not, why not? Would it not have come under the provisions of the proposed federal anti-lynching law just as much as the Daytona Beach case, and if not, why not?

In the end, it all boils down to this: If there is any difficulty in defining what and what is not a lynching, just remember one thing—if the crime occurs above the Mason and Dixon Line, it's just another murder; if it occurs below the Mason and Dixon Line, it's a lynching! If you don't believe that, look at these records of "lynchings" for 1939; if you don't believe it, look at the anti-lynching bill, in which every effort is made to protect those counties in which murders by labor mobs and murder by mobs of racketeers occur, while every effort is made to brand as a lynching anything that looks like, smells like, or tastes like murder, just as long as it's in the South.

Marion, N. C., News
January 11, 1940

New Low In Lynchings

END-OF-THE-YEAR records reveal that there were only three lynchings in the United States during 1939. While that was three too many, it was the lowest number on record. Annual reports compiled by the Commission on Interracial Co-operation in Atlanta and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama disclose that the number has dropped steadily decade by decade from the peak of 231 in 1892. Of the persons lynched last year, two were Negroes and one was white.

It is profoundly gratifying to contemplate evidence of the passing of lynch law, or, as it should more accurately be termed, lynch lawlessness. The 4,689 recorded lynchings in the United States since 1882—They have occurred in the North as well as the South—have been a dark blot on the national life. While the expansion of law enforcement agencies in recent years has been a major contributing factor in reducing mob violence, much credit is ascribed by the Commission "to religious and civic agencies which have crusaded against it." This has brought the force of a more enlightened public opinion to bear. All Americans will hope that even the all-time low of three in 1939 will be beaten by a clean slate in 1940.

Orlando, Fla., Morning Sentinel
January 12, 1940

Fading Out of Picture

LET EVERY intelligent person judge for himself whether there is any excuse or defense for the anti-lynching measure now pressed on Congress by Northern politicians.

Look at the record: In 1910 thruout the entire country there were 76 lynchings; in 1920 they had dropped to 61; in 1930 to 21; in 1936 to nine; in 1939 to only three.

Why enact a Federal law supplanting local police authority to control an evil that is curing itself?

It is cured by the rapidly-rising ascendency of public opinion, which is just as strong against lynchings South as North.

Congress could well devote itself to some subject of more importance and of less questionable constitutionality.

Editorial of the Day

ALL ARE MURDERERS
(From the Asheville Citizen.)

The lyncher is a murderer. The simple fact that his crime is usually committed in the security of numbers does not alter the fact that he is a murderer.

There are other murders committed each year in this fair land of ours. In all too many of such cases the guilty person is never brought to justice.

For instance, gangsters have a way of killing those who incur their displeasure. The justice meted out to the person who squeals to the police or to the courts is usually swift and quite often barbaric. It rarely happens that the guilty persons are apprehended and punished.

Futhermore, industrial strife produces its homicides each year in this country. Occasionally such murders are committed by members of one or the other of the warring factions. In other instances they are perpetrated by union racketeers who are trying to protect their extortionate activities.

The person murdered by a gangster or an industrial racketeer is just as dead as an unfortunate negro lynched by a bloodthirsty mob.

Congressman Gavagan hopes to prevent lynchings through the punitive machinery which he provides in his bill. If this machinery will be effective in preventing lynchings it will be equally as effective in preventing gang and labor war murders.

Such being the case, it stands to reason that the law should be amended to include gang and labor war murderers. While congress is about the business of preventing murders, it might as well do a thorough job of it.

The only defect in this argument lies in the pertinent fact that Mr. Gavagan hails from New York. His state does not have any lynchings but it does furnish more than its proportionate share of murders committed by gangsters and labor toughs.

Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
January 8. 1940

How To Define Lynching

(From Tuscaloosa News).

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The Lynching Record

Within a few days, if routine is followed, one of several AntiLynching Bills will have its day in Congress. Like all others of its character, it is a provocative measure which, if passed, would do far more harm than good. Those who are sponsoring it, of course, hope to make political capital of their effort. They can have no other motive that is sound.

So much has been written and said in opposition to antilynching measures that it would be superfluous to reiterate that such laws are not necessary to bring about justice, but the 1939 lynching record represents such great progress that it is, in itself, proof that Federal interference in the law enforcement processes of states is unwarranted.

1-3-40

The record is offered by Tuskegee Institute for Negroes, which keeps a sharp eye on the lynching situation. The Tuskegee figures show that there were but three lynchings in 1939, two of which involved negroes, and the other a white.

In 1938 there were six lynchings.
In 1937 and 1936 there were eight.
In 1935 there were 20.

To have reduced the year's total from 20 to three within a three-year period is an extraordinary accomplishment in which the Federal Government has had no part. Greater activity on the part of local law enforcement agencies and growing public repugnancy to summary executions alone are responsible.

And what is the record of local law enforcement officials? Tuskegee supplies the answer in figures which prove that local law enforcement officers prevented 18 lynchings involving 25 potential victims. Five of those saved were whites and 20 were negro men. All of those preventive incidents occurred in the South.

The political opportunists who are urging passage of Federal AntiLynching Bills have argued that lynching cannot be eliminated from the American scene until the power of Federal Government interferes with local processes of law enforcement.

The progressive annual reduction of lynchings proves the falsity of the argument. Local areas have made the reduction without any outside aid. If the total for the year 1939 can be reduced to three, it is reasonable to believe that if there is no interference from outside sources, the areas where lynching was once far more prevalent than it is now, will have completely eliminated the curse.

In the face of the lynching record from 1935 to 1939 it is incredible that any sponsor of an antilynching measure would dare arise in Congress and further argue that local law enforcement officers are either unwilling or unable to satisfactorily insure strict justice within their respective jurisdictions.

The South has never been proud of the American antilynching record, which is by no means sectional in all its aspects. It is proud of the progress it is making in voluntarily eliminating lynching.

Anniston, Ala. Star
May 15. 1940

Record To Be Proud Of

A complete year has passed without a single lynching in the South.

Does it seem strange to cite this as a "record?" Mrs. Jessie Ames of the Association of Southern Women for Prevention of Lynchings, is authority that this record has not been equaled in 118 years.

To Mrs. Ames and to thousands of courageous men and women like her throughout the South belongs much of the credit. They have worked steadily and faithfully to erase this blot on the national honor. The existence of these brave and far-seeing men and women is a source of pride to their country. They are a ray of hope for continuation of this progress toward law and order.

Members of this association and of others working to combat share-cropping evils, civil liberties abuses, "one-crop-ism," economic colonialism, and other sectional evils are serving their section as bravely as ever their grandfathers did in arms, and at the same time they are serving the whole country.

Anderson, S. C., Mail
May 14. 1940

A YEAR WITHOUT A LYNCHING

Civilization in Europe seems in its decadence, but here in our own Southland it has attained another milepost in its steady march of progress.

Midnight of May 8 marked the close of a year without a single lynching. Thus for the first time within a century this nation has gone a full twelve months without the blemish of extreme mob violence.

This goal was not attained in a single sweep, for the number of cases of lynching has steadily decreased since 1892 when the gory toll in the nation was 231. Most of those were in the newly opened West, but soon the trail moved southward, and since the turn of the century the South has been the center of the lynching belt.

Better law enforcement plus a rising public opinion has gradually redeemed this section from the scourge, however, and now there is hope that this relic of barbarism is fully conquered.

6353

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

WHITE PRESS SOUTHERN

Batesburg, S. C. News
September 13, 1940

- FOOD FOR LYNCH LAW AGITATORS

In LaGrange, Ga., several days ago six men broke into the jail in that city, carried away and lynched an 18-year-old negro youth. Back about ten years ago there would have been several hundred men taking part in the lynching instead of the six today, and there would have been 10 to 20 lynchings this far in the year against the one or two so far this year.

While we can't condone this lawlessness of even one or two lynchings a year, we don't believe the fault lies entirely with the lynchers. If the courts gave swift and sure justice lynchings would entirely disappear from the nation and the south.

However, if the war does not monopolize all of the attention of congress, this lynching will probably give those who have been trying to saddle lynch laws on the South plenty of food for talk for the next six months.

Greenville, Tenn., Sun
May 21, 1940

Lynchless Year

It is silly for the pressure of the anti-lynching bill to be maintained in face of the fact that there has been no lynching in the past twelve months. The influences that keep up the agitation are among those groups now beginning to be recognized as dangerous elements.

The Southern states have cured this evil by their own volition. It is wiped out. It will stay wiped out.

Unless the agitators bring about a situation where sure and condign punishment is necessary to control intolerable crimes.

Columbia, S. C. Record
September 13, 1940

Supplies The Evidence.

Early Sunday morning—why Sunday?—six masked men took an 18-year-old Negro boy from the jail at LaGrange, Ga., and shot him to death.

The acting jailor explained that he was forced to lead the masked men, one of whom at least was armed, to the Negro's cell and to unlock the door, delivering his prisoner to his murderers.

The Negro was found, fatally wounded, on the highway only eight miles from the town. He had been shot three times through the head; there were bullet holes in his hands and arms. He died that afternoon at a LaGrange hospital.

The chief of police and the county sheriff are "working" on the case, but they do not expect to make any arrests. They have, they explain, few clues to guide them; the acting jailor could recognize nobody.

And so Georgia slips back and offers the advocates of the federal anti-lynching bill another argument for that measure's revival and enactment. For the LaGrange lynching was demonstrably an avoidable lynching. If only due care had been exercised there would have been no prisoner at LaGrange to be lynched; the Negro youth could easily enough have been removed to some other jail for safe-keeping. And if the officers had been prepared to resist the would-be lynchers there would have been no lynching; it takes more than six men with masks and a gun to storm a jail where the law enforcement officers are ready to use their own guns to see that the law is upheld.

Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
September 12, 1940

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West Palm Beach, Fla. Times
September 27, 1940

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS

MURDER BY SUB-COMMITTEE

Six hoodlums have given LaGrange, Georgia, the dubious distinction of having the South's first lynching in many months. They took a 16-year-old negro boy from the city jail, shot him full of bullet holes and left him dying beside the road eight miles from town. He had been charged with "attempting to molest a white woman."

Attention to this crime should extend beyond Georgia, not only because it is the first violence of its kind in several months, but also because the criminals apparently used the new and sinister "sub-committee technique" against which the opponents of lynching have warned in recent months.

Instead of stirring up a large mob, a few hoodlums appoint themselves to "do the job" with less noise and notoriety than would be attracted by a larger crowd. They think this makes it easier for the whole thing to blow over. Good citizens should demand that law enforcement officers and courts apply the full punishment of the law to these "sub-committee" murderers.—Tampa Times.

Columbus Ga Enquirer Sun
September 27, 1940

WILLKIE FOR FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Southerners generally will not like the attitude of Wendell Willkie, the republican presidential nominee, in supporting the proposed anti-lynching measure that is pending, in congress.

The Greenville News says that "Southern citizens have not failed to note that he declared his support "for the bill which is obnoxious to the majority o the people of this region."

'On the so-called federal anti-lynching bill Mr. Willkie, it would seem, has rushed in where Roosevelt has feared to tread," says the News. 'Mr. Roosevelt has never declared his position on this measure and has apparently taken the attitude of leaving it entirely to Congress. But in addressing a Chicago meeting Mr. Willkie spoke out and said he favored the enactment of such a measure.

"It must be said that this declaration, forthright though it must be admitted to be, will not sit well with that great body of Southern citizens who regard this proposed measure as not only unnecessary bu also as a mere piece of political bait for Northern negro votes.

"Of course this 'issue' is one that cuts across party lines; and some Democrats have been leaders in the movement for the enactment of such a law. Mr. Willkie's endorsement of it may be expected to strengthen the effort for it; and if he were elected it would become in actual effect an administration measure. That prospect, we rather think, is likely to cool some of the enthusiasm for him in the South."

Conditions have so improved in the South with reference to mob killings that this region has clearly demonstrated its ability to handle the matter without resorting to federal legislation.

The proposed bill would impose a stiff penalty upon the county in which the lynching occurred, despite the fact that the constituted authorities of the county might have made every effort to prevent it. Such a provision is unfair and discriminatory.

Congress is now concerned with a preparedness program of great importance and its attention to plans for the nation's security will be required for months to come. Certainly, there is no time to devote to this highly controversial measure.

Lynching Comes Out In Open Again

DEC 21 1940

LYNCHING, which went partly "underground" was partly suppressed while there was some hope for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law, came out in the open again last Sunday at Georgetown, South Carolina.

A Negro man was accused of a crime, the kind of crime that has more often than any other been left to the discretion of mobs. Before the accused man was apprehended a mob of some three hundred men, armed with guns and pistols, went to the jail and demanded of the sheriff that they be permitted to take custody of 11 men who had been arrested overnight, for the purpose of having these men tried by the mob in an effort to locate the exact man they wanted.

Strangely enough, the sheriff allowed the mob to have its way. One prisoner was taken out of the jail and carried away to be identified by the victim of the crime. The identification failed. Then the victim was brought to the jail by the mob —not by the law—to see if her attacker was among the other 10. This failed.

The sheriff, or his deputies, meanwhile arrested a suspect and carried him away to a distant prison, foiling the mob. The next day, the mob, still armed with guns and pistols, chased ALL of the colored people in the town off the streets and away from their jobs. Further action at the jail was prevented by the intervention of a squad of state militiamen called out by the Governor.

But the terrorization of colored people continued, and right under the eyes of the state laws and the state police and militia they were as a whole deprived of the peaceful pursuit of life. They were deprived of the right to work. They were each and every one made a fugitive fleeing for their lives from a mob which took charge of the town.

In the face of this form of anarchy who is there willing to say that there is no need that the federal government enact laws to protect its citizens under the constitution and laws of the country?

Facing A Year Of War Weeping, Highway Fatalities And Possible Lynchings

DEC 29 1940

We are nearing the threshold of a New Year, but from the records of the past, we have nothing to expect but a continuation of the woes we have experienced in the past. This is due largely to the fact that nothing has been done in a remedial way to cut short this expectation. To look for better under this condition would be like hunting pie in the sky.

The coming year will beyond all doubt shape the destiny of the world. In it will probably be decided the turning point of the great catastrophe now raging in Europe. It will be Britains to stand or not to stand—it will be ours to fight or not to fight and it will be Hitler's to win or not to win. We shall see what we see.

The past year has been a reel of highway fatalities and homicides. It has not been without these crying incidents for a single week. While our patrol on the highway has done some fine work, nevertheless the highways have not been free from those groggy and heart-breaking scenes of the weeping, the broken and the dying. The speed and drunken fiends have not been cleared. The roads in many places are broken and unpaved and on every hand there is the horror of the narrow ways, the death trap and the deadly curves. These will make their usual contribution to our menacing problems.

The record for the year is terrible when it comes to the homicides. In our large cities the excuseless method of pumping bullets into the body of the offender, wielding the knife and ice pick is still at an all high. The pardon records, in which dangerous criminals are turned loose to ply their trade on a better and bigger scale, is an encouragement to those who have a grudge of the least sort, to go forth and kill again.

We can therefore expect the newspapers to inform us periodically of the Saturday night and Sunday homicides. The church, the newspapers and the civic forums have done little in curbing this evil. The pardoning records would not in anywise conform to a principle of helping the courts. Therefore we will beyond doubt have for 1941 an open season for killings.

The records kept at Tuskegee by an organization formed years ago by Dr. Monroe N. Work, while showing a decline in lynchings does not give that encouragement that it will disappear from the earth.

Georgia closes the year with her record spotted and while we must admit that she has not had as many lynchings as in the past, she has had too many.

As the year closes everyone should resolve that the coming year be made better. The world should be made better by those living in it, and there is no just reason why we should not be a better people, closer to God and exhibiting a finer sentiment of brotherly kindness.

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSION OF

WHITE PRESS SOUTHERN

6354

Fayetteville, N. C., Observer
September 9, 1940

SNEAK THIEF TECHNIQUE.

We had been congratulating the South that lynching was virtually a thing of the past when six white men took a negro boy from the city jail at LaGrange, Georgia, drove into the country and shot him through the head. The 16-year-old negro had been charged with attempting to attack a white woman.

Deplorable as was the lynching its technique indicates an altogether encouraging change in the trend. There was no big massed mob, no open assault on the jail, no ritual of the rope and the tree.

Six men, acting with all the finesse of sneak thieves or bank robbers, maneuvered to the rear of the unsuspecting jailor, prodded him in the back with a pistol, forced him to open the cell, and then after they had secured their prisoner they wasted no time about killing him with two or three shots through the head, whereupon they dumped the body and got away.

It is high time that we stopped calling this sort of cowardly crime a lynching and it is high time we started calling it murder and treating those who perperate it like the murderers they are.

Roanoke, Va., World News
October 3, 1940

III 36

Parties to the Crime

728

An apparent discrepancy between the reports of Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as to the number of lynchings last year seems to turn on definitions. The National Association lists four lynchings and suggests a fifth. Tuskegee admits only three to its list. The Charlotte *News* says the question at issue is when is a lynching a lynching, and a murder a murder?

Our own definition runs with that of Tuskegee. To constitute a lynching there must be not only the killing of an unarmed and defenseless person, but an attack on the law, as in the case of a prisoner taken from officers or from jail, for mob vengeance.

The Charlotte paper suggests a correlation between the prevalence of the lynch psychology and the ease with which Negroes can be murdered in some parts of the Deep South. To set down murder for lynching just because the victim happens to be colored merely complicates the study of a crime that, it is to be hoped, is being eradicated.

The Greensboro *News* is not disposed to engage in legalistic hair splitting. It finds its definition not so much in the manner of the crime, nor whether the victim was in the hands of the law, as in the attitude of courts, juries, prosecutors and arresting officials. When an individual is lynched, he is murdered. Considering the mob psychology exhibited, *The News* suggests this practical test of differentiating between murder and lynching for purposes of the record:

When those who take the victim's life are apprehended, haled before the bar of justice and punished for their crime, it is willing to concede that they committed a murder. Those who take their murder out in lynching simply are not treated that way. Officers recognize a murderer. But *The News* pertinently asks: When did anyone hear of a sheriff or arresting officer recognizing any member of a lynching party? To simplify the formula, it suggests: Murderers are frequently caught; lynchers never.

That definition seems to stand the test, for lynching has ceased in those States and those localities where lynchers are promptly sent to prison for their crime of murder. Where lynchings have not ceased, but where so-called good citizens continue in office those who fail to arrest and prosecute lynchers, we are forced to the conclusion that these so-called good citizens, who have failed to exert the force of public opinion against this form of murder, are morally if not legally parties to the crime.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Obse
September 13, 1940

Make It The Last

The lynching which occurred at La Grange, Georgia, last Sunday night is the direct responsibility of the State of Georgia, but the consequences must be shared by the entire South.

Prior to that lynching there had not been one for 15 months and the country was well on the way to the first calendar year without a lynching. Perhaps an isolated instance of mob law was inevitable and the lynching in Georgia could be accepted with better grace were it not for the surrounding circumstances. But even if an occasional lynching be accepted as inevitable, there is no excuse for a lynching which apparently accompanied by an utter disregard for duty on the part of the county sheriff. For a lynching to have occurred in spite of real efforts to prevent it would have been one thing. For it to have occurred in the absence of such effort is quite another thing. The sheriff who permitted a mob to take a young Negro out of his jail and shoot him, not only did not stop the mob, he reports himself "unable to recognize any of them."

The time when such conduct on the part of law enforcement officers was generally blinked at has happily passed. Such official conduct should not be tolerated in any instance. If the statutes of Georgia provide for such procedure, the sheriff should be promptly removed by the Governor. If there is no such law, the people should remove him from office at the first opportunity.

Unfortunately, the State of Georgia has shown no disposition so far to deal with the mob or the sheriff who supinely permitted the mob to take his prisoner.

Law-abiding people of Georgia should make themselves heard and law-abiding people of all Southern States should resolve that if this disgra[illegible] incident in Georgia is not the last lynching in the South it shall be the last one to go unpunished.

One unworthy sheriff in Georgia and a complacent community have weakened the strongest argument there is against a Federal anti-lynching law. There should be no further weakening of that argument

Tampa, Fla., Times
September 10, 1940

Georgia Murder By Sub-Committee

Six hoodlums have given LaGrange, Georgia, the dubious distinction of having the South's first lynching in many months. They took a 16-year-old Negro boy from the City jail, shot him full of bullet holes and left him dying beside the road eight miles from town. He had been charged with "attempting to molest a white woman."

Attention to this crime should extend beyond Georgia, not only because it is the first violence of its kind in several months, but also because the criminals apparently used the new and sinister "sub-committee technique" against which the opponents of lynching have warned in recent months.

Instead of stirring up a large mob, a few hoodlums appoint themselves to "do the job" with less noise and notoriety than would be attracted by a larger crowd. They think this makes it easier for the whole thing to blow over. Good citizens should demand that law enforcement officers and courts apply the full punishment of the law to these "sub-committee" murderers.

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
October 4, 1940

A Test for Lynching

From the Greensboro Daily News

Esteemed Charlotte News, taking note of the discrepancy between reports of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of Tuskegee institute as to the number of lynchings in the South last year, raises the question when is a lynching a lynching and a murder a murder. The NAACP lists four lynchings positively and suggests strongly that there was at least one other. Tuskegee says there were three.

Our Charlotte contemporary, considering the former report, elaborates:

"However, light on its method of computation is afforded by observing the circumstances in the various cases.

"One victim was found on a lonely country road where a black prowler had been molesting white couples for some time. He had been shot and then run over by a car. What happened is plain enough.

"Another victim was shot to death, while being taken to jail, by the two brothers of a man fatally injured by the taxi of the victim a few hours earlier.

"What we obviously have in both these instances is plain murder and not lynching at all.

"There is a correlation between the prevalence of the lynch psychology and the ease with which Negroes can be murdered in some parts of the South, of course. However, murder is not lynching and to set down murder for lynching just because a Negro happens to be the victim, merely breeds confusion without doing any good."

The Daily News is not disposed to indulge in any legalistic hair-splitting. Certainly when an individual is lynched, done to death, he is murdered somewhere in the process. Everything, especially the spirit and mob psychology exhibited, considered, we are willing to abide upon a practical test until a more satisfactory or convincing means of differentiation is devised. When those who take the victim's life are apprehended, haled before the bar of justice and punished for their offending, we'll concede that they committed a murder. Those who take their murder out in lynchings simply are not treated that way. Officers recognize a murderer. But whoever heard of their recognizing any members of a lynching party? To simplify the formula: Murderers frequently are caught; lynchers never.

Mobile, Ala., Forum Sun,
Aug. 23, 1940

ST. LOUIS ST. CHURCH HOLDS SPECIAL SERVICES

Sunday, August 25 will be known as "Negro Business Cooperation Day" at the St. Louis Street Baptist Church, it has been announced. Representatives from all phases of Negro business have been invited. The business men of the city will be presented by the pastor, Rev. B.B. Williams who planned this unique service. The purpose of the meeting, according to Rev. Williams, is to encourage the patronage of Negro business. The public is invited.

Lynchings or Murders?

MAY 18 1940

It is denied by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the South has just enjoyed its first lynchless period of 12 months. The association points to three killings in Georgia during March, and calls them all lynchings. Maybe they were, although judgment must be reserved on that point until further details are at hand.

Richmond Times.

The victims of these Georgia slayings were two white men and one white woman, all supposedly beaten to death by persons dominated by, or belonging to, the Ku-Klux Klan. The question is whether these were lynchings, any more than Northern gang killings are lynchings. In the case of the gang killings, they aren't counted as lynchings in the tabulations.

Richmond

Of the three Georgia victims, SARAH RAWLS and BENTON FORD were found beaten to death in a local "lovers' lane," where they had been sitting in FORD'S car. IKE GASTON, a barber, was found dead in a field a few nights later, "cut to shreds by blows from a long, cleated belt."

MAY 18 1940

Couldn't two or three persons have put all three of these Georgians to death? What evidence is there that there was a "mob," in the commonly accepted sense of the term? True, the crimes are just as dastardly, and the three unfortunates are just as dead as if they had been tortured for hours by hundreds of howling lynchers, and then put out of their agony, but the fact remains that a statistical distinction is always made between gang killings and murders, on the one hand, and lynchings on the other.

MAY 18 1940

The document on which the N. A. A. C. P. says it relies for substantiation of its declaration that there were three lynchings in Georgia in March, is an article, "The Klan Rides Again," published in the *Nation* for April 6, and written by RICHARD H. ROVERE. Nowhere in that article does the word "lynching" occur. There are references to "nightriders," "floggings," "beatings" and "killings," but isn't it significant that there is no charge that these Georgia affairs were lynchings?

Until the N. A. A. C. P. produces more convincing evidence that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is unjustified in its jubilation over the first lynchless twelvemonth in the South's history we shall consider their jubilation to be soundly based.

Greenwood S. C. Index-Journal
December 23, 1940

"HOLD FIRM FOR LAW

From the News and Courier.

In No Case is a lynching justifiable or excusable. Nor is the beating of negroes because a crime has been committed. Were persons accused of the crime that so often inflames men to lynch tried by special courts and were their verdicts and sentences enforced in seven days or less time it would be lawful. In any state or region where are unusual circumstances that affect the character of a crime in the public mind, unusual methods of trying persons accused of it might be advisable. The methods should be lawful. A people who are able and strong always can make and execute laws suited to special circumstances as well as to general conditions. If the laws and legal procedure are not what they should be in South Carolina the fault is of the South Carolinians.

RELIGIOUS, CIVIC GROUPS HELP CUT LYNCHING TOLLS

Alert Officers Also Given Credit for Prevention of Mob Violence

(The Associated Press)

Atlanta, Dec. 30.—Religious and civic agencies, together with vigilant peace officers, proved effective in reducing the nation's toll from mob violence in 1939, the commission on interracial co-operation reported today.

R. B. Eleazer, educational director of the commission, whose membership includes educators and civic leaders united to bring about a better understanding between the races, asserted that the "lynch habit" in the United States "is being steadily pushed off the map."

The record of three lynchings in 1939, as reported by Tuskegee Institute, Eleazer declared, represented the smallest number for any year since 1882, when lynchings were first tabulated, and compared with the peak of 231 mob deaths in 1892.

"Crimes against women, mistakenly thought of as the usual cause of mob violence, did not appear in any of the lynchings of this year," asserted Eleazer.

Pointing out that lynchings occurred in 30 states in 1885, Eleazer added that "of late the habit has been localized more and more in the South, in 1936 limited to three Southern states and in 1939 to only two."

(Tuskegee Institute reported one white man and one negro were victims of mobs in Florida in 1939, while the third mob victim, a negro, met death in Mississippi.)

Among the factors listed by Eleazer as contributing to the decline of lynching were "numerous religious and civic agencies that have maintained an educational campaign against it" and the effective alertness of state highway patrolmen and county officers.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, organized in Atlanta in 1930, was mentioned as "perhaps the most notable" civic body conducting an educational program against lynching.

Anderson, S. C., Independent Tri
January 9, 1940

WHAT IS A LYNCHING?

Once again the so-called "anti-lynching" bill is up for action in Congress.

In brief, the bill would impose a $5,000 fine, five years' imprisonment, or both, on any state or local official convicted of negligence in failing to protect a person from lynching.

In addition, governmental sub-divisions (such as counties or cities) where a lynching occurred would be liable for $10,000 damages payable to the victim's nearest relatives.

The bill provides just about everything but definition of lynching.

Directed against the South for no other reason than to provide sop for Northern Negro voters, this "anti-lynching" bill will be passed by the House but will, as usual, meet its doom in a Senate filibuster.

What is a lynching, anyway?

To warped Northern minds it's anything involving the death of a Negro providing the act occurs below the Mason and Dixon line.

If four or five Southern white men take a Negro out and pump him full of bullets, that's a lynching.

If four or five Northern gangsters take out a Negro or a white man and pump him full of bullets, that's just a plain murder.

That's the way Northerners look at the matter. It is an unfair attitude, a greedy grasping for Negro votes, that results in the perennial appearance of this anti-lynching legislation in Congress each session.

Deliberately overlooked is the fact that there is no need for such legislation. Forgotten is the excellent record—a record, by the way, better than that of the North—made by the South in reduction of the number of lynchings during the past decade.

The Southern states, individually, are doing a better job curbing lawless executions than sister states in the North (where a lynching is not a lynching, but a murder) and no federal law could possibly improve the manner in which the problem has been met.

Montezuma, Ga., Georgian
January 18, 1940

THE REMEDY FOR LYNCHING

Lynching is cowardly, brutal, degrading to a community, violative of the safety and justice it pretends to uphold, and thoroughly contemptible and unjustifiable on any count. There need be no misgiving at any point as to our feelings about this form of mass murder.

Yet this is not to say that every legislative method brought forward as a means of stamping out lynching is meritorious or warranted or would accomplish its purpose. As a matter of fact, the purpose of the Gavagan bill, which has just passed the House of Representatives have already been accomplished by other means to a far greater degree than any legislative force could accomplish them.

Whereas the number of lynchings in the United States during the 1880's and 1890's used to exceed one hundred a year, it was recorded on this page just a few days ago that only three such crimes took place in the United States during 1939. What has brought about this momentous change? To some extent, the pressure of public opinion and criticism in the North. But for much the greater part, a revulsion of public feeling and a tremendous change of thoughts due to education by awakened Southerners. Vastly more for the glory of Southern womanhood itself in the campaign to eradicate lynching than could ever have been done by the apologists of lawlessness.

But now that the campaign has been substantially won, just why should there be such a political effort to impose financial penalties upon a county which happens to have been the scene of a lynching? The answer appears to be mainly that it is an effort to capitalize upon the Negro vote of a few Northern communities. Honest law enforcement in some of the thousands of other homicide cases may be more important than the marshaling of Federal penalties against the few remaining cases of mob violence. Education rather than Federal legislation has already shown itself to be the remedy for lynching.—Monitor.

Grove Hill, Ala., Democrat
January 18, 1940

GANG KILLINGS OR LYNCHINGS, WHICH?

"The distinction between lynchings and gang killings is one which it is sometimes difficult to make," says The Richmond Times Dispatch. "For example, Tuskegee Institute, which reports that only three lynchings took place in the country in 1939, included in that number one slaying which The Baltimore Evening Sun is inclined to regard as probably 'less an organized mob action than simple murder.'

"The case was that of a 12-year-old boy who was struck by a taxi in Daytona Beach, Fla. He was killed instantly, and the negro taxi driver was arrested for manslaughter. While being taken to the county jail by the sheriff, two grown brothers of the slain boy blocked the road with their car, and shot the negro to death.

"Now was this a lynching or a murder? Webster defines the verb 'to lynch' as to inflict punishment upon, especially death, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person. There was no 'mob' here, in the accepted sense of the term, but there was punishment 'without the forms of law.'

"Perhaps there is a disposition on the part of our Northern friends to catalogue as 'lynchings' killings which in other sections of the United States would be placed in a different category. The South's record in this respect is bad enough, without its being made to seem even worse through incorrect listings of murders as lynchings."—Alabama Journal.

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
February 24, 1940

ONE EDITOR AND LYNCHING

As a general thing, newspaper editors of the nation have been bitter in their condemnation of lynchigs and mob violence. It is seldom that an editor can see any possible justification for such mass crimes, but a country paper on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, a community in which a horrible crime had been committed and where crowds had gathered with the intention of taing the law into their own hands, gave his approval to lynching. Such editorializing is like setting fire to a tank of gasoline, or striking a match in a room that is filled with explosive gas.

This editor's utterance might have been dismissed as an exception that was of little importance, but he goes beyond merely a demand for short measures. He attempts to justify mqb law; he seeks to represent it as equally as valid as the regular and orderly court procedures and he recommends it as a stern and quick justice.

Anyone who has been in or near a mob knows that this is not true. Mobs are not stern and there is no semblance of justice in their reactions. They are agencies of irresponsible violence and are far more likely to commit some terrible crime than to serve justice in any measure.

Mob law is a perversion of all this nation stands for; of all that civilization has striven to overcome through the ages. There has been an endeavor on the part of right-thinking people to create equal justice under the law. Lynchings and other forms of mob violence are a violation of this theory of existence.

The vast majority of the residents of the Eastern Shore of Maryland are, no doubt, as fine people as one can find anywhere. Their courts are probably as fair and as impartial in the dispensing of justice as any in the land. But a few hot headed individuals can overthrow all of the orderly processes of our civilization in a few minutes, unless there is restraint.

There was a time when lynchings were a blot on the fair name of the country, but that time has passed. Much of the improvement has been due to the work of newspaper editors who have stood firmly against mob violence and all that this means to a community and a section. It is a serious mistake for anyone to condone lynching in any form and under any circumstances.

In all probability this Maryland editor, when he has given sober second thought to the situation, will regret the approval which he has given to this serious crime against his community.

Roanoke, Va., World News
February 26, 1940

Lynching the Law

After a mob of forty persons battered its way into the Snow Hill, Md., jail, and dragged out two women prisoners, Maryland State troopers rescued them and so prevented what promised to be a peculiarly flagrant case of double lynching. Maryland is to be congratulated on its State constabulary, if not on its local officers.

Most of those taking part in this attack on a jail and attempt to lynch two women prisoners were known to Sheriff J. William Hall and his deputies, but Sheriff Hall says he intends to do nothing about the jail invasion. He would prefer that the matter be dropped, and remarks that "there has been no demand for action against the mob."

William Kerbin, Commonwealths attorney, takes the same ground. He washes his hands of the whole matter. "It is not my job," he asserts, "to lead an investigation. We have not heard any complaints from any parties."

It is that sort of supineness, that utter disregard of their oaths of office on the part of local officials, that creates a demand for a Federal anti-lynching statute. The argument that the localities can handle such matters is answered by the too frequent fact that they don't handle it.

It has been a dozen years since there was a lynching in Virginia, but the last lynching of record went unpunished. People of the county where it occurred insisted that no reputable persons took part. It was the work of a gang of hoodlums from a remote corner of the county. But those respectable citizens who did not take part, and who, in fact knew nothing of the lynching until it was over, have not to this day insisted that their sheriff bring those hoodlums into court.

Lynching may be expected to continue wherever public opinion supports officials who refuse to do their duty. It has ended in every community where public opinion demands that members of lynching mobs be prosecuted for the murderers they are.

It does not appear that the Governor of Maryland has taken any steps against the sheriff and Commonwealths attorney who have, in violation of their oaths of office, refused to prosecute members of this mob. Yet the record shows that the mob forced the jail with hacksaws and crowbars, ripping a cell door from its hinges, abducting and terrorizing two prisoners, and engaged in a fight with State police officers, one of whom was injured. The lynching of the law by the sworn peace officers of the community who refuse to act until some private citizen makes a complaint is scarcely less culpable than the action of the mob.

NOT THE RIGHT LEADER

The south has abolished lynch law. It has done so by its own efforts toward adjusting the conditions which gave rise to the discreditable practice. There were only three instances of recorded lynchings in 1939. It is said that there were a number of unrecorded instances of mob action which stopped short of actual lynching. That may be true, but was ever there a region, south, north, east, or west, which did not have a criminal problem which occasionally manifested itself in mob or semi-mob action. It is not without meaning that gangs in the east and middle west are called "mobs." In Detroit only three years ago a masked organization was exposed through the death of one of the victims of its mob activity. The situation was as nearly parallel to that being uncovered in and around Atlanta right now as any two situations could be.

The public indignation and the resolution with which the Atlanta atrocities are being probed indicates that mob action remains undercover only so long before public indignation uncovers and squelches it.

The anti-lynching bill about to come before the senate is a useless and badly drawn measure. The purpose of the bill, according to its sponsors, is identical with the purposes of southern leaders as they have been expressed countless times during the last half century. However, the bill has some onerous particulars that are not acceptable to to the south, and would not be acceptable to any other region if the language of the bill were changed slightly to apply to that type of mob action peculiar to those regions.

A filibuster will greet the bill when it is brought out on the senate floor. This filibuster will be led by the most deplorable demagogue in the senate at present, Bilbo of Mississippi. A filibuster forestalled the passage of the bill at the last session of congress. It is much more doubtful this time than previously that a filibuster will be able to kill the bill. A majority of the senate is pledged to vote for the bill. It is not known yet whether sufficient senators will vote to stop the filibuster. If the bill ever comes to a vote it will be passed.

It must be granted that the only method of forestalling the passage of the bill at the last session of congress was by filibuster. Bilbo was prominent in that filibuster. Today the bill has come back for consideration with a stronger following than ever. It is not too reckless to suppose that much of the additional support the bill commands today is due to the wild and irresponsible statements made by Bilbo in the last filibuster.

The responsible opposition to the bill deserve a better leader than Bilbo. He has done more harm than good by his particular type of oratory.

Bilbo likes to think of himself as the man who stopped the anti-lynching bill. He is dangerously close to becoming known as the man who passed the bill by recklessly discrediting the case against it.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
December 18, 1940

Hold Firm for Law

In No Case is a lynching justifiable or excusable. Nor is the beating of negroes because a crime has been committed. Were persons accused of the crime that so often inflames men to lynch tried by special courts and were their verdicts and sentences enforced in seven days or less time it would be lawful. In any state or region where are unusual circumstances that affect the character of a orime in the public mind, unusual methods of trying persons accused of it might be advisable. The methods should be lawful. A people who are able and strong always can make and execute laws suited to special circumstances as well as to general conditions. If the laws and legal procedure are not what they should be in South Carolina the fault is of the South Carolinians.

Jasper, Ga. Pickens Co. Progress
December 12, 1940

No Lynchings

In the first six months of 1940, not a single lynching was reported in the United States.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSIONS

WHITE PRESS--SOUTHERN

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Charleston S. C. News & Courier
April 5. 1940

Lynchings and Gang Murders

To The News and Courier:

I always read with keen interest editorials in The News and Courier dealing with the anti-lynching bill the negro vote, and related subjects. I am particularly interested in your editorial of March 27 in which you seek to draw a parallel between lynchings and the recent revelations of a "murder syndicate" in Brooklyn.

The difference between lynchings, especially of negroes, and the gang murders in Brooklyn would appear to be this:

The police authorities of New York were responsible for the revelation of these gang murders and for the arrests and indictment of the murderers. Trails of the suspects and speedy and adequate punishment will inevitably follow. Officers of the law and the courts will be forced to do this because of the overwhelming public sentiment which demands that they act with vigor and dispatch.

But contrast this with the attitude of peace officers in certain states with respect to lynching. There have been 5,124 known lynchings in the United States since 1882. No one knows how many more lynchings have occurred. The unfavorable publicity which the fight for federal anti-lynching legislation has caused has led to a new technique by lynchers, namely, suppressing news of their crimes. Instances of this have recently been uncovered in Mississippi and other Southern states which include my native state of Georgia where to date some thirty floggings and other depredations have been revealed as having occurred within the last six months.

But 99.2 per cent of these lynchers have not only escaped punishment for their crimes but have not even been arrested. Thus there seems to be no analogy between these two types of crime.

WALTER WHITE, Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Montgomery Ala. Advertiser
April 6, 1940

Lynchings Linked To Cotton Price

KNOXVILLE, TENN., April 5.—(AP)—Mob violence in the South, except in recent years, has fluctuated with the price of cotton, an authority on lynchings said today.

"There is a direct relation between the two," Arthur Raper, of the Carnegie-Myrdal studies told the Southern Sociological Society conference.

During periods of economic stress when cotton prices were low, Raper explained, mob rule increased while as cotton prices rose there was a corresponding decline in lynchings.

"The decrease in lynchings in recent years probably is due to a wide relief program," Raper said. "I am afraid the number of lynchings will increase if the relief program is discontinued or sharply curtailed."

Advocating a Federal anti-lynch law, which he said was as necessary as the Federal law prohibiting peonage, Raper asserted:

"By the very nature of the two crimes, local courts are not going to punish offenders. My investigation shows lynch leaders are punished in less than one-half of one per cent of the cases. In the few cases where they are punished, they received sentences of one to two years."

Contrary to current opinion, Raper said, only a small percentage of those lynched are accused of sex crimes. A study of reports of 5,000 lynchings convinced Raper that more than one-third of the lynch victims were not guilty of the offenses charged against them, and that one-third were accused only of misdemeanors.

Lancaster, S. C. News
March 15, 1940

NO COLORED MAN LYNCHED HERE IN PRESENT CENTURY

County Has Had Few Lynchings In Its Long History; One White Man Lynched.

No colored man has ever been lynched in Lancaster county since the turn of the century and only the oldest citizens of this county are able to recall any such acts perpetrated back in the last century. In all the long history of this county only two or three negroes have been killed by a mob although there were some negroes killed in reconstruction times but these killings come under the head of open warfare.

Strange as it seems in the present century a white man was lynched by a mob in this county as a man named John Morrison was hung by a mob after he had committeed a wanton murder. He killed Dr. William Floyd at Kershaw after his request for tenants had been refused. Morrison is alleged to have shot Dr. Floyd in the back. This lynching occurred in 1905 when J. P. Hunter was sheriff and Mr. Hunter always alleged that he would have prevented the lynching if he could have got to Kershaw in time but the sheriff was not able to reach the spot until after the deed was committed although he hired an engine from the Southern road to reach the scene as quickly as possible. The town in that day had a few automobiles but the roads were not good and the trip by railroad could be made in much quicker time.

The fact that Sheriff Hunter never killed a prisoner nor permitted one to be lynched while in his custody although he was sheriff for over forty years was a strong talking point when extradition papers were asked for a fugitive. The case of John McIlwain who was extradited from Detroit in 1921 is a good illustration.

McIlwain, a cold blooded negro had killed Ernest Watkins, superintendent of the Lancaster Cotton Oil company mill and after making his escape was finally arrested in Detroit. Friends there employed a negro lawyer for him and when Sheriff Hunter and Col. R. S. Stewart appeared before Governor Sleeper of Michigan the colored lawyer said dramatically as he pointed to McIlwain's wife and children: "If you honor this requisition, that little woman and those helpless children will b widowed and orphaned by the ruthless mob which will be waiting to lynch John McIlwain as soon as he is taken across the South Carolina line.

Col. Stewart then arose and said: "I do not know where the attorney got his information but I do know that he has been misinformed." Then pointing his finger at Sheriff Hunter he continued: "That old gentleman there has been sheriff of Lancaster county for forty years. No prisoner has ever been taken from him and lynched and no prisoner will ever be taken from him and lynched."

The colored lawyer had been in close touch with conditions in Lancaster county for he recalled the cases of Hardy Gill, a negro who was lynched near Lancaster and John Morrison who was lynched in Kershaw.

The governor asked for an explanation and Sheriff Hunter said: "I had resigned as sheriff of Lancaster county and was acting as U. S. Marshall in Charleston when Gill was lynched. As for the Morrison lynching, I believe I could have prevented it had it occurred in the days of automobiles. I arrived in Kershaw too late to prevent the lynching but during the riot on September 27, 1882, I waged a lone battle to prevent a lynching and I was successful. I believe I would have been successful in Kershaw."

Governor Sleeper honored the requisition and McIlwain was sentenced to life imprisonment but he subsequently escaped from the chain gang to be heard of no more.

Sheriff J. P. Hunter served until 1928 and he has been followed by Louis F. Dabney and R. A. Blackmon. During the tenure of both of these men no threat of a lynching has ever taken place in this county.

'Judge Lynch' Retires

No besmirched jurist steps down from the bench with more public rejoicing and less regret than does "Judge Lynch," that Stygian-robed embodiment of mob passion. Announcement by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, that the 12 months ending at midnight May 8 passed without a lynching is deeply gratifying and warrants the exchange of mutual congratulations among all the American people. It is the first such unblemished period in 58 years of record-keeping. That the statistics are correct may be depended on, for it is a cardinal point with this association not only to check meticulously on every instance of the kind, but to give the fullest publicity, in order that this skeleton in the closet may be dragged out and eventually annihilated.

Since only three lynchings were recorded in 1939, it appears that all occurred before May 9 of that year. In 1938 the number was only six. No law could have effected such a reduction in totals which ran from 20 to 33 during the years from 1923 to 1935, and from 38 to 92 in the years from 1902 to 1922. Mrs. Ames is inclined to give much credit to improved communications and motorized transport in police work; and in this connection it is worth recalling that none of the six victims in 1938 was in the hands of the law when he was seized, and that 42 lynchings were prevented by officers. Public sentiment itself must deal the final blow to attempted usurpation of legal functions.

Other sections besides the South have contributed to the lynching record, and other sections have suffered from such crimes as are, for the most part, responsible for the outbreaks. The war on the crimes and criminals themselves must be prosecuted with as much intensity as the war on lynching.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 15, 1940

Let Southern Men Speak Out for South Carolina

"In the year that ended at midnight of May 8 (1940) not one person was lynched in the United States."

That is the statement of the New York Times in an editorial printed last Sunday.

What is a "lynching"? We quote the definition of Webster's International Dictionary:

"To inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person."

No person was punished with death by a "mob" without the forms of law in the United States in the last twelve months. There was no lynching. That is the unqualified statement of the New York Times.

Of the essence of lynching is murder done by a mob. If it is not done by a "mob" it is not a "lynching."

Yet we have this so-called "anti-lynching bill," passed by the national house and pending in the senate, supported almost unanimously by the Northern Democrats and nearly all the Northern Republicans.

It is a bill to punish Southern county officers in federal courts and to punish Southern counties on trumped-up accusations.

In the absence of evidence, it is necessary to fabricate the appearance of evidence of lynchings. Otherwise, the bill would have not even the look of a leg to stand on.

So what have we? We have Senator "Bob" Wagner, Democrat and New Dealer of New York City, the leader of the senate "liberals," and Senator Arthur Capper, Republican, of Kansas, in company with their colored friend of New York City, Walter White, proclaiming that "secret lynchings" are done in the South.

Who ever heard of a "secret mob"? What is a "mob" if it is not an uprising of a considerable number of disorderly people?

Can you hide a "mob"? Can you hide a lynching from the New York Times?

These Northern politicians, including negro politicians in cities, have conspired to frame this preposterous tale of "secret lynchings" because they are conscious that lynching has ended.

They virtually confess now that they press this anti-Southern bill to get the negro votes in the Northern cities. Both parties want them, and both parties are out to LYNCH the Southern states to get them.

No wonder Dr. Plyler, president of Furman, is for a Southern white man's party.

The South Carolina Democratic convention meets in Columbia today. It will be composed of Southern men.

Being Southern men, they will pass resolutions denouncing this bill to LYNCH the courts and laws of their state, they will demand that the Chicago convention denounce it in its platform, that President Roosevelt, Democrat, veto it if it be passed.

Senator Byrnes in the congressional session of 1938 gallantly and ably did a South Carolinian's part in defeating the bill by the filibuster. The resolutions might well be introduced by him. If any man in congress from this state would be listened to by the Northern Democrats, including President Roosevelt, it is James F. Byrnes.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
December 21, 1940

A Court's Opinion

To The News and Courier:

Your editorial of the 18th inst., entitled "Hold Firm For Law", and advocating a method for trial of persons accused of the crime "that so often inflame men to lynch" incites reflection and elicits comment.

In 1940 the legislature passed an act providing for the calling of special terms of criminal courts. This act obviously had for its purpose the speeding up of justice (?) so that mobs would be less likely to indulge in the highly civilized practice of lynching. The act came before the supreme court in the case of State vs. Gossett (a rape case—117 S. C., 76); the court being then composed of Eugene B. Gary, D. E. Hydrick, R. C. Watts, T. P. Fraser, George W. Gage, Thomas P. Cothran and J. Hardin Marion. In a unanimous opinion, written by Mr. Justice Cothran, the act was declared unconstitutional and the following are some of the reasons assigned by the court for its opinion:

"We are convinced that the procedure provided in this section is

[illegible] on to the spi[illegible] presents the spe[illegible] strong and mighty, [illegible]

ing to the despotism of the mob, which has been declared to be greater than the tyranny of a despot. It provides a miserable compromise with lynch law, enabling the law to bargain with the mob to stay its hand, and allow the court under the forms of law, to accomplish what is equally reprehensible, a judicial lynching. It is notorious that such bargains have been made; the angry mob has been appeased by the promise of a quick special court to try the offender, under circumstances that render his conviction inevitable."

"There can be no compromise with the spirit of lynching for any crime. Those who compromise such a mob are themselves without the pale of law, and commit a crime, not only against the victim of their vengeance but against the majesty of the law. They are not entitled to recognition as legitimate parties to a compact. They tramble under their dusty feet the pandects of our civilization and spit upon the sacred rights of the individual. The law ought to be, and is, strong enough to treat them as criminals."

Now, Mr. Editor, the foregoing is not the language of Mr. Justice Black (of Alabama), speaking for the United States supreme court, whose opinion you recently condemned, but it was said by an honest, fearless, learned and truly great judge of South Carolina. And this language was approved by six judges, all of South Carolina, men who for learning and character were the peers of any men to be found in these United States.

It is admitted by all who have really studied the question of crime that it is the certainty of punishment that tends to deter. This of course, brings up the question of fact-finding agencies—a field of government in which the State of South Carolina has made very little progress. If ever the time comes in the life of the state when the actual perpetrators of crime—of every nature and degree—shall certainly be tried and convicted under properly applied rules of law, which have for their sole purpose the greatest good to the greatest number, then, but not before, shall we have improvement in the field of protecting human life and person, human liberty and property.

A. L. King.

Georgetown.

6363

LYNCHINGS-1940
DISCUSSION

WHITE PRESS, SOUTHERN

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
December 27, 1939

Lynching's All-Time Low

WITH Europe at war, with terrific carnage on the highways of Virginia and the nation from traffic fatalities, and with many unsolved problems facing this country, the moment is not conducive to unadulterated optimism for the future. But there is at least one current phenomenon which calls for unrestrained rejoicing, namely, the drop of the South's lynching total to an all-time low.

Only three lynchings occurred in the United States in 1939, and only two Southern States, Florida and Mississippi, were involved. Only two Negroes have been put to death by lynch mobs during the year now drawing to a close, the third victim having been white. The best previous record made in any one year—that for 1938, when six persons were lynched—has been cut exactly in half!

The extent to which the threat of Federal antilynching legislation is responsible for this wholly salutary phenomenon, is anybody's guess, but it hardly seems a coincidence that the years when such legislation seemed almost on the verge of passage, have been the best in the South's history. For 1936 and 1937, eight lynchings occurred in each year. The number fell to six in 1938, and now it has been halved and only three lives have been taken in this savage fashion.

The consequence is that the Federal antilynching bill, scheduled for revival at the session of Congress which convenes next month, will enjoy slight chance of passage. The thing which gave this legislation its impetus in 1937, was the fact that lynching had showed no sustained decline during the immediately preceding years. True, there had been only eight lynchings in 1936, but that had occurred in 1932, only to be followed in 1933 by the shocking total of 28, by 15 in 1934 and 20 in 1935.

Now, however, it can be pointed out that lynchings have been showing a definite trend downward. After only eight occurred in 1936 and in 1937, there were six in 1938, and now there have been only three in 1939.

Passage of the Federal bill, under such circumstances, would be apt to do more harm than good. The objective of such a law is to wipe out lynching, without increasing antagonisms between the races, but lynching seems near extinction anyway. The argument can well be made, therefore, that the situation is not urgent enough to call for the passage of a law which might increase interracial animosities, instead of lessening them.

THE TIMES-DISPATCH has not changed its view that a suitable Federal law ought to be passed, if this becomes necessary to stamp out the mob murders which have cursed the South over a period of three-quarters of a century. Today, however, there is reason to hope that the risk to interracial relations involved in the passage of such legislation, will not have to be taken. With a dwindling number of exceptions, the Southern States give evidence of a determination to wipe out this evil themselves.

A NEGRO'S VIEWPOINT

To the Editor The News:

What says the Southern Negro of the anti-lynching bill? Certainly I will bring down the wrath of the whole race upon my head when I divulge my honest opinion to the press. But if truth were told, many intelligent Negroes share my conviction, if only they had the courage to express it.

First, what does the bill seek to do? Stop lynching? Legislation can no more stop lynching than it has stopped kidnaping. No law-making body can legislate a man's emotions; no Congress can cure human prejudice; no "anti-lynching bill" can keep a pack of poor, ignorant fools from showing their "superiority" over another poor, ignorant fool.

Let us glance at a part of the bill that the honorable, sympathetic gentlemen from the North want to pass to protect us "poor oppressed" Negroes down here—or do they want to pass it to gain the Negro vote up there? The bill provides that the police officer who is convicted for permitting a lynching will be fined, or imprisoned, or both. That might be very good if it could work. But where can a jury be found that would convict the officer? And even if he is convicted, will that stop lynching? The next time a bunch of young, drunken, ignorant cusses feel that a Negro needs hanging they will gladly supply that need—and so on, and on, and on. Then the bill says that the government subdivision, i. e., the city, or county, must pay to the victim's heirs a large sum of money—a larger sum than all the victim's ancestors combined have ever seen. What next? The ignorant widow buys a sports roadster, flaunts her "fabulous" wealth in the faces of those who already hate her because of the way in which she got her wealth, runs over a "Stop" sign, swears at a policeman, is "accidentally" killed by the officer. That makes two untimely deaths. Her son, a young ignorant like his mother and father, comes into his mother's wealth. He becomes "uppety". Amen for him, and on, and on, and on. This is less imagination than the fruit of the long experience of race relations in the South.

Only the ignorant white, usually the youth, succumbs to mob rule; and only the ignorant Negro, again usually the youth, becomes the victim. Amid all this hullabaloo about lynching, have you ever stopped to consider that few crimes are less frequently committed than this one? "Three lynchings in a year," says Tuskegee. I grant you those were just three too many. But consider also that two lynchings have already been averted in Mississippi in 1940.

Let us declare that common, every-day murder, stealing, adultery and a hundred other crimes are henceforth under federal jurisdiction. They all occur far more frequently than lynching. How ridiculous the whole darn thing! Imagine the innocent taxpayers of a city or county making a woman rich when they should have made her husband intelligent long since.

Can lynching be stopped? Oh, yes. But not by legislation. And certainly not by a law that the people who run the South do not want. There is only one process that will stop lynching in the South, and that process will stop all our other ills, not only in the South, but wherever man dwells: namely, education. Teach the white child to know the Negro, not as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water," but as a human being with all the feelings, emotions, abilities, and capabilities of a human being. Teach the Negro child that the white man is just like his own father if they have both had the same opportunity for advancement. Do not teach the Negro child that the white man is a tyrant and hates Negroes, but that he feels a sense of superiority because he has been misstaught in his youth. Teach both children that there is no superior race.

Then if the federal government would put a stop to lynching for all time to come, here is how: Make a federal appropriation of millions of dollars for the education of those poor wretches who indulge in the "old American pastime," and for the education of the poverty-stricken Negroes who sometimes lay themselves liable to mob violence.

R. F. HOLTZCLAW,
Principal, Pine Hill Consolidated School, Talladega, Ala., Box 89.

Fooled No Longer

Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, is the only negro at present in the national congress. Speaking in the house during the recent debate on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, Mitchell declared the true purpose of the bill was to "buy back" the votes of members of his race. But, he added, negroes could "no longer be fooled."

The Republicans, said Mitchell, had promised the negroes many things during times when the G. O. P. was in power, but had never delivered. Now, he added, the negroes had come to know their friends, the Democrats, and could no longer be fooled.

The Gavagan bill presents one of the most glaring examples of misnaming in a legislative body which has frequently called proposals by any other name than what they were. It is utterly misleading to call it an "anti-lynching" bill. In the judgment of all familiar with probable reactions it is evident the bill would, if it had any effect at all on the lynching evil, tend more to encourage the crime than to lessen it. It is to be doubted, however, if it would have any effect at all.

For the truth, which everyone knows, is that lynching has almost disappeared, already, from the American picture. The Tuskegee Institute, which has carefully kept statistics on the mob crime ever since 1892, reports only three lynchings during 1939, two of negroes and one of a white man. Twenty-five threatened lynchings were blocked by the courage and firmness of officers of the law.

Thus public sentiment, changing viewpoints and better education are steadily reducing and will soon wipe out a crime that used to be the darkest blot on American history.

The Gavagan bill should, of course, be honestly labeled as negro vote bait. That is its sole intent. Its author and sponsor, Representative Gavagan, comes from a New York district with a high proportion of negro voters and his activity on behalf of the bill is thus easily explainable.

The measure, on its face, is of little importance one way or another.

But it does involve an issue so important, so vital to the future liberty of the nation, that its enactment would be little short of a new American tragedy.

For it utterly invalidates the rights of the states to police themselves and to control their own courts and law enforcement officials. It would open the way, by precedent, for a new intrusion of the federal power into states' rights and it would make possible a new deluge of thinly disguised carpetbaggers into the south.

For it provides for federal prosecution o

local officers of the law in communities wher lynchings occur, in federal prosecution of th community itself with heavy fines leviable, t be paid families of victims, and for other rani violations of the basic principles of independen statehood.

The present likelihood of the measure passed by the house, being called up for senate debate at this session is exceedingly small. It will probably lie in a committee pigeonhole for this year, at least.

But it is, nevertheless, gratifying to know that the whole country is fast becoming aware of the barefaced duplicity of the measure. Comments in papers from all parts of the country brand it as utterly undesirable and unnecessary.

And it is likewise true that the negroes themselves, whose votes were the intended loot of the cruelly deceptive measure, are awake to the truth. As their own Representative Mitchel told his colleagues in the house, the negroes can no longer be fooled."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 7, 1940

He Takes Own Measure

Once comes Mr. Arthur Raper, author "liberal", saying in Knoxville that "Mob violence in the South except in recent years has fluctuated with the price of cotton, that there is a direct relation between the two, that during periods of economic stress, when cotton prices were low, mob rule increased, while as cotton prices rose, there was a corresponding decline in lynching."

Mr. Raper is of the Carnegie-Mydral studies" whatever that is, and he was addressing the "Southern Sociological society" in advocacy of the federal "anti-lynching bill". His statement The News and Courier accepts as the measure of the common sense of Southern highbrows, "liberals".

Florida has one of the worst lynching records among Southern states. It is not a "cotton state". Its cotton crop is negligible.

In South Carolina, where there have been no lynchings the last eight years, those three or four that occurred in the preceding decade were in manufacturing towns. Farmers as a class had nothing to do with them.

After the World war, in 1919 and 1920, was an increase of lynching (it ended in a short time), and cotton was then fetching from thirty to forty-three cents a pound. About this time were lynchings in such "cotton states" as Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and atrocious race massacres occurred in the cotton belts of Chicago and Washington. New York city has in the last twenty years had several race conflicts, with fatalities attending.

Your highbrow, your Southern highbrow in particular, "educated beyond his capacity", can prove anything and usually does.

The News and Courier accepts Mr. Raper's statement as the full measure of his powers of reasoning and observation and of those of his ideological followers.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
April 15, 1940

Bishop Cannon on Lynching

THE letter in today's Voice of the People, wherein BISHOP JAMES CANNON JR. takes issue with our editorial of March 27, "Sincerity and a Lynch Bill," misstates our thesis and misquotes us—unintentionally, of course.

The bishop says, for example: "This editorial argued that because seven senators on the Judiciary Committee of the Senate who voted favorably to report this bill come from States with small Negro population, the argument that the purpose of the bill is to increase the Democratic Negro vote in the North 'doesn't make sense'." We took no such position.

Our contention was that, since the seven senators in question are from States with scarcely any Negro votes, *those seven men* cannot be charged with supporting the Federal antilynching bill through fear of that part of the electorate. We said specifically that "some of the bill's advocates are behind it simply through fear of the Negro vote."

Moreover, BISHOP CANNON makes two errors in his attempt to quote what we said concerning the number of Negroes in the States represented by these seven senators. Our statement was that "Nebraska [one of the States in question] has fewer than 14,000 Negroes," and that Arizona and Wisconsin have "fewer, than 11,000 Negroes of all sizes shapes and ages." The bishop quotes us as saying that there are "22,000 Negro votes in Nebraska," (wrong both as to the figure and as to the persons referred to, for we specifically explained that we were talking of the entire Negro population, and not of the number of Negro *voters*.) The number of Negro voters in all three of these Sta[illegible] of course, [illegible] figures [illegible]en by the bisho[illegible]

To repeat, we were [illegible] trying to say that whereas some members of Congress undoubtedly support the Federal antilynching law through fear of the Negro vote, the seven whose support of the measure was discussed in our editorial of March 27 are not properly chargeable with this, in view of the fact that there are so few Negro voters among their constituents. The fact that we did not attempt to defend the four other members of the committee in question who supported the bill and who do represent large Negro constituencies, ought to be sufficient evidence that we were not attempting to exculpate all the bill's advocates.

It may be pertinent to add, also, that THE TIMES-DISPATCH has said several times recently that it regards passage of the Federal antilynching bill by the present Congress to be inadvisable.

A Lynchless Year

Midnight on Wednesday marked the end of the first year in which the South has not had a lynching since the records began to be kept in 1882. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings made the announcement with a proper pride shared by the people of this entire section. Credit for this result is given effective education, plus ever speedier police work made possible by improved communication facilities and spurred on by active public sentiment, and that is a fair analysis.

What we hope is that this signal achievement in the South will be a potent suggestion to politicians and starry-eyed reformers in other parts of the country that we may be safely relied on to hold up our end in the matter of combating the mob spirit that every decent citizen in this or any other country abominates. Our efforts in the past have many times been handicapped by ill-reasoned or demagogic attempts to inject outside influences.

The problem presented by the spirit of the mobster has never been single to the South alone, as witness gang killings and goon murders in other places this past year, sorry occurrences that we have never felt met with the approval of the whole people where they took place. May we keep up the fight against mob violence in a spirit of national sympathy and understanding.

Athens, Ala., Democrat
April 18, 1940

Mob Violence Link With Cotton Seen

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Mob violence in the South, except in recent years, has fluctuated with the price of cotton, an authority on lynchings said today.

"There is a direct relation between the two," Arthur Raper of the Carnegie-Myrdal Studies told the Southern Sociological Society conference.

During periods of economic stress when cotton prices were low, Raper explained, mob rule increased while as cotton prices rose there was a corresponding decline in lynchings.

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
July 4, 1940

MOB TECHNIQUE CHANGING?

From the Bristol Herald-Courier

A city interracial meeting at Memphis Monday night heard a report of a lynching at Brownsville, Tenn., last week. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Atlanta, field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations, referred to the alleged slaying as an example of the new "style" of lynching which attracts little attention. She said she had been told that a Brownsville Negro had been "quietly taken out and flogged to death" becaue he was interested in organizing a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There have been no press reports of a lynching or of a violent or unexplained death at Brownsville, which is 60 miles northeast of Memphis, but Sheriff R. C. Hawkins said yesterday that a Negro's body had been found by fishermen in Hatchie River swamps Sunday. The coroner's verdict, the sheriff stated, was that the man was "believed to have come to death by violence at the hands of unknown parties." The officer added that the body had been in the water too long for him to determine the exact cause of death, but that "we are investigating."

"There have been no actual cases of lynching this year," Mrs. Ames said in commenting on the death of the Negro at Brownsvile, "but three Negroes have been killed in Atlanta while resisting arrest. The style of lynching has changed so. They don't go in for a Roman holiday any more." In other words, if lynchings still are being perpetrated they are being perpetrated quietly to avoid publicity. Only a few weeks ago the country was congratulating itself that a year had passed without a lynching. Now the question arises whether the mob is going out of business or merely is changing its technique. We prefer to believe it is going out of business.

Tifton, Ga., Gazette
September 10, 1940

Georgia's splendid record of no lynchings in some time appears to have been broken by the incident at LaGrange, where a negro, accused of an attempted attack on a white woman, was taken from jail by six masked men and shot to death. It is hoped that the shooting made the six men feel better and more courageous, and bigger heroes in their own sight, because it certainly did not do any one else any good and hurt the people of Georgia.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
DISCUSSION

WHITE PRESS, SOUTHERN

6364

Birmingham, Ala. News
July 6, 1940

U. S. Lynching Record Is Reviewed By Hobbs In Address To House

Alabamian Cites That No Case Has Occurred In 15 Months; One In 1939

BY RUSSELL KENT
Manager, The Birmingham News Age-Herald Washington Bureau 1361 National Press Building.

WASHINGTON—There has been no lynching in the United States in more than 15 months. And there was only one actual lynching in 1939, although the records show three.

Announcement of this advance against crime was cheered by the House during the week when made by Representative Sam Hobbs.

Pointing out the decline of lynch law at a time when the world is shaken by violence, Representative Hobbs told the House:

"In this dark hour in the world's destiny, when the dogs of war are snarling, barking, or biting in almost every nation on earth, there is one and only one preeminent consideration in every mind—preparation for peace by national defense.

"But I do not think it amiss to mention with pride, joy and gratitude to Providence a victory upon another fighting front, in the war against crime.

"There has been no lynching in the United States in 1940.

"The last lynching was on April 1, 1939. Four hundred and fifty-eight days have come and gone since then, without mob violence. Four hundred and fifty-eight victory days.

"Every member of Congress, I am sure, feels as I do, that this achievement should be noted, not in self-satisfaction and restful complacency, but as a challenge to renewed and increased effort to keep our national escutcheon permanently clean of the stain of mob murder.

"This fact is also certified in humble gratitude to Almighty God for His inspiration and leadership in this conquering struggle for righteousness.

"We cannot be too oft reminded that lynching is, as it should be—definitely on the way out. In the first year for which accurate records were kept—1892—there were 231 persons lynched in the United States. In 1939 there was one. And he was a white man. I know that some authorities charge that there were three, but I have investigated each one of these three alleged lynchings and solemnly certify that there is no evidence to substantiate the charge in two of the three cases. In my speech on this floor on Jan. 10, 1940, I gave the unvarnished facts. Suffice it to say now that one was a murder committed by two men. Every socalled anti-lynching bill has defined lynching as killing by a mob composed of three or more persons. Murder by two men is not lynching. In another of the three cases a body, long dead, was found. There was no evidence whatsoever of any mob violence. It may or may not have been a lynching. The third case unquestionably was a lynching by a mob composed of four or five men. The victim was white. But whether there was one or two or three lynchings in 1939, the record proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the crime is being utterly eradicated. It is being eradicated by the only force that can eradicate it, namely, enlightened local influence. Local self-government has wrought this miracle.

"It seems to me that even in times like these, when civilization is almost forgotten, when humanity is drowning in a sea of blood, and when every exertion should be bent toward keeping the gates of wrath from closing the way of hope, this record of achievement is worthy of the attention of Congress.

"God bless America, and every effort that is being made to make her a better land in which to live.

"God bless America, and rededicate us all, with renewed zeal and high hope, to the continuing fight for peace in America, as well as for America."

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
July 5, 1940

Six Perfect Months

(The Montgomery Advertiser

While people in the old world were engaged in the slaughter of life and the destruction of property, for the first six months of 1940 American mobsters were on their very good behavior. Tuskegee Institute's records say there was no lynching in the United States in that period. This is the first time since lynch records have been kept that the American people have squeezed through a period of six months without fatal mob action against any human being.

It is not only a gratifying record, but it is significant. It means that the American people have strengthened their convictions against the principles of mob action. It means that they are gradually acquiring a more civilized viewpoint about the dignity of man and the dignity of law. It does not mean that we shall not have outbreaks of the lynch spirit in future. No one will deceive himself as to that. But it does mean that we are making progress.

It means also that it is not necessary for Congress to impose an anti-lynch law upon the states. The states are vindicating their right and discharging their obligation to maintain steady pressure against mobs.

AN EDITOR MUMBLING TO HIMSELF

Will the time ever come when people are trained to make their exit from doors slowly with due recard to the safety of the people passing by with whom they may collide? Can't people learn to think of anybody but themselves? . . . When Civilization itself is on the Cross, isn't it annoying to turn the dial of your radio in search of another newscast only to be overwhelmed by jazz music and the idiotic performances of hip-shaking wenches? . . . The other morning when Premier Reynaud was addressing the French people to bolster them against the blow of King Leopold's weak surrender, a French band played "The Marseilles," one of the most stirring military airs ever composed. One was in the mood to leap with high spirit—only to be laid low by a saxophone tooter and swing-singing wench. . . The problem now is not what to do with Fifth Columnists, but what to do with the Sixth Columnists who would put them down. After all we Americans are mob-lovers. We love lynch law as ardently as the French love the guillotine. One notices that the Sixth Columnists are violent and reckless in what they say about what htey believe to be Fifth Columnists . . . Not much sense in that. We shall have to look into it. If we believe in the spirit and letter of the American Bill of Rights we shall have to take the pledge to be true to the Bill of Rights in times of stress . . . Only those persons should be run out of the country who have violated our laws regarding aliens. Only those citizens of our own country should be put in jail and silenced who have violated our laws. All of them should be tried by juries in the great Anglo-Saxon tradition. Let us pledge ourselves NOW to be true to this principle. . . . Otherwise we shall gnaw a file and live in dungeons on the grapes of wrath! Be ye not deceived for "Old Grandma" is telling you only the truth . . . A good cigar may cost a nickel or a great deal more, but if it is made of mellow tobacco and has two or three whitish spots on it, it is a joy to its consumer, and so we wish the ladies would shut up. What do they know about cigars and the taming of beasts? . . . "A good cigar is a smoke, a woman is only a woman," said Father Kipling. It's fine to hate Hitler. If you can beat us doing it you are better than we think you are. But let us take a leaf out of his book. Let us Americans copy his war machine, and also improve on it. We can do it. As matters stand we have no other choice . . . Let us Americans build the greatest fighting force ever known to man! . . . Mr. Dewey and Mr. Taft are not doing so well these days. All they have accomplished to date is to cause the average American in his wicked moments to exclaim: "Good God Almighty! Just suppose we had one of those guys for President NOW!" . . . In 1917 we had a great pro-German problem. This problem harassed Woodrow Wilson no end. The professional Irish and the American Germans were troublesome and noisy. Today our people are fairly well united. We have a Fifth Column, but it is not a decisive factor . . . Subscribe now, for tomorrow it may be too late. If Hitler comes, can rings in your noses be far behind?

Atlanta Ga. Democrat Oct. 1940

THE ORIGIN OF THE "LYNCH LAW"

By R. M. DUNN

During the war for independence, Bedford County, Virginia, being far from the arena of British invasion, was left virtually unprotected. Seizing advantage of the remoteness from armed forces, the neighboring Tories organized raiding parties which pillaged the countryside, carryng off horses and destroying all manner of provisions sorely needed by the hard pressed soldiers of the revolution.

The marauders become so bold and were so destructive and ruthless that a few patriots, under the leadership of Colonel Charles Lynch, decided to stamp out for once and all the Tory terrorism. A small force was collected which defeated the raiders and captured many.

There were no courts in the neighborhood, nor was there time to march the prisoners to tidewater Virginia for trial. Already Lord Cornwallis threatened the valley of the Dan and Colonel Lynch and his patriots felt impelled to join the inferior forces of General Nathaniel Greene which opposed him.

The prisoners were therefore tried without benefit of legal jurisprudence at "Avoca," the home of Colonel Lynch. Those who were convicted were either imprisoned or tied by their thumbs to a walnut tree on the lawn of Colonel Lynch's home and flogged. None however was put to death.

The tree, from which the Tories were hung by their thumbs, was thereafter spoken of as Lynch's Tree and the law, administered under its spreading branches, came to be known as the Lynch Law. Later some of the Tories, who had been flogged, instituted suit; but the General Assembly of Virginia in October, 1782, sanctioned Lynch's Law on the ground that it was needed to suppress a conspiracy against the Commonwealth in time of war.

In the course of time, the term "Lynch Law" acquired a highly unsavory reputation by becoming identified with mob violence and with capital punishment inflicted by irresponsible groups who took the law in their own hands. Far from having legislative approval, it was definitely outlawed in Virginia by the Anti-Lynch Act of 1928.

The old tree on Colonel Lynch's lawn, wth the inscription, "Lynch Law 1776," still stands. Aided by tree surgery and plugged with cement, the ancient reminder of another era has been spared so that it still spreads out its living branches of history.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 16, 1940

Increase of Aatrocious Crime

In the Southern states rape is a capital crime, that is, punishable with death. In most if not all Northern states it is not considered of so great gravity and the punishment is imprisonment. This does not imply superior respect for womanhood on the part of Southerners to that of Northern people. It is explained by the fact of the bi-racial population of the South and the train of problems springing from it.

Never was rational defense or excuse for lynching, whether for the crime against woman or other crime. Lynchings have occurred solely because of the lack or capacity or will of the Southern white people to enforce law. One may hear that courts and lawyers are obstacles to punishment of outrageous crimes, but that is foolishness. The courts, the juries, the laws are creatures and creations of the people, and if they circumvent the people's will, it is no more than evidence of the weakness of the people.

A proportion, not by any means the larger, of the disgraceful lynchings, they were and are, all of them disgraceful to a civilized people, have been of innocent men, and still it may be that years ago they resulted in decreasing certain infamous crimes. But they bred other crimes.

There are signs that some of these crimes are more numerous now than they were thirty or forty years ago. They can be prevented or minimized without lynching—which is demoralizing, ruinous to order and peace.

This prevention may be effected by swift, immediate, stern enforcement of the laws. It may be called cruel, and that would be to misname it.

When an atrocious crime is committed the trial and execution of a convicted criminal should follow within a brief period, three weeks or six weeks at most. In England and Scotland it does, and in those lands the ratio of capital crime is to such crime in South Carolina about one to thirty. There are no lynchings in England or Scotland.

The enforcement of the law as to the infamous crimes should be in South Carolina without discrimination as to race. A white man committing one of them is at least as guilty as a negro is.

In South Caorlina, in the South, the grave crimes will multiply unless:

They shall be lawfully punished with speed and rigor—

Or lawlessness, which is lynching, shall be the recourse.

Lynching makes a whole community, a whole people, criminal. It is the breakdown of order, of civilization, and the confession of the breakdown by the people.

A land of lynchers is no land for respectable and self-respecting people to live in.

If we shall not have early and complete change of public opinion in the South about the basest of crimes we shall have more of them.

There is nothing whatsoever in the way of suppressing crimes by prompt enforcement of law, the courts and the juries being the agencies of the people, unless it be by consent of the people that their laws be trampled upon.

Lynchings or Murders?

MAY 18 1940

IT is denied by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the South has just enjoyed its first lynchless period of 12 months. The association points to three killings in Georgia during March, and calls them all lynchings. Maybe they were, although judgment must be reserved on that point until further details are at hand.

The victims of these Georgia slayings were two white men and one white woman, all supposedly beaten to death by persons dominated by, or belonging to, the Ku-Klux Klan. The question is whether these were lynchings, any more than Northern gang killings are lynchings. In the case of the gang killings, they aren't counted as lynchings in the tabulations.

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch

Of the three Georgia victims, SARAH RAWLS and BENTON FORD were found beaten to death in a local "lovers' lane," where they had been sitting in FORD's car. IKE GASTON, a barber, was found dead in a field a few nights later, "cut to shreds by blows from a long, cleated belt."

Couldn't two or three persons have put all three of these Georgians to death? What evidence is there that there was a "mob," in the commonly accepted sense of the term? True, the crimes are just as dastardly, and the three unfortunates are just as dead as if they had been tortured for hours by hundreds of howling lynchers, and then put out of their agony, but the fact remains that a statistical distinction is always made between gang killings and murders, on the one hand, and lynchings on the other.

The document on which the N. A. A. C. P. says it relies for substantiation of its declaration that there were three lynchings in Georgia in March, is an article, "The Klan Rides Again," published in the *Nation* for April 6, and written by RICHARD H. ROVERE. Nowhere in that article does the word "lynching" occur. There are references to "nightriders," "floggings," "beatings" and "killings," but isn't it significant that there is no charge that these Georgia affairs were lynchings?

Until the N. A. A. C. P. produces more convincing evidence that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is unjustified in its jubilation over the first lynchless twelvemonth in the South's history, we shall consider their jubilation to be soundly based.

LYNCHING - 1940
DISCUSSIONS OF

WHITE PRESS SOUTHERN

6365

News
Birmingham, Ala.

The Lynching Record

JAN 1941

The South in general, and Alabama in particular, suffered a deterioration in the lynching record in 1940. Five lynchings were recorded by Tuskegee Institute, of which two were in Alabama. In 1939 there were only three lynchings in the country, and none in Alabama. For three years, until 1940, Alabama had not been disgraced by a lynching characterized as such on the records of Tuskegee Institute.

The Tuskegee Institute's method of reporting, it may be noted here, has been under fire, especially by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other forces seeking the adoption of national legislation against lynching. These critics declare the institute's reports do not count incidents which should be classed as lynchings.

That criticism may be the reason for the inclusion in the report for 1940 of a note that information was uncertain regarding eight purported lynchings. The institute will be free of some portion of blame should any of these eight undefined cases be established later as lynchings. The uncertainty regarding these eight instances, however, lends at least some emphasis to the idea that the system of reporting lynchings lacks perfect accuracy.

However, the lynching record in 1940, even including the doubtful incidents, gives little support to the argument for federal anti-lynching legislation. State and local authorities still seem to have the matter pretty well in hand. These authorities thwarted 22 attempts at lynching during 1940. Nineteen of these foiled mob attempts were in the South, which is certainly evidence that this section is making earnest efforts to solve one of its major problems.

Anderson, S. C., Independent Trib.
January 12, 1941

A CLEAN SLATE

South Carolina kept a clean slate this year in lynchings. Again our state has chalked up a perfect record and it is a credit to our citizenry that such a record has been made. Only five times this year did lynchings occur, one being in Tennessee, two in Georgia and two in Alabama. This number is an increase over last year's three lynchings, but could be a lot worse.

Law enforcement long ago took the place of lynch law and apparently our people have learned this. Let us have a clean slate next year and the next!—Newberry Observer.

News
Birmingham, Ala.

Lynching Toll Still Down

JAN 8 1941

JAN 12 1941

For the fifth successive year 1940 showed a lynching toll below 10. According to Tuskegee Institute, which has long kept the score, only five persons were lynched last year. Of these one was white and four Negroes. The lynchings occurred in Alabama, 2; Georgia, 2; Tennessee, 1.

Thus the evidence continues that lynching is on the way out in the United States. Compare the nine of 1936, the eight of 1937, the six of 1938, the five of 1939, to take the highest of disputed figures for that year, the five of 1940 with the 231 lynchings of 1892.

The South, which has been the worst offender, is cleaning itself up without a federal statute. Officers of the law in these Southern states now get a backing in doing their duty which was formerly absent. Southern sentiment can now be counted definitely against lynching. It cannot be long now before that sentiment will be strong enough to stop even the irresponsibles who still try to take the law into their own hands.

Yet the United States will be shamed so long as any part of this outrage remains. How great and indefensible an outrage it is appears in Tuskegee Institute's list of the offenses charged against the five persons lynched in 1940. They were: Wife-beating and drunkenness, 1; attempted rape, 1; attempting to qualify to vote, 1; altercation with a white man, 1; failure to refer to a white man as "Mr.," 1. Tuskegee does not inform us which of these offenses was charged against the one white man lynched. Obviously it could hardly have been any one of the last three. This list of charged offenses makes its own comment.—San Francisco Chronicle.

Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
January 16, 1941

NOW LET'S REPEAT

South Carolina's slate was kept clean of a lynching throughout the year 1940. That is as it should be. Respect for law and constituted authority as well as its enforcement should militate against any recurrence of mob violence in this state. There can be no justification for a group or mob taking the law into themselves and committing murder and assault upon the courts at the same time. — Spartanburg Journal.

The Southern Frontier

Issued by
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VOL. I | JANUARY, 1940 | NUMBER 1

File Lynchings

Supreme Court Poses a Problem for Educators

On December 12, 1938, the United States Supreme Court ruled that a state must either open the doors of its schools to white and Negro students alike, or must provide schools of equal rank and quality for each class.

This decision has awakened general interest in higher education for Negroes, tho the interest itself has not resolved the problem posed in the conflict between social custom and no cash.

The Southern University Conference meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in the early winter showed interest enough in the decision to devote an entire session to its discussion. Whether or not there were Negro educators present, this writer does not know.

President Harmon W. Caldwell, of the University of Georgia, said: "The most practical solution would be in setting up regional Negro universities to which all states in the region would contribute. This arrangement would relieve the states of the tremendous—if not prohibitive—cost of establishing separate graduate schools.

"However, if it should not meet Supreme Court requirements—and it might not—two other possible solutions are available:

"1. Expansion of Negro state colleges to provide for adequate instruction in law, medicine, teaching the ministry, social work and other such subjects.

"2. Financial aid to privately owned Negro colleges and universities to accomplish the same purpose, provided state laws will permit this."

Texas Betters Facilities for Negro Students

Taking cognizance of the movement for more equal educational advantages, the Texas legislature last spring appropriated $25,000 for each of the next two years to pay the tuition of Negro students who wanted advanced and professional training and who could not obtain it in Texas.

The first report by the administrators of the fund states that of the 180 applications sent in, 53 have been approved. The total amount of grants that have been made for these 53 applicants is $11,341.54. On December 15th the Committee met to consider applications for the second semester and the summer school, 1940.

The courses of study which these 53

(*Continued on last page.*)

On The Southern Frontier

HOWARD W. ODUM
President, Commission on Interracial Cooperation

We hear a great deal these days about the new frontiers. Sometimes we call them educational frontiers, social frontiers, political frontiers, economic frontiers, and many others. What we are all trying to say is apparently the fact that in our attempt to approach the new American frontiers we assume that having mastered all of the physical frontiers of land and rivers and mountains and plains, our next pioneering will be primarily on social and cultural frontiers.

It is well to examine the meanings of the concept of "frontier" if we are going to propose programs that imply new frontiers of whatever sort. Here are some of the conventional meanings of the frontier in American history. First of all, the essence of the frontier seems to me to be that it is the gateway to advance or progress. Wherever there is a frontier, there is movement; there is change; there is high motivation; there is heroic effort towards mastery; there are the long looks ahead to far horizons. This is true whether it is reflected in the magnificent frontiers of American life or the ever new frontiers of science, invention, and technology. Witness in America a great Appalachian gateway to the West, a Southwest that was at first no more than Tennessee and Kentucky, a West that was no more than Cleveland, a great Northwest that scarcely reached the Great Lakes, the great Southwest of Texas; then on and on to the great Oregon Trail and the California Gold Rush and then the sweep back to the last western frontier of the Great Plains and prairie country.

Or witness in the field of science and invention the more than 2,142,000 inventions patented by the United States Patent Office within the short span of a century. In all of these, new discoveries, new additions, new technologies constitute gateways to extraordinary change and advance of whatever sort.

A second characteristic of the frontier was stated by the historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, when he spoke of a frontier as "That coarseness and strength, combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and

(*Continued on last page.*)

Fewer Mobs in 1939

According to the reports compiled at Tuskegee Institute there were 3 persons—2 Negroes, 1 white man—lynched in 1939. This is 3 less than in 1938; 5 less than each of the years 1937 and 1936; and 17 less than in 1935. Two of the persons lynched were taken from the hands of the law.

In 18 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, all in the South, 25 persons, 5 white men and 20 Negro men, were saved from the hands of mobs.

The white man lynched was charged with murder, and the Negroes were charged, one with fatally injuring a boy in an automobile accident, and the other an altercation with a white man.

The states in which lynchings occurred are: Florida, 2 and Mississippi, 1.

The remarkable fact about the report from Tuskegee Institute is not the new low record of lynchings for 1939, but the number of prevented lynchings. As long as mobs form, regardless of their acts as mobs, the danger to law and order is still too great. Comparison of the number of prevented lynchings for the last five years indicates that there is more progress in the South than the public may be aware:

In 1935 there were 53 prevented lynchings; in 1936 there were 52 prevented lynchings; in 1937 there were 56 prevented lynchings; in 1938 there were 42 prevented lynchings; in 1939 there were 18 prevented lynchings.

"'Lynched' Georgia Man Says He 'Knows It Ain't So'."

"A blot on Georgia's escutcheon for a reported 1939 lynching was erased yesterday. Charlie E. Williams, 33-year-old Negro, who was listed as a lynch mob victim, was found alive and at work.

"'I heard I was lynched, but didn't pay any attention to it, 'cause I knew I was livin,' was the sage observation of the Negro reported in the semi-annual statistics of Tuskegee Institute as having been lynched by a group of white men at Woodcliffe, Ga., Screven county, on the night of last March 11.

"M. M. Work, statistician, said last night the Williams 'lynching' was the only one listed for Georgia this year in the report published July 1."

—*Atlanta Constitution,* Aug. 4, 1939.

Mr. J. O. J. Taylor, of Savannah, who worked as one of the investigators of this reported lynching, is the Chairman of the Savannah area of the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

CRIME OF LYNCHING

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 801

AN ACT TO ASSURE TO PERSONS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF EVERY STATE DUE PROCESS OF LAW AND EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS, AND TO PREVENT THE CRIME OF LYNCHING

FEBRUARY 6, 7, MARCH 5, 12, AND 13, 1940

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Ladies and Lynchings

by LEWIS T. NORDYKE

The remarkable story of the campaign against lynching which is being carried forward by forty thousand southern women, backed by two million members of social, civic and religious groups. A Texas journalist reports on the promise of better human relations which distinguishes this quiet but determined movement for "self-reconstruction."

MOB VIOLENCE, MASQUERADING AS THE CHAMPION OF SOUTHern womanhood, is petering out below the Mason and Dixon Line. And the weaker sex is largely responsible. Nine years ago a small group of thinking women who had long realized that there was more bloodthirst than knight-errantry in howling mobs, organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Today, backed by women's social, civic and religious groups that have more than two million members in the southern states, the women are massed in one of the most effective social programs ever attempted in the United States and certainly one of the most vital and constructive movements in the South—that of preventing white men from lynching Negroes for any cause whatsoever.

The word "southern" in the association's name is significant, for the program is a native one, conceived, developed and expanded into a South-wide movement by southern-born women. In a strict sense, the movement is part of the final work of reconstruction, the righting of wrongs growing out of slavery and the Civil War.

The accomplishments of these southern women are not widely known, even in the South. The women have worked quietly—very quietly in comparison with the notoriety of lynching mobs bent on murder. Through personal effort, pressure on state officials and peace officers, and with the help of church, social and other organizations, they have greatly affected the South's whole approach to the problem of race relations.

Demolishing the Myth of Mob Chivalry

STATISTICS TELL PART OF THE DRAMATIC STORY OF THE PAtient anti-lynching campaign. In the eight years previous to the founding of the women's association, there were 211 lynchings in the nation. In 1930, the year the association was founded, there were twenty-one lynchings in the South. Records of Tuskegee Institute show that in the first eight years the women were organized there were 105 lynchings, only half as many as in the previous eight years. There were thirteen lynchings in 1931, eight in 1932, twenty-eight in 1933, fourteen in 1934, twenty in 1935, eight in each of 1936 and 1937 and six in 1938, the lowest year on record.

Moreover, the records show that in forty instances sheriffs and police officers, many of them committed in writing to the women's program, prevented lynchings in 1938—saving three white men, forty-nine Negro men and a Negro woman from mobs. In each of these officially recorded cases, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was on the job, not up front in a dramatic, headline way, but quietly functioning where action counted.

To outsiders the most surprising thing about the anti-lynching drive is that southern women are responsible for it. The remark of one northerner who heard for the first time of the association's program was, "Why, that *is* peculiar. Isn't the primary purpose of lynching to protect white women?" To this question thousands of southern women have answered for nearly ten years with an emphatic, "NO."

The first thing the association's organizers set out to do was to destroy the fiction that men lynch in women's names. Here is the organization's declaration and personal pledge:

We declare lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful, and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing, and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, we dare not longer permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savage-

What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynchings

1—She can study all available material on lynchings and make the information her own.

2—She can present her material to missionary societies and clubs, applying her remarks to the purposes and programs of each group.

3—She can secure signatures of the members of the organizations before which she speaks.

4—She can ask each organization to appoint one member to serve with her in this work.

5—She can take signatures of citizens and, accompanied by one member of her committee, go to the Court House and discuss with the Sheriff, the Judge, and other officers of the law mobs, lynchings, and their prevention. She can ask for the signatures of the officials to a special resolution against lynching.

6—She can visit the local newspaper and inform the editor of the work undertaken by the women, and ask for the sympathy and cooperation of the local press.

7—She and members of her committee can talk to the preachers of the town. She can plan with them some specific projects of education through the Church, Sunday School, and young peoples' organizations.

8—She and her committee can open the way for speakers before the civic, commercial, and service clubs of the men of the town.

9—She can talk over with the School Superintendent the project of reaching young people through the schools, either in assembly talks or in class room talks.

10—She and her committee can list all county wide organizations of men and women, the dates of the meetings, the nature of the work and the program of each. With this information she can identify the educational project against lynching with interests of the organizations before she will try to speak.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

Reprinted from SURVEY GRAPHIC, *November 1939 for*
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN
FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING
701 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

ry to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South, which will not condone, for any reason whatever, acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and, finally, we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.

That pledge is not an idle one. Nearly 40,000 of the leading white women of the South have signed it and have fought for the principles involved, including the statement that men do not lynch in the South to protect the flower of southern womanhood.

When, on November 1, 1930, two dozen southern-born women met in Atlanta, some amazing facts about lynchings were placed on the council table. Guarding against possible consequences of acting in haste on what might be a half-baked idea, the small group had made an exhaustive survey of lynching. Here are some things they learned:

Since 1886, a total of 4297 persons had been lynched in the United States, most of them in the South—but only 21 percent of the victims had been lynched for crimes against white women.

Women had been present at all lynchings of recent years and in a number of cases had participated. Some of the women were mothers with young children who, on several occasions, were actually balanced precariously on parents' shoulders so as to have a better view. Young boys and girls were contributing their numbers to the mobs, both as spectators and as leaders.

From 1922 to that autumn of 1930, there had been 211 lynchings, 204 of them in the South. But only 29 percent of the victims had been accused of crimes against white women.

Then came the questions that electrified the conference: What did the other 71 percent of the victims do to provoke the murderous wrath of mobs? Why do white men lynch Negroes? In a tense moment, the women saw what had been traditionally known as southern chivalry stripped down to sadistic barbarism. In the economic, social and racial significance of the problem lay the real challenge.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, today executive director of the association, an even dozen of that pioneer group pledged themselves to do all within their power to prevent lynchings and to change public opinion to abhor instead of countenance mob murder. The women decided they had two jobs. First to carry on an educational program between outbursts of violence; second, to act quickly when a mob formed, or when there was a threat of a mob. The first they considered of greater importance, and they wrote into their minutes:

The time to prevent lynchings is before the mob forms. Investigations have disclosed that no county in the South is free from the shadow of a possible lynching. Because the county is the important unit of government, intensive activities are planned to be carried out by women in each county seat *before a mob ever threatens.*

And this the women set out to do. Each of the dozen original members was prominent in church work and each knew that in the South church women are beyond any doubt the dominating force. So to the church organizations the women went for assistance. The response was great. Hundreds of southern women offered their aid. Prominent women like Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville, who is well known as a novelist under the name of George Madden Martin, joined actively in the work and placed their influence behind the program.

Then the women started work—talking, writing letters, distributing printed circulars, interviewing officers and state officials, addressing organization meetings—with the ambitious goal of interesting every organization of men and women in every county in the South in the campaign against lynching.

There was ridicule. There were threats. Organizations which had made the terrorizing of Negroes their chief business since the Civil War opposed the women, inspired sinister warnings or sent them under their own official letterheads. In no few communities the women were ordered not to speak. In other communities officials demanded that talks be written and censored locally before the women might speak.

"Many of the women were threatened," Mrs. Ames said. "I know women who wouldn't tell their husbands of the threats because they feared their families would insist that the women quit the work. Women went into communities in which there had been lynchings. Many of the people were surly, belligerent. When we take into consideration the fact that some of the lynchings had grown out of politics and crooked business deals, we can understand that the women were by no means safe at all times. They knew of the constant danger, and they didn't forget to pray."

The Momentum of Education

By good chance the women struck at an opportune moment. For years some of the leading newspapers of the South had fought mob murder. Such editors as Grover Hall of the Montgomery *Advertiser,* Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* and many others had made a strong fight against lynching.

State officials, particularly the governors, in several states had taken a reasonably firm stand against lynching and held sheriffs responsible for lynchings in their counties. In the cities of the South other individuals and organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had long been waging anti-lynching campaigns. There was a growing awareness of the social and economic implications of the spirit created by lynching. "Outside" criticism had begun to offend the sensibilities of southern people and make them more self-conscious about charges that lynching was the act of barbarians. In short, public opinion was not unprepared to accept the surprise move made by the southern white women. And, from the start, the women gave thankful credit and offered their full cooperation in all anti-lynching movements, except the drive for a federal anti-lynching bill, which, because of the women's program of applying pressure to southern sheriffs, they neither favored nor opposed.

Perhaps the most important part of their work—the part that shocked a large section of the public into a changing view of the lynching problem—was that of gathering and publicizing facts about lynchings. The records in Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta show that in more than one instance innocent Negroes were lynched on nonexistent grounds at the instigation of white men who coveted the crops the Negroes had cultivated.

Here are some of the officially recorded facts the women publicized in newspapers and in printed circulars:

Nine of the 84 mob victims in the 1931-35 period were not accused of any crime and 25 others were accused of minor offenses.

Near Moultrie, Ga., Bo Brinson, an unaccused Negro, was

killed at his home by a mob looking for John Henry Sloan, who had killed a white man.

In Baker County, Ga., a Negro killed a white bootlegger at a Negro dance. When the "right man" couldn't be found, two unaccused Negroes were lynched as an object lesson.

In Cheatham County, Tennessee, a Negro was lynched for slapping a white woman who was drinking beer in a Negro store.

At Tuscaloosa, Ala., a helpless Negro paralytic was lynched on the charge of attempted rape.

In Greenville County, S. C., a Negro was shot to death in his home at midnight by a masked mob after he had repeatedly asked for a settlement for his crop.

Revelation of such facts, Mrs. Ames said, aided the association in battering down opposition and winning popular public approval; and this, of course, represented a decided change in public opinion. As a result, the ranks of the women crusaders increased by thousands.

Mrs. Mullino Prevents a Lynching

How do some 40,000 crusading southern women work?

On Christmas Day, 1934, Mrs. Ames was preparing for holiday festivities. Her telephone rang. An Associated Press editor informed her that a Negro had killed an officer in Schley County, Georgia, and that a mob was forming. Mrs. Ames rushed to the office. She discovered that the association had no signatures in Schley County. But in adjoining Macon County lived a member of the Georgia Council of the Association, Mrs. F. M. Mullino of Montezuma. Mrs. Ames telephoned Mrs. Mullino, who stopped preparation of her Christmas dinner and started telephoning everyone she knew in Schley County, urging each to bring pressure on the sheriff to prevent a lynching.

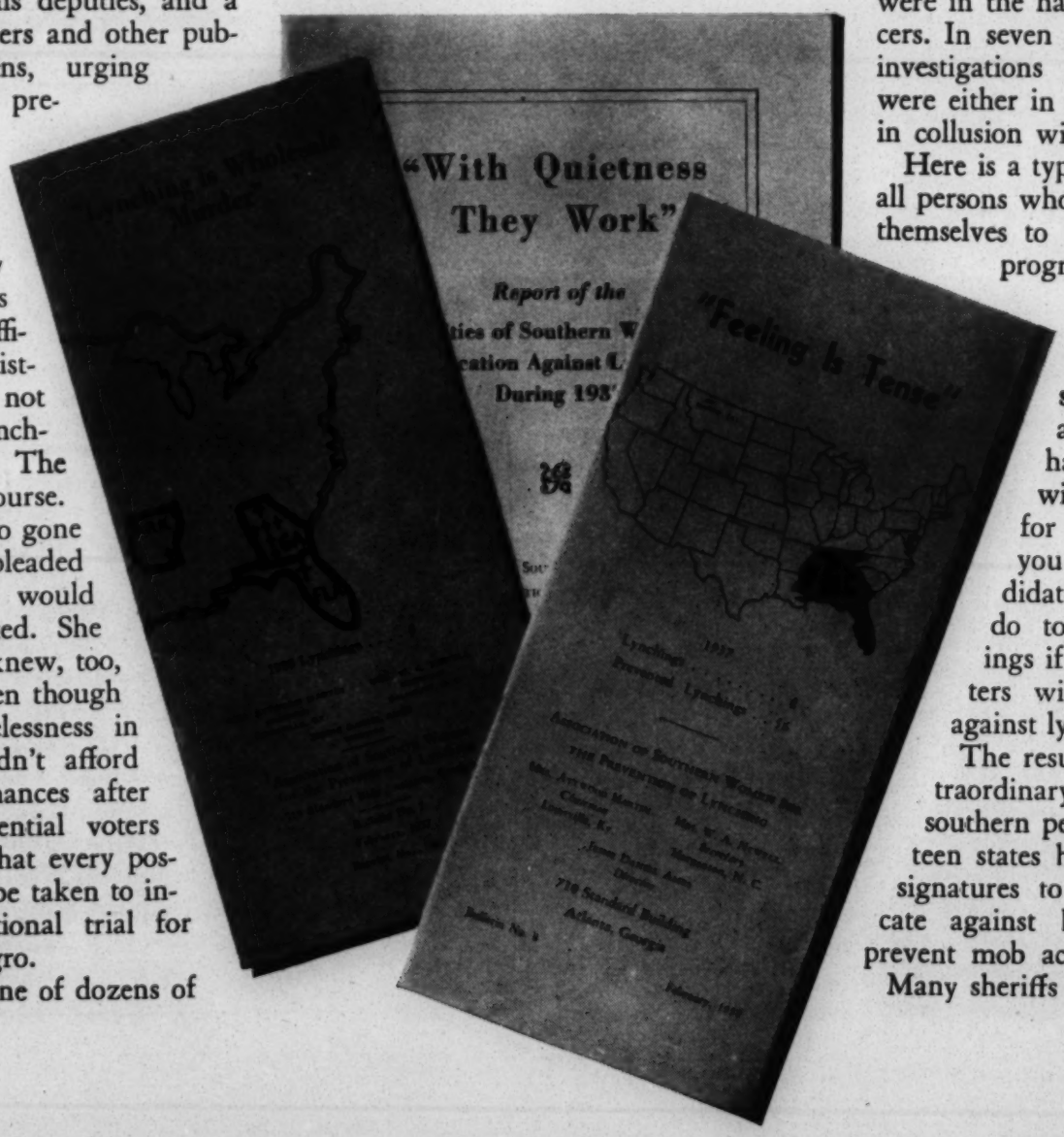
A short time later, Mrs. Mullino was informed that the Negro was in a swamp in her own county. She called the sheriff and his deputies, and a number of ministers and other public-spirited citizens, urging them to aid in preventing mob action. Until mid-afternoon she stayed at her telephone. Finally the Negro was captured — by officers. That Christmas Day was not blackened by a lynching in Georgia. The law took its course. Had Mrs. Mullino gone to the mob and pleaded for restraint she would have been taunted. She knew that. She knew, too, that a sheriff, even though disposed to carelessness in such cases, couldn't afford to take any chances after dozens of influential voters had demanded that every possible precaution be taken to insure a constitutional trial for the accused Negro.

That is only one of dozens of examples of the women's quick work. Early in their campaign they realized that the sheriff was the key man. It was up to him to handle any mob forming in his county. The women approached practically every southern sheriff, asked each to sign a pledge to do all within his power to prevent lynchings. Some of the sheriffs shrugged off the matter as "just another one of them things." But the women did not stop there. They went about their work of obtaining the signatures of influential persons, of talking anti-lynching in schools, churches and at public meetings, of distributing circulars giving facts on lynchings and asking the public to help prevent mob law.

Southern women know local politics. No strange woman from the central state office called on a sheriff in the counties of the fifteen states. Nothing like that. A woman voter living in each sheriff's own county went to him about the lynching matters, and that is about as firm political pressure as can be applied. Each time there was a crime, or an accusation which might lead to a lynching, the women went into swift action. The sheriff started getting calls from influential voters and visits from prominent men and women who demanded that he protect the Negro, take him to an unnamed jail if necessary. Some of these calls came from governors who had been informed by association members of possible attempted violence. In some southern states a governor can remove a sheriff who loses a prisoner to a mob. In certain instances southern governors have called out the militia to protect accused Negroes.

A Basic Approach to Race Relations

At the end of 1937 the southern women issued a startling statement entitled, "Where Were the Peace Officers?" It declared: "All eight victims of lynchings in 1937 were in the hands of peace officers. In seven of the lynchings, investigations indicate, officers were either in the mob or were in collusion with the mob."



Here is a typical message sent all persons who have committed themselves to the anti-lynching program: "Do you know your sheriff? Have you talked with your sheriff? If it is an election year, have you talked with the candidates for sheriff? Have you asked each candidate what he will do to prevent lynchings if elected? The voters will decide for or against lynching this year."

The results have been extraordinary. To date 1229 southern peace officers in fifteen states have written their signatures to pledges to educate against lynching and to prevent mob action.

Many sheriffs have volunteered

their pledges. In asking the sheriffs to sign pledges the women do not intend to intimate they think the sheriffs would countenance lynchings. All they want is cooperation, and most peace officers are giving it. A recent issue of the Texas Sheriffs Association's monthly magazine bitterly attacked lynching as murder and urged Texas sheriffs—there are 254 of them—firmly to aid in stamping out all such outrages.

The women have not limited their pressure to sheriffs. They have used the same methods on governors, legislators and other state officials. In Kentucky, 2000 women demanded repeal of the "gallows festival" law, which provided public hangings for men convicted on charges of rape. The law was repealed. The law, which made the crime of rape punishable by hanging in the county where the offense was committed, had been intended to quench the lynching spirit by demonstrating publicly that the law had taken its course, but the practice became distorted and was marked by many shockingly shameful celebrations, at which, as one southern newspaper pointed out, morbid appetite grew by what it fed on.

The women's work has included some activities more strenuous than signing petitions and applying pressure. They have faced howling mobs bent on lynching Negroes. Their pleadings were seldom heeded or even heard, but the women did all they could. Another dangerous job has been that of visiting the scenes of lynchings and collecting the real facts.

In cases—particularly those actually involving crimes against white women—in which the association has stepped into the scene, members have been taunted with: "What if it were your daughter? What if it were you?"

To these jeering questions the women can reply with facts from the records. In 1936, the seven-year-old daughter of an Alabama woman, who was committed to the program, was attacked by a Negro. The mother, clinging tenaciously to her ideals and principles at a time when it would have been understandable had she succumbed to a profoundly human desire for revenge, prevented mob violence by her appeal that the law take its course.

Two aged sisters, who had only read of the southern women's program, pleaded with a posse of men in a Texas village in 1938 not to attempt to lynch a Negro who had attacked them. The sisters made their plea from beds in which their injuries confined them.

The association has its central council in Atlanta with Mrs. Attwood Martin as chairman and Mrs. Ames as director. There are thirteen council members at large, and each of the fifteen states has an independent council. The women work without pay and have planned their organization so shrewdly that it has none of the drawbacks common in ordinary guilds. They have carefully avoided strict rules of organization. "Much of the ineffectiveness of reform movements," said Mrs. Ames, "arises from the determination of the leaders to set up an organization into which are gathered only like-minded people, thereby cutting them off from making converts." And they have carefully avoided the mistake of getting too far ahead of public opinion. "Knowing at the start," said Mrs. Martin, "that if we went too fast, moved ahead of public opinion in a particular locality, it would be the Negro population that would suffer, we have refrained from overzeal until sure of our support."

And all along, every day of the year, the quiet educational program in which thousands of women have relayed the association's message to highschools and colleges, Sunday schools and churches, social, religious and patriotic clubs has been carried forward. Even the drama has been used in this earnest educational campaign. The association sponsored a one-act play contest, in which the subject was limited to anti-lynching. "Country Sunday" by Walter Spearman, teacher of journalism in the University of North Carolina, and "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" by Ann Seymour, teacher in the schools of Palestine, Tex., were the winners. The plays were widely produced by Little Theater groups, and Miss Seymour's play was included in "Representative One-Act American Plays of 1938," which had a circulation of more than 20,000. The women have not been able to estimate the number of persons the message of the plays reached, nor do they have any idea how many thousands their constant flow of printed circulars on lynching and its prevention have affected.

The central office now sends out more than 10,000 pieces of literature upon direct request each year. Requests for information on the work have come from India, China, Africa, England, and the Philippines.

In order to accelerate the work, the association has requested Mrs. Ames to develop a study book of methods on the education of the public against lynching and its prevention. All the methods the women have found in ten years to be successful—ways of carrying on the educational program when there is no mob to combat, and action necessary when there is danger of a mob—will be included in the handbook. In addition there will be factual discussions of the racial problem in the South. With this book in the hands of thousands of women, each worker will benefit by the association's past experience in combating lynching. And the goal of the women is 100,000 signatures and pledges of cooperation from every sheriff in the South.

It is the hope, the prayer, the intention of these thousands of southern women that not far in the future they will look at the first page of their morning newspaper and see an item something like this:

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Dec. 31—(AP)—The Tuskegee Institute reported today that for the first time since the Civil War no lynchings occurred during a year in the United States.

Signature Pledges Against Lynching

State	*Counties*	*Towns*	*Women*	*Men*	*Officers*
Alabama	55	173	1356	54	20
Arkansas	29	52	789	69	3
Florida	51	137	2136	332	46
Georgia	154	386	7006	352	250
Kentucky	93	191	2895	144	111
Louisiana	51	109	886	36	135
Mississippi	81	294	5093	526	146
Missouri	39	84	738	36	4
North Carolina	95	337	4361	109	15
Oklahoma	43	93	1212	31	23
South Carolina	46	205	2082	21	37
Tennessee	71	59	3535	259	202
Texas	198	592	5808	51	93
Virginia	46	89	1025	59	137
West Virginia	28	61	469	11	7
Total	1074	2862	39,391	2090	1229

LYNCHING GOES UNDERGROUND

A Report on a New Technique

6 file Segregation

"Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime. It is his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling blood-thirsty mob composed of men, women, and children. This is the new and dangerous method, devised by those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation."

January, 1940

The Author

The author of this report, who must remain anonymous, is a white native southerner who has lived all his life in the South and still lives there. He has made a number of investigations of lynchings.

Sponsors

This report is sponsored by Senators ROBERT F. WAGNER and ARTHUR CAPPER; and Representatives JOSEPH A. CAVAGAN and HAMILTON FISH.

Lynching Goes Underground

WEDGED between the Delta and the Prairie sections of the State of Mississippi lies the little town of Canton. Half in and half out of the regions, it is a mixture of each.

Your investigator spent five days in Canton, Jackson, and vicinity and met numerous extraordinarily able and fine citizens in Canton. But on the whole, conditions existing among Negroes in Canton are not greatly different, if any at all, from those which universally prevail throughout the deep South.

Despite the burdensome physical and spiritual hardships to which Negroes are daily subjected, little deep-seated hatred for white people is in evidence. One is amazed to find men who live under such conditions possessing such breadth of social comprehension and understanding, tolerance and active goodwill. At the time your investigator interviewed some of these citizens, the possibility of a European war was imminent. He found a genuine hatred for Hitler and Hitlerism, a broad sympathy for England and France, and a profound attachment and love for America. There was observable an intense devotion to democracy and an ardent hope that they might be permitted to participate in its realization and fulfillment.

Death of Joe Rodgers

IT WAS in this sort of atmosphere that Joe Rodgers lived. He came to Canton from a rural community nearby Forest, Mississippi, in 1935 or '36. Early and easily he won for himself the respect and confidence of the Negro citizens of Canton. At Canton he became a member of Mount Zion Baptist church. Soon he was made a deacon in the church and elected president of the choir.

Joe Rodgers undoubtedly possessed many unusual and noble qualities of character for he was universally respected and esteemed by all those who knew him. He was apparently impressive to look at, weighing in the neighborhood of 185 or 190 pounds and strong of body and limb. He was active in community affairs and ever anxious to turn a hand for a friend whenever possible. As far as anyone knew Rodgers had never experienced any trouble of any sort in Canton with either the white or colored people and had never been approached by officers of the law for any cause whatsoever.

Joe Rodgers was unmarried and lived at the home of a friend in Canton where he had a private room and upon which he looked as his home. Here he was thoroughly satisfied and contented. He was generally known to be quiet, industrious and a hard worker.

Argument Over Rent

On Saturday, May 6, 1939, Rodgers was helping to install a turbine at the Dinkman Mill where he was employed. After the day's work had been completed he went for his pay. Upon receiving his envelope he noted that some money had been deducted for reasons which he did not understand. He inquired of the foreman the reason for the deduction from his pay and was told that the money had been deducted for rent on a house which he was supposed to occupy while working for the company. He told the foreman that he had no reason to live at the mill since he was comfortably situated elsewhere. It is generally understood that Rodgers said no more about the matter and went home. (Your investigator was unable to ascertain whether this was a long-standing policy of the company or recently introduced or whether it was a general policy at all and/or whether it was a ruse on the part of the foreman to secure funds from the workers. The amount was thought to be around $4.50.)

On Sunday Rodgers attended church in Canton and in conversation with some friends mentioned the events of the preceding day to them. On Monday morning Rodgers in company with one "Sun" Ewing returned to his work at the mill. Some time during the early part of the morning Rodgers approached the foreman in charge of the work and expressed dissatisfaction over his week's pay. The foreman evidently resented Rodger's reference to the matter and struck him with his fist. Words undoubtedly passed between them and the foreman grabbed a spade with which to strike Rodgers. Rodgers, it is related, wrested the spade from the foreman and struck him with it. At this juncture "Sun" Ewing appeared on the scene and succeeded in separating the two men.

Whether Rodgers continued at his job or started to return home is not known but he was not seen by anyone outside of the mill grounds after he went to work. By noon of the same day the knowledge of his trouble at the mill and his subsequent disappearance, supposedly at the hands of a mob, was widespread.

Body Found in River

On Thursday morning Constable Snugg of the local police force was noticed walking near the banks of Pearl River. Some time during the morning he discovered the nude form of Joe Rodgers in the sluggish waters of the river. When the body had been recovered from its watery grave it was laid upon the banks where it was viewed by many citizens.

The body of Joe Rodgers bore mute testimony to the manner in which he had been disposed of. Although stilled in death, his lifeless form was a ghastly and revealing witness to the fact that he had come to his death at the hands of a mob. With a half-inch rope his feet had been securely bound and his hands tied tightly behind him. According to numerous persons who viewed the body immediately after it had been recovered from the river and while it reposed at the funeral home, Rodgers' body had been beaten to a pulp. The marks on the body seemed to indicate that Rodgers was beaten from head to feet with wooden clubs and sticks. The head was smashed from a heavy blow and the body so bruised and misshapen as to arouse doubt as to whether it was Rodgers or some other victim of a mob's fury. One of Rodgers' friends was present and caused the mouth to be examined for an upper plate of false teeth. The plate when extracted from the mouth tallied in detail with the description given by Rodgers' friend. According to reliable testimony the body bore no signs of having been cut or burned with hot irons. It appears that Joe Rodgers was simply beaten to death by blunt instruments which were used to smash his naked body.

Work of Mob

The evidence in the case points conclusively and unmistakably to the conclusion that Joe Rodgers was lynched by a mob composed of a considerable number of men. It is unreasonable to believe that "a powerfully muscled man" as one witness described Rodgers, who weighed around 190 pounds, could be securely tied hand and foot with a half-inch grass rope, beaten to a pulp, dragged to the river's edge and his body disposed of by a single man or by only two or three men. Such could have happened had Rodgers been knocked unconscious by a blow or in some manner made powerless. If such had been the case there would have been no necessity to go to the trouble to bind the body in the manner heretofore described.

The mill at which Rodgers was employed is located partly within the limits of the city of Canton. It is so situated as to make it extremely unlikely that a group of men from outside of the mill could enter the grounds without being seen by the colored residents. No unusual excitement or disturbance was known to have been noted by the Negro residents in the mill area. The facts would seem to warrant the conclusion that Joe Rodgers was lynched by a mob composed of workers at the Dinkman Mills.

The opinion was advanced by several persons that the Negro employees may have been forced to accompany the mob and to witness the lynching of Rodgers. This was done in order to "teach the niggers respect for white men" and to have a scape-goat should any word of Rodgers' death leak to the general public.

Your investigator is inclined to believe that unusual factors operate in this case since persons who are known to possess valuable information refuse to divulge any facts in connection with the case or in any way to talk about it. Your investigator worked through well-known Negro citizens of the immediate vicinity of Canton, but they were unable to secure certain information from some persons known to have considerable knowledge of the affair.

Negroes of Canton are no more or no less sensitive to such brutal treatment as that meted out to Joe Rodgers than are Negroes generally. They are human beings who are intimidated, coerced, bruised and brutalized by the very nature of the society of which they are a part and in which they must live and work. Life is often painful and always sustained by the slenderest of circumstances. A man's work or station in life is no guarantee against mob attack or less overt expressions of the white man's will to dominate and rule the countryside. If a Negro violates the long established codes of the white man he must pay and all too often his life is the only thing acceptable to those who rule.

The white people of Canton are just ordinary folk with a fair respect for the decencies of a civilized society. To many citizens of Canton the lynching of any man is a repugnant and repulsive thing. There are people in Canton who are incensed over the Rodgers case. They, too, are intimidated and held in check by long-established mores and customs.

The Mayor's Newspaper Is Mum

In almost every community there is a small group of self-elected men who quietly but always thoroughly guide the affairs and thinking of the people. In small southern towns the country newspaper has considerable opinion-moulding influence. In Canton, Mayor Charles N. Harris is owner and editor of *The Madison County Herald.* The fact that not a single word concerning such brutal affairs as the lynching of Joe Rodgers ever reaches the pages of his paper is telling testimony to the Mayor's attitude toward Negroes and of his determination to prevent any knowledge of such incidents to get abroad so as to reflect upon the "civilizing" influences at work amongst his fellow townsmen.

Following the discovery of Rodgers' nude form the

body was taken to the People's Funeral Home at Canton. Shortly thereafter Joe Rodgers was returned to his former home near Forest, Mississippi, to rest amongst the pine-scented hills where as a child he chased yellow butterflies and gathered in the fruits of a rich countryside. To Joe Rodgers, strong of body and spirit, came cruel and agonizing death. To thousands of Negroes in the deep South the death of Joe Rodgers is but an awful omen of that which stands between them and the fulfillment of the dreams of every child who bares his face to reason and fair play. To thousands of others, both black and white, it is the symbol of death in a land which has hardly begun to live.

Facts Known, but Hidden

Your investigator believes the following points to be self-evident from the evidence just cited.

(1) That Joe Rodgers did not come to his death at the hands of persons unknown but to the contrary he came to his death at the hands of a mob composed of employees of the Dinkman Mills.

(2) That the above is known to be the facts by the officials of Madison County.

(3) That no real effort has been made or will be made to bring the guilty parties to justice.

Death of Claude Banks

ON the afternoon of July 21, 1938, a mill worker by the name of A. B. McAdams, of Brandon, Mississippi, came to Canton, Mississippi, to visit his daughter who lay ill in a local hospital. Before leaving Brandon Mr. McAdams had borrowed approximately $50 from his employer with which to meet certain of his daughter's hospital expenses. Mr. McAdams visited his daughter during the afternoon and later talked with various acquaintances in Canton. During the early part of the evening Mr. McAdams was discovered by a group of citizens as he lay on the sidewalk suffering apparently from some minor injuries inflicted upon his person. Mr. McAdams related that he had been but recently attacked by an unknown Negro man who had robbed him of his money. Mr. McAdams was then taken to a local hospital where he was treated for his wounds.

Officers and local citizens soon gathered at the scene of the alleged crime and decided to throw a "blockade" or cordon around that part of the city in which the crime was supposed to have occurred.

On the same evening several young people were having a party at the home of a friend. Among those present were two young Negro boys, Claude Banks and Willie Jones. Banks was the youngest son of an honored and respected citizen of Canton who was the proprietor of the People's Funeral Home. Young Banks was 22 years of age and had but recently graduated from high school. His companion, Willie Jones, a most pleasant and agreeable young man, was about the same age.

The young men decided to leave the party early. Neither of them had any knowledge that any trouble had occurred in the city and were wholly unaware that a group of white men were engaged in a manhunt on the streets of Canton.

They Drive Into Death

In returning home it was necessary for them to go through that section of the city occupied by the white men who were on the lookout for the alleged assailant of McAdams. As Banks and Jones approched the guarded area they noted the presence of an unusual number of people on the street, but since the group at this point was not particularly large and since there were no obstructions in the street to thwart the passage of automobiles, they assumed the crowd to be a body of citizens gathering after some meeting or a group of youngsters playing on the streets in the late summer evening. They heard voices, saw flashlights but recognized no serious effort being made to stop or delay them. As they neared the scene of the collected men they slowed down their car and moved slowly through the crowd. Just as the car passed beyond the so-called "blockade" several members of the posse or mob began to shoot at the moving automobile with shotguns and pistols. Young Claude Banks was at the wheel. As he drove away a bullet smashed through the west side of the car and entered the back part of his head. His companion did not know that he had been struck by a bullet until young Banks began to slump in his seat and the automobile to careen across the pavement. A few moments later it overturned on the curb.

The posse followed the automobile bearing the two men and when young Jones came to himself he found guns and flashlights being shoved into his face. Jones was jerked from the car by members of the posse which by this time had been greatly augmented by other citizens attracted to the scene by the shouting and shooting. No one was permitted to touch young Banks, who lay at the bottom of the car, or to examine him to discover the extent of his injuries. Young

Jones, still unaware of the cause of the excitement, was immediately placed under arrest, thrown into a waiting automobile, driven, incidentally, by a white woman, and hurried off to jail.

The Police Are Present

Present at the scene were four members of the Canton police force, a deputy sheriff and many prominent business men. A deputy sheriff and two local policemen accompanied Jones to the jail. During the drive to the jail the officers repeatedly sought to force young Jones to say that he and young Banks had been drinking. This Jones refused to do and likewise denied any connection or knowledge of the alleged robbery of McAdams. Evidently the temper of the mob had by now been raised to a high pitch. One of the men in the car bearing Jones was heard to say, "Well, we've done killed one, we might as well kill another one." One of the men in the car claimed with considerable satisfaction that he had fired the shot which killed young Banks but my informant was unable to say who this person was.

My informant stated that young Jones was literally thrown into the automobile and from it into the jail and that he was roughly handled throughout the time that he was in the custody of the officers. He was placed in a cell in the local police station. While there he was continuously subjected to threats and questioning. He was told, according to my informant, not to say that "you ain't been drinking." After being held in the jail for nearly two hours young Jones was released. Upon leaving the jail he was told that he would "catch sudden pneumonia" (be lynched) if he did not keep quiet about the whole affair.

Meanwhile a friend telephoned Claude Banks's father and revealed to him the terrible events of the evening. Mr. Banks sent his oldest son, who had but recently graduated from Morehouse college in Atlanta, Georgia, to secure the body.

Bloodhounds

Shortly after Mr. McAdams had related his story of the attack to officers in Canton preparations were made for a real man-hunt. Bloodhounds were readily secured with which to track down the person who it was alleged had attacked McAdams. The bloodhounds led the posse to the home of a Rev. Jackson in Canton. At Rev. Jackson's home the posse discovered a man by the name of John Pate. In Pate's room the officers stated that they found garments covered with dust and blood. Pate was arrested and taken to jail.

By this time the entire countryside had been aroused and word of the man-hunt had reached the state capital. A photographer for the Jackson *Daily Clarion-Ledger* sought to take a picture of the body of Claude Banks but he was prevented from doing so on the personal orders of Mayor Charles N. Harris of Canton. *The Clarion-Ledger* states (July 22, 1938), "A *Clarion-Ledger* photographer, attempting to photograph the body of Claude Banks, was stopped by police under orders of Mayor Charles Harris of Canton. Despite his protests that he wanted no photographs of the posse, but only of the Negro's body, the newspaperman was ordered away with his camera and an officer assigned to see that the order was obeyed."

Father Told to Forget Killing

As far as your investigator was able to discover there were no protests on the part of white citizens over the murder of Claude Banks. There were, however, certain citizens who privately expressed their indignation and sent expressions of sympathy and regrets to Mr. Banks and his family. Soon after the murder of his son Mr. Banks called upon the Mayor, Charles N. Harris, in an effort to get the city of Canton to make some compensation for the death of his son. The Mayor, in consultation with other city officials, declined to give any assistance to the family and refused responsibility for the crime on the basis that the men who killed young Banks had not been deputized, did not constitute a posse and hence the city was not responsible. The city furthermore refused to assist in any way to repair the damage done to the automobile in which the two young men were riding at the time. Following Mr. Banks' interview with Mayor Harris he called upon Judge Julian Alexander of Jackson who advised Mr. Banks that there was little if anything that could be done in the matter and that the better policy would be to let the matter rest.

From conversations with numerous people your investigator found the following account of the incident which resulted in the death of Claude Banks to be fairly generally held among the citizens of Canton.

Didn't Pay Hospital Bill

Mr. McAdams, who was employed at a sawmill in or near Brandon, Mississippi, borrowed approximately fifty dollars from his employer with which to meet certain hospital expenses of his daughter. Although it was understood that Mr. McAdams had visited the hospital, seen his daughter, he had not paid the hospital bill. Mr. McAdams alleges that he was attacked in the white residential section of the city whereas it is reliably reported that he was first noticed in the Negro section of town. Various persons who later recognized him reported that McAdams seemed to be under the influence of liquor during the latter part of the afternoon.

McAdams was not seriously wounded. His clothes were disarranged and his body bore a few minor abrasions and scratches. There was little to indicate that he had been attacked by a person intent upon

robbery. When the incident was reported in Brandon where McAdams lived it was genuinely doubted. It was believed there and also in Canton that McAdams had lost his money in a gambling house or had been "frisked" out of it at a dive and that he invented the story of the attack upon him by a Negro man in order to cover up the loss of the money which he had borrowed to pay his daughter's bill at the local hospital. It is reliably reported that McAdams was shortly thereafter discharged by his employer in Brandon.

Suspect Released

On the evening of July 21 officers had been led to the home of Rev. Jackson where they arrested a Negro man by the name of John Pate. Officers stated at that time that bloody soaked clothes were found in his possession. Pate was lodged in jail and charged with the robbery of McAdams. Within a few weeks Pate, who had been charged with the crime, was released from the local jail. It would appear that had there been the slightest reason to accept McAdams' version of the story Pate would have been duly tried and sent to prison or the electric chair. That the story was pure invention is attested to by the fact that Pate continues to reside in Canton and has not been molested by anyone since the affair of the 21st of July.

Young Banks and Willie Jones left the party between eight-thirty and nine o'clock, or shortly after twilight. By the time they reached the area occupied by the posse it was just dark. The incident occurred one month after the longest day in the year. It is reasonable to assume that McAdams was not discovered by officers before eight-thirty and in all probability not before eight o'clock. The alleged attack upon his person therefore must have occurred during the early part of the evening, between seven and eight o'clock. At this time of evening it is still quite light. It is unreasonable to believe that a Negro would attack an unknown white man in the residential section of a small southern town at an hour when most people are seated on their front porches and all windows and doors flung wide open, and when his actions could be easily discernible at a considerable distance.

The evidence seems to indicate that the group of men who fired upon Banks and Jones was a legally deputized posse. It is understood that numerous telephone conversations occurred during the early part of the evening between the jail and local residents. It is furthermore understood that Sheriff James was in Canton at the time. It is positively known that both deputies and members of the local police force were among those who shot Claude Banks.

"Get Some Negro"

Whether a posse or a plain mob matters little to Claude Banks or his parents and brother. A young life, full of glow and promise, has been snuffed out. The posse in Canton acted as similar groups always act. A white man had been attacked by a Negro: A Negro must pay, the right Negro if possible, but a Negro at whatever costs. Two careless, happy Negro boys rode by. When it was discovered that they were Negroes and did not stop, they became immediately guilty in the eyes of the white men who formed the posse. No effort was made to stop them by a blockade of the street or by shooting out the tires of their automobile. They were "just two niggers" and as such could be shot down like wild animals seeking to escape before the hunter.

Thus death came to another citizen of Canton, Mississippi.

* * *

Lynching Goes Underground

With regard to the whole problem of lynching your investigator desires to make the following statement. It is his considered judgment that, for various reasons, lynching is entering a new and altogether dangerous phase. Lynchings in the past have been characterized by the mob, the faggot, the rope. Hundreds of people, often thousands, poured out to participate or witness the lynching of a man or woman accused of some crime, often of the most trivial nature and often without any real charge at all. Pictures of the mobbed and mobbers have been taken and widely circulated. Souvenirs of the lynched man or woman, in the form of fingers, toes and other parts of the body, have been brazenly displayed by members of the mob.

Public opinion is beginning to turn against this sort of mob activity. Sentiment is growing against lynching. Agitation for Federal and state anti-lynching laws gives pause to the lynching crowd. Lynching, they say, must go on, but it must be done quietly so as not to attract attention, draw publicity. Thus those who must rule by terror and intimidation turn to new methods. The old mob is disappearing but the work of the mob goes on. A Negro is accused of some crime, real or alleged. A few white men gather, formulate their plans, seize their victim. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling, bloodthirsty mob composed of men, women and children. The word is then passed that the matter has been handled to the satisfaction of those in charge of such matters.

Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime. It it his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without gen-

eral knowledge. The lynching of Joe Rodgers is a case in point.

It is his judgment that a careful study covering four or five states of the deep South for a period of months would reveal a startling number of lynchings otherwise unaccounted for. He believes that a revelation of this character would greatly influence public opinion and go a long way in rectifying the present situation.

Four Unreported Lynchings

Your investigator was informed by competent observers that since the notorious double blow torch lynching which occurred at Duck Hill, Mississippi, in 1937, word has been passed that in the future all difficulties between Negroes and whites will be handled by a small group of white men already appointed for that purpose. He was similarly advised that in the vicinity of Cleveland, Mississippi, at least four Negroes had been lynched within the past four or five months.

It is his judgment finally that every effort should be made to secure the active cooperation and assistance of the Department of Justice in an effort to bring to light such activities as heretofore described.

Facts About Lynchings

1. More than 5,000 have occurred in America since 1882.
2. More than 1,500 victims have been white people.
3. 103 women have been lynched.
4. America is the only nation on earth where lynching occurs.
5. In 99.2% of the lynchings nothing has been done to apprehend or punish lynchers.
6. In the seven years, 1933-1939, there have been 102 lynchings, an average of better than one a month.

Foul Lynch Incitement In Senate Forgotten

But Press Is Enraged When Communist Leaders Expose the Senate Lynch Apologists Connally, Ellender and Bilbo

By Adam Lapin
(Sunday Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16. —A strange case of amnesia has apparently afflicted some of our leading newspapers as well as a number of our more prominent tory statesmen.

Last week Ben Davis, Jr., Negro member of the Daily Worker editorial board, referred in his testimony on the anti-lynching bill before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee to the "shameful tactics of Senator Connally, Senator Ellender, Senator Bilbo and other reactionary opponents of this bill."

Senators Van Nuys, Wiley and Austin, who had always managed to keep their alleged support of the bill well under control, spluttered with anger. The Washington Post, which had repeatedly editorialized against the anti-lynching bill, was heartbroken; it claimed that the Communists had hurt the chances of the bill. The New York Post said that Davis was "tactless, wild and irresponsible."

Davis was charged with that most unspeakable of crimes—not having shown proper respect for Senatorial dignity.

But in all of this moral indignation, the Emily Posts, who have appointed themselves guardians of the nation's political manners, seems to have had a complete lapse of memory. None of them seemed to be able to recall what Davis meant when he referred to "shameful tactics."

So for the benefit of those who may have gotten the impression from the newspapers that Davis let loose a blast without any apparent cause against a group of mild, well-meaning and well-mannered Senators, this correspondent performed the distasteful job of rereading the debate, or rather the filibuster, on the anti-lynching bill.

It is my considered opinion after plowing through several hundred pages of speeches by Senators

(Continued on Page 5)

Press Enraged at Communists' Exposé of Lynch Apologists

(Continued from Page 1)

lender, Connally and Bilbo that the two Communist witnesses, Davis and Pat Toohey, members of the National Committee of the party, expressed themselves with restraint and understatement.

A filibuster carried on by a small group of reactionary Senators which has thwarted the will of the majority in both Houses of Congress and of most of the American people in itself quite amply deserves the adjective "shameful."

This is not, however, the whole story. The fact is that for days and weeks and months in 1937 and 1938 the Senators named by Davis, and others that he did not name, slandered and insulted in language which is not always printable in a family newspaper not just a small group or an individual but an entire people, the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States.

Senator Van Nuys sat silent then. He was not indignant enough to get up on the floor of the Senate and defend the dignity of Negro America. Neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties protested. There were no stinging editorials in the New York Post and the Washington Post.

Here are some of Senator Ellender's choice descriptions of the Negro people:

"He may have a certain degree of ambition, but his judgment is poor . . . Their ignorance is pitiful . . . He has not intelligence to discriminate and the moment he is given some little authority, a foot of it, he will attempt to take a yard . . . We in the South know how to deal with the Negro problem. We do not let a Negro feel that he is socially equal to the white man."

Attempting to place the blame for lynching on the Negro, Ellender said that "instead of the Negro race trying to prevent lynching, trying to stop it themselves, they help to get culprits out of jail and encourages them to commit these crimes." In other words, Ellender was implying that the Negroes can be divided into two groups: Those who commit rape, and those who encourage and help the rapists.

SHADES OF STREICHER

Behind all this ranting was a definite race theory—a theory of white superiority which is practically identical with Nazi race theories except that in this case the Negroes are the scapegoat instead of the Jews.

During the days that he occupied the floor in the 1938 filibuster, Ellender read copiously from books of pseudo-science in an effort to point to some kind of factual basis for his fantastic theories.

It is worth noting, in passing, that many of the reactionary Southern Senators who hold these views of white superiority have suddenly turned into violent foes of "Hitlerism" and into strong supporters of the Allies. It is also true that other Senators and for that matter scores of newspapers which have suddenly become so indignant about Nazi race theories have chosen to ignore similar theories much closer home.

"I believe in white supremacy," Senator Ellender declared, "and as long as I am in the Senate I expect to fight for white supremacy, because I can see not in my lifetime, perhaps, or in the lifetime of my boy or of his children, but in the years to come, if the amalgamation of white and Negroes in this country is permitted, that there will be a mongrel race, and there will come to pass the identical conditions under which Egypt, India and other civilizations were destroyed."

Believe it or not, Ellender interprets all past history by these simple rules: Nations which contained Negroes declined. Nations which didn't have any Negroes advanced. Nations which had practically no Negroes and still declined like ancient Rome and Greece are best passed over in silence.

Applying all this "learned" nonsense to the anti-lynching bill, Ellender repeated over and over again:

"Political equality as camouflaged by this bill will lead to social equality, and social equality eventually will lead to the decay and downfall of American civilization."

Senator Ellender thus does not believe in abiding by the political equality guaranteed the Negro people in the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

Nor does Senator Connally, the real leader of the filibusters in the Senate, believe in these amendments to the Constitution.

Connally is primarily the strategist of the filibuster, and also its Constitutional expert. His job has been that of trotting out scholarly Constitutional arguments aganist the anti-lynching bill. While stoutly maintaining that the measure was sure to be declared unconstitutional, Connally has been unwilling to let the measure come to a vote and then leave the decision to the courts.

Smoother and more able than most of his associates in the job of holding up the anti-lynching bill, Connally did not always express himself with the same brutal frankness as Ellender. But the record makes it plain that he holds essentially the same ideas.

Dragging out the awful bugaboo of a Federal law to standardize regulations of marriage and divorce throughout the States, Connally declared that Senators who are supporting this kind of legislation "will protest to it that there shall be no discrimination as between the races."

Connally could think of no stronger charges against the proponents of this legislation than to say that they were in favor of eliminating discrimination.

"LITTLE" LYNCHING

He entertained the Senate by reading newspaper stories of alleged rapes and assaults by Negroes and invariably referred to the accused as "black scoundrels." He mocked at those who get all excited when "there is one little lynching down in the South."

Not only did Connally refer to the effort to pass the bill as "mean, low, cowardly attacks" and to the bill itself as a "slimy, nasty, mean, low statute," but launched this vicious attack on all Americans who do not happen to be of Anglo-Saxon extraction:

"While our forefathers were fighting the battles of this Republic, the forefathers of many of those who will vote for this bill were somewhere over in Europe, God knows whether in Russia or in Germany or some other place, associated with elements that were alien to everything American."

But the insults of Connally and Ellender against the Negro people were as nothing compared to the tirades of Senator Bilbo.

He described supporters of the bill as a "few politicians, a few Negrophilists or Negro lovers, and a handful of mulatto Negro voters," and also as a "great host of mulattoes, octoroons, quadroons and time serving politicians."

Bilbo, too, called the Negroes a race of rapists, and openly threatened race riots if the measures passed:

"If you succeed in the passage of this bill, you will open the floodgates of hell in the South. Raping, mobbing, lynching, race riots and crime will be increased a thousandfold; and upon your garments and the garments of those who are responsible for the passage of this measure will be the blood of the raped and outraged daughters of Dixie, as well as the blood of the perpetrators of these crimes that the red - blooded, Anglo - Saxon Southern men will not tolerate."

URGES DEPORTATIONS

Demagogically, Bilbo argues that if the United States should "deport our 12,000,000 members of the African race, there will be a white man waiting for every job made vacant by such a deportation."

When an article favoring the anti-lynching bill appeared in the Washington edition of the Baltimore Afro-American, Bilbo referred to the "slimy sewage that percolates through the columns of this disreputable sheet" and called the author a "brazen Hottentot and unfumigated troglodyte of the District of Columbia."

He then added the following delicate compliment for the Negro people as a whole:

"To whom is this saddle-colored mulatto, whose intellectual status does not rise to the low level of a louse, appealing? Echo answers: The negrophilist, the misceganists, the hybrids, quadroons and octoroons of the city of Washington, the District of Columbia, the Black Belt of Chicago, and Harlem in New York City."

It is true that the dignity of the Senate has been lowered—not by the testimony of Ben Davis but by speeches such as these which make a mockery of the most elementary principles of democracy.

Where was Senator Van Nuys then? How come he made no speeches upholding the dignity of the Negro people—and incidentally, of the Senate? Where were the editorial writers of our leading newspapers?

This year a repetition of the filibuster of 1937-38 was threatened by Senator Connally and his associates. As a matter of fact, it was even uncertain whether the bill would ever come up on the Senate floor.

For many long weeks the bill languished in a Judiciary Subcommittee. Senator Van Nuys made no effort to speed matters up. He sat complacently by while Connally insulted and heckled witnesses who favored the bill.

What was needed was a loud, clear voice of protest to point to the true state of affairs, to warn of the grave danger that the measure would pigeon-holed. This was the function performed by the Communist Party.

Ben Davis, as a representative of the Communist Party, focused the spotlight of public attention on the forces that were trying to kill the bill, on the maneuvers that were being planned and actually executed. He pointed out that neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party were actually supporting the bill.

Immediately a great cry went up from the reactionaries, who had never shown any enthusiasm for the bill to start with, that the Communists had hurt the bill's chance of passing.

Actually, Davis's testimony gave new strength and new courage to the friends of the bill, and invigorated the mass movement which has been the measure's most reliable mainstay all along.

Despite all the crocodile tears, the results speak for themselves. Just one week after the Communist representatives testified, the subcommittee decided to stop stalling and by a vote of five to one reported the measure to the full Judiciary Committee.

LYNCHING GOES UNDERGROUND

A Report on a New Technique

"Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime. It is his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling blood-thirsty mob composed of men, women, and children. This is the new and dangerous method, devised by those who seek to rule by terror and intimidation."

January, 1940

The Author

The author of this report, who must remain anonymous, is a white native southerner who has lived all his life in the South and still lives there. He has made a number of investigations of lynchings.

Sponsors

This report is sponsored by Senators ROBERT F. WAGNER and ARTHUR CAPPER; and Representatives JOSEPH A. CAVAGAN and HAMILTON FISH.

Lynching Goes Underground

WEDGED between the Delta and the Prairie sections of the State of Mississippi lies the little town of Canton. Half in and half out of the regions, it is a mixture of each.

Your investigator spent five days in Canton, Jackson, and vicinity and met numerous extraordinarily able and fine citizens in Canton. But on the whole, conditions existing among Negroes in Canton are not greatly different, if any at all, from those which universally prevail throughout the deep South.

Despite the burdensome physical and spiritual hardships to which Negroes are daily subjected, little deep-seated hatred for white people is in evidence. One is amazed to find men who live under such conditions possessing such breadth of social comprehension and understanding, tolerance and active goodwill. At the time your investigator interviewed some of these citizens, the possibility of a European war was imminent. He found a genuine hatred for Hitler and Hitlerism, a broad sympathy for England and France, and a profound attachment and love for America. There was observable an intense devotion to democracy and an ardent hope that they might be permitted to participate in its realization and fulfillment.

Death of Joe Rodgers

IT WAS in this sort of atmosphere that Joe Rodgers lived. He came to Canton from a rural community nearby Forest, Mississippi, in 1935 or '36. Early and easily he won for himself the respect and confidence of the Negro citizens of Canton. At Canton he became a member of Mount Zion Baptist church. Soon he was made a deacon in the church and elected president of the choir.

Joe Rodgers undoubtedly possessed many unusual and noble qualities of character for he was universally respected and esteemed by all those who knew him. He was apparently impressive to look at, weighing in the neighborhood of 185 or 190 pounds and strong of body and limb. He was active in community affairs and ever anxious to turn a hand for a friend whenever possible. As far as anyone knew Rodgers had never experienced any trouble of any sort in Canton with either the white or colored people and had never been approached by officers of the law for any cause whatsoever.

Joe Rodgers was unmarried and lived at the home of a friend in Canton where he had a private room and upon which he looked as his home. Here he was thoroughly satisfied and contented. He was generally known to be quiet, industrious and a hard worker.

Argument Over Rent

On Saturday, May 6, 1939, Rodgers was helping to install a turbine at the Dinkman Mill where he was employed. After the day's work had been completed he went for his pay. Upon receiving his envelope he noted that some money had been deducted for reasons which he did not understand. He inquired of the foreman the reason for the deduction from his pay and was told that the money had been deducted for rent on a house which he was supposed to occupy while working for the company. He told the foreman that he had no reason to live at the mill since he was comfortably situated elsewhere. It is generally understood that Rodgers said no more about the matter and went home. (Your investigator was unable to ascertain whether this was a long-standing policy of the company or recently introduced or whether it was a general policy at all and/or whether it was a ruse on the part of the foreman to secure funds from the workers. The amount was thought to be around $4.50.)

On Sunday Rodgers attended church in Canton and in conversation with some friends mentioned the events of the preceding day to them. On Monday morning Rodgers in company with one "Sun" Ewing returned to his work at the mill. Some time during the early part of the morning Rodgers approached the foreman in charge of the work and expressed dissatisfaction over his week's pay. The foreman evidently resented Rodger's reference to the matter and struck him with his fist. Words undoubtedly passed between them and the foreman grabbed a spade with which to strike Rodgers. Rodgers, it is related, wrested the spade from the foreman and struck him with it. At this juncture "Sun" Ewing appeared on the scene and succeeded in separating the two men.

Whether Rodgers continued at his job or started to return home is not known but he was not seen by anyone outside of the mill grounds after he went to work. By noon of the same day the knowledge of his trouble at the mill and his subsequent disappearance, supposedly at the hands of a mob, was widespread.

Body Found in River

On Thursday morning Constable Snugg of the local police force was noticed walking near the banks of Pearl River. Some time during the morning he discovered the nude form of Joe Rodgers in the sluggish waters of the river. When the body had been recovered from its watery grave it was laid upon the banks where it was viewed by many citizens.

The body of Joe Rodgers bore mute testimony to the manner in which he had been disposed of. Although stilled in death, his lifeless form was a ghastly and revealing witness to the fact that he had come to his death at the hands of a mob. With a half-inch rope his feet had been securely bound and his hands tied tightly behind him. According to numerous persons who viewed the body immediately after it had been recovered from the river and while it reposed at the funeral home, Rodgers' body had been beaten to a pulp. The marks on the body seemed to indicate that Rodgers was beaten from head to feet with wooden clubs and sticks. The head was smashed from a heavy blow and the body so bruised and misshapen as to arouse doubt as to whether it was Rodgers or some other victim of a mob's fury. One of Rodgers' friends was present and caused the mouth to be examined for an upper plate of false teeth. The plate when extracted from the mouth tallied in detail with the description given by Rodgers' friend. According to reliable testimony the body bore no signs of having been cut or burned with hot irons. It appears that Joe Rodgers was simply beaten to death by blunt instruments which were used to smash his naked body.

Work of Mob

The evidence in the case points conclusively and unmistakably to the conclusion that Joe Rodgers was lynched by a mob composed of a considerable number of men. It is unreasonable to believe that "a powerfully muscled man" as one witness described Rodgers, who weighed around 190 pounds, could be securely tied hand and foot with a half-inch grass rope, beaten to a pulp, dragged to the river's edge and his body disposed of by a single man or by only two or three men. Such could have happened had Rodgers been knocked unconscious by a blow or in some manner made powerless. If such had been the case there would have been no necessity to go to the trouble to bind the body in the manner heretofore described.

The mill at which Rodgers was employed is located partly within the limits of the city of Canton. It is so situated as to make it extremely unlikely that a group of men from outside of the mill could enter the grounds without being seen by the colored residents. No unusual excitement or disturbance was known to have been noted by the Negro residents in the mill area. The facts would seem to warrant the conclusion that Joe Rodgers was lynched by a mob composed of workers at the Dinkman Mills.

The opinion was advanced by several persons that the Negro employees may have been forced to accompany the mob and to witness the lynching of Rodgers. This was done in order to "teach the niggers respect for white men" and to have a scape-goat should any word of Rodgers' death leak to the general public.

Your investigator is inclined to believe that unusual factors operate in this case since persons who are known to possess valuable information refuse to divulge any facts in connection with the case or in any way to talk about it. Your investigator worked through well-known Negro citizens of the immediate vicinity of Canton, but they were unable to secure certain information from some persons known to have considerable knowledge of the affair.

Negroes of Canton are no more or no less sensitive to such brutal treatment as that meted out to Joe Rodgers than are Negroes generally. They are human beings who are intimidated, coerced, bruised and brutalized by the very nature of the society of which they are a part and in which they must live and work. Life is often painful and always sustained by the slenderest of circumstances. A man's work or station in life is no guarantee against mob attack or less overt expressions of the white man's will to dominate and rule the countryside. If a Negro violates the long established codes of the white man he must pay and all too often his life is the only thing acceptable to those who rule.

The white people of Canton are just ordinary folk with a fair respect for the decencies of a civilized society. To many citizens of Canton the lynching of any man is a repugnant and repulsive thing. There are people in Canton who are incensed over the Rodgers case. They, too, are intimidated and held in check by long-established mores and customs.

The Mayor's Newspaper Is Mum

In almost every community there is a small group of self-elected men who quietly but always thoroughly guide the affairs and thinking of the people. In small southern towns the country newspaper has considerable opinion-moulding influence. In Canton, Mayor Charles N. Harris is owner and editor of *The Madison County Herald.* The fact that not a single word concerning such brutal affairs as the lynching of Joe Rodgers ever reaches the pages of his paper is telling testimony to the Mayor's attitude toward Negroes and of his determination to prevent any knowledge of such incidents to get abroad so as to reflect upon the "civilizing" influences at work amongst his fellow townsmen.

Following the discovery of Rodgers' nude form the

body was taken to the People's Funeral Home at Canton. Shortly thereafter Joe Rodgers was returned to his former home near Forest, Mississippi, to rest amongst the pine-scented hills where as a child he chased yellow butterflies and gathered in the fruits of a rich countryside. To Joe Rodgers, strong of body and spirit, came cruel and agonizing death. To thousands of Negroes in the deep South the death of Joe Rodgers is but an awful omen of that which stands between them and the fulfillment of the dreams of every child who bares his face to reason and fair play. To thousands of others, both black and white, it is the symbol of death in a land which has hardly begun to live.

Facts Known, but Hidden

Your investigator believes the following points to be self-evident from the evidence just cited.

(1) That Joe Rodgers did not come to his death at the hands of persons unknown but to the contrary he came to his death at the hands of a mob composed of employees of the Dinkman Mills.

(2) That the above is known to be the facts by the officials of Madison County.

(3) That no real effort has been made or will be made to bring the guilty parties to justice.

Death of Claude Banks

ON the afternoon of July 21, 1938, a mill worker by the name of A. B. McAdams, of Brandon, Mississippi, came to Canton, Mississippi, to visit his daughter who lay ill in a local hospital. Before leaving Brandon Mr. McAdams had borrowed approximately $50 from his employer with which to meet certain of his daughter's hospital expenses. Mr. McAdams visited his daughter during the afternoon and later talked with various acquaintances in Canton. During the early part of the evening Mr. McAdams was discovered by a group of citizens as he lay on the sidewalk suffering apparently from some minor injuries inflicted upon his person. Mr. McAdams related that he had been but recently attacked by an unknown Negro man who had robbed him of his money. Mr. McAdams was then taken to a local hospital where he was treated for his wounds.

Officers and local citizens soon gathered at the scene of the alleged crime and decided to throw a "blockade" or cordon around that part of the city in which the crime was supposed to have occurred.

On the same evening several young people were having a party at the home of a friend. Among those present were two young Negro boys, Claude Banks and Willie Jones. Banks was the youngest son of an honored and respected citizen of Canton who was the proprietor of the People's Funeral Home. Young Banks was 22 years of age and had but recently graduated from high school. His companion, Willie Jones, a most pleasant and agreeable young man, was about the same age.

The young men decided to leave the party early. Neither of them had any knowledge that any trouble had occurred in the city and were wholly unaware that a group of white men were engaged in a manhunt on the streets of Canton.

They Drive Into Death

In returning home it was necessary for them to go through that section of the city occupied by the white men who were on the lookout for the alleged assailant of McAdams. As Banks and Jones approched the guarded area they noted the presence of an unusual number of people on the street, but since the group at this point was not particularly large and since there were no obstructions in the street to thwart the passage of automobiles, they assumed the crowd to be a body of citizens gathering after some meeting or a group of youngsters playing on the streets in the late summer evening. They heard voices, saw flashlights but recognized no serious effort being made to stop or delay them. As they neared the scene of the collected men they slowed down their car and moved slowly through the crowd. Just as the car passed beyond the so-called "blockade" several members of the posse or mob began to shoot at the moving automobile with shotguns and pistols. Young Claude Banks was at the wheel. As he drove away a bullet smashed through the west side of the car and entered the back part of his head. His companion did not know that he had been struck by a bullet until young Banks began to slump in his seat and the automobile to careen across the pavement. A few moments later it overturned on the curb.

The posse followed the automobile bearing the two men and when young Jones came to himself he found guns and flashlights being shoved into his face. Jones was jerked from the car by members of the posse which by this time had been greatly augmented by other citizens attracted to the scene by the shouting and shooting. No one was permitted to touch young Banks, who lay at the bottom of the car, or to examine him to discover the extent of his injuries. Young

Jones, still unaware of the cause of the excitement, was immediately placed under arrest, thrown into a waiting automobile, driven, incidentally, by a white woman, and hurried off to jail.

The Police Are Present

Present at the scene were four members of the Canton police force, a deputy sheriff and many prominent business men. A deputy sheriff and two local policemen accompanied Jones to the jail. During the drive to the jail the officers repeatedly sought to force young Jones to say that he and young Banks had been drinking. This Jones refused to do and likewise denied any connection or knowledge of the alleged robbery of McAdams. Evidently the temper of the mob had by now been raised to a high pitch. One of the men in the car bearing Jones was heard to say, "Well, we've done killed one, we might as well kill another one." One of the men in the car claimed with considerable satisfaction that he had fired the shot which killed young Banks but my informant was unable to say who this person was.

My informant stated that young Jones was literally thrown into the automobile and from it into the jail and that he was roughly handled throughout the time that he was in the custody of the officers. He was placed in a cell in the local police station. While there he was continuously subjected to threats and questioning. He was told, according to my informant, not to say that "you ain't been drinking." After being held in the jail for nearly two hours young Jones was released. Upon leaving the jail he was told that he would "catch sudden pneumonia" (be lynched) if he did not keep quiet about the whole affair.

Meanwhile a friend telephoned Claude Banks's father and revealed to him the terrible events of the evening. Mr. Banks sent his oldest son, who had but recently graduated from Morehouse college in Atlanta, Georgia, to secure the body.

Bloodhounds

Shortly after Mr. McAdams had related his story of the attack to officers in Canton preparations were made for a real man-hunt. Bloodhounds were readily secured with which to track down the person who it was alleged had attacked McAdams. The bloodhounds led the posse to the home of a Rev. Jackson in Canton. At Rev. Jackson's home the posse discovered a man by the name of John Pate. In Pate's room the officers stated that they found garments covered with dust and blood. Pate was arrested and taken to jail.

By this time the entire countryside had been aroused and word of the man-hunt had reached the state capital. A photographer for the Jackson *Daily Clarion-Ledger* sought to take a picture of the body of Claude Banks but he was prevented from doing so on the personal orders of Mayor Charles N. Harris of Canton. *The Clarion-Ledger* states (July 22, 1938), "A *Clarion-Ledger* photographer, attempting to photograph the body of Claude Banks, was stopped by police under orders of Mayor Charles Harris of Canton. Despite his protests that he wanted no photographs of the posse, but only of the Negro's body, the newspaperman was ordered away with his camera and an officer assigned to see that the order was obeyed."

Father Told to Forget Killing

As far as your investigator was able to discover there were no protests on the part of white citizens over the murder of Claude Banks. There were, however, certain citizens who privately expressed their indignation and sent expressions of sympathy and regrets to Mr. Banks and his family. Soon after the murder of his son Mr. Banks called upon the Mayor, Charles N. Harris, in an effort to get the city of Canton to make some compensation for the death of his son. The Mayor, in consultation with other city officials, declined to give any assistance to the family and refused responsibility for the crime on the basis that the men who killed young Banks had not been deputized, did not constitute a posse and hence the city was not responsible. The city furthermore refused to assist in any way to repair the damage done to the automobile in which the two young men were riding at the time. Following Mr. Banks' interview with Mayor Harris he called upon Judge Julian Alexander of Jackson who advised Mr. Banks that there was little if anything that could be done in the matter and that the better policy would be to let the matter rest.

From conversations with numerous people your investigator found the following account of the incident which resulted in the death of Claude Banks to be fairly generally held among the citizens of Canton.

Didn't Pay Hospital Bill

Mr. McAdams, who was employed at a sawmill in or near Brandon, Mississippi, borrowed approximately fifty dollars from his employer with which to meet certain hospital expenses of his daughter. Although it was understood that Mr. McAdams had visited the hospital, seen his daughter, he had not paid the hospital bill. Mr. McAdams alleges that he was attacked in the white residential section of the city whereas it is reliably reported that he was first noticed in the Negro section of town. Various persons who later recognized him reported that McAdams seemed to be under the influence of liquor during the latter part of the afternoon.

McAdams was not seriously wounded. His clothes were disarranged and his body bore a few minor abrasions and scratches. There was little to indicate that he had been attacked by a person intent upon

robbery. When the incident was reported in Brandon where McAdams lived it was genuinely doubted. It was believed there and also in Canton that McAdams had lost his money in a gambling house or had been "frisked" out of it at a dive and that he invented the story of the attack upon him by a Negro man in order to cover up the loss of the money which he had borrowed to pay his daughter's bill at the local hospital. It is reliably reported that McAdams was shortly thereafter discharged by his employer in Brandon.

Suspect Released

On the evening of July 21 officers had been led to the home of Rev. Jackson where they arrested a Negro man by the name of John Pate. Officers stated at that time that bloody soaked clothes were found in his possession. Pate was lodged in jail and charged with the robbery of McAdams. Within a few weeks Pate, who had been charged with the crime, was released from the local jail. It would appear that had there been the slightest reason to accept McAdams' version of the story Pate would have been duly tried and sent to prison or the electric chair. That the story was pure invention is attested to by the fact that Pate continues to reside in Canton and has not been molested by anyone since the affair of the 21st of July.

Young Banks and Willie Jones left the party between eight-thirty and nine o'clock, or shortly after twilight. By the time they reached the area occupied by the posse it was just dark. The incident occurred one month after the longest day in the year. It is reasonable to assume that McAdams was not discovered by officers before eight-thirty and in all probability not before eight o'clock. The alleged attack upon his person therefore must have occurred during the early part of the evening, between seven and eight o'clock. At this time of evening it is still quite light. It is unreasonable to believe that a Negro would attack an unknown white man in the residential section of a small southern town at an hour when most people are seated on their front porches and all windows and doors flung wide open, and when his actions could be easily discernible at a considerable distance.

The evidence seems to indicate that the group of men who fired upon Banks and Jones was a legally deputized posse. It is understood that numerous telephone conversations occurred during the early part of the evening between the jail and local residents. It is furthermore understood that Sheriff James was in Canton at the time. It is positively known that both deputies and members of the local police force were among those who shot Claude Banks.

"Get Some Negro"

Whether a posse or a plain mob matters little to Claude Banks or his parents and brother. A young life, full of glow and promise, has been snuffed out. The posse in Canton acted as similar groups always act. A white man had been attacked by a Negro: A Negro must pay, the right Negro if possible, but a Negro at whatever costs. Two careless, happy Negro boys rode by. When it was discovered that they were Negroes and did not stop, they became immediately guilty in the eyes of the white men who formed the posse. No effort was made to stop them by a blockade of the street or by shooting out the tires of their automobile. They were "just two niggers" and as such could be shot down like wild animals seeking to escape before the hunter.

Thus death came to another citizen of Canton, Mississippi.

* * *

Lynching Goes Underground

With regard to the whole problem of lynching your investigator desires to make the following statement. It is his considered judgment that, for various reasons, lynching is entering a new and altogether dangerous phase. Lynchings in the past have been characterized by the mob, the faggot, the rope. Hundreds of people, often thousands, poured out to participate or witness the lynching of a man or woman accused of some crime, often of the most trivial nature and often without any real charge at all. Pictures of the mobbed and mobbers have been taken and widely circulated. Souvenirs of the lynched man or woman, in the form of fingers, toes and other parts of the body, have been brazenly displayed by members of the mob.

Public opinion is beginning to turn against this sort of mob activity. Sentiment is growing against lynching. Agitation for Federal and state anti-lynching laws gives pause to the lynching crowd. Lynching, they say, must go on, but it must be done quietly so as not to attract attention, draw publicity. Thus those who must rule by terror and intimidation turn to new methods. The old mob is disappearing but the work of the mob goes on. A Negro is accused of some crime, real or alleged. A few white men gather, formulate their plans, seize their victim. In some lonely swamp a small body of men do the job formerly done by a vast, howling, bloodthirsty mob composed of men, women and children. The word is then passed that the matter has been handled to the satisfaction of those in charge of such matters.

Your investigator has probed numerous lynchings. His acquaintance with lynchers and the lynched extends over a lifetime. It it his judgment that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without gen-

eral knowledge. The lynching of Joe Rodgers is a case in point.

It is his judgment that a careful study covering four or five states of the deep South for a period of months would reveal a startling number of lynchings otherwise unaccounted for. He believes that a revelation of this character would greatly influence public opinion and go a long way in rectifying the present situation.

Four Unreported Lynchings

Your investigator was informed by competent observers that since the notorious double blow torch lynching which occurred at Duck Hill, Mississippi, in 1937, word has been passed that in the future all difficulties between Negroes and whites will be handled by a small group of white men already appointed for that purpose. He was similarly advised that in the vicinity of Cleveland, Mississippi, at least four Negroes had been lynched within the past four or five months.

It is his judgment finally that every effort should be made to secure the active cooperation and assistance of the Department of Justice in an effort to bring to light such activities as heretofore described.

Facts About Lynchings

1. More than 5,000 have occurred in America since 1882.
2. More than 1,500 victims have been white people.
3. 103 women have been lynched.
4. America is the only nation on earth where lynching occurs.
5. In 99.2% of the lynchings nothing has been done to apprehend or punish lynchers.
6. In the seven years, 1933-1939, there have been 102 lynchings, an average of better than one a month.

NEGRO PEOPLE ALERT TO ROOSEVELT WAR AIMS

SEE HUNGER, LYNCHING GROW UNDER PROGRAM OF AID TO ALLIES

By L. Shepard

In discussing the war situation with a Negro woman a few days ago, she declared: "Roosevelt should be the president of England or France as he seems to think more of them than he does of us."

Why did that woman draw such conclusions? She drew her conclusions from the fact that the Roosevelt of today is not the Roosevelt of yesterday. Yesterday Roosevelt carried the torch of the "under privileged." Today he is carrying the torch of the "economic royalists." In his present role he is cutting relief, he has withdrawn his support from the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Wages and Hours Bill and the Social Security Law. All social legislation which gave some measure of aid to the people, legislation once championed by Roosevelt, is now left to the tender mercy of the "economic royalists."

Lynching, becoming more and more a national pastime, does not arouse the ire of the President. He does not demand passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

Yes, the President is a changed man today.

Not only is he carrying the torch for the "economic royalist" of the USA, but he has taken it up for those in Europe. So, seeing Mr. Roosevelt change from the role of champion of the "under privileged" to that of torch bearer of the "economic royalist" here and abroad, it is no wonder the woman thinks Mr. Roosevelt would make a better European President than President of the United States.

Like millions of "under privileged" Negro and white Americans, she seeks the real answer to Mr. Roosevelt's call for a holy crusade against aggression, but was it not he who placed the seal of approval on aggression when he, with great haste, recognized the bloody conquest of Spain by Franco? In recognizing the Fascist conquest of Spain, Mr. Roosevelt endorsed the then policy of Italo-German aggression and the war intrigues of French and British imperialism. For was it not the words and guns of Italo-German imperialism and the betrayal of democracy by Chamberlain and Daladier that really conquered Spain? Of course it was not only that but Roosevelt helped strangle Republican Spain by refusing to lift the embargo.

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SEE HUNGER, LYNCHING GROW UNDER PROGRAM OF AID TO ALLIES

By L. Shepard

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Why did that woman draw such conclusions? She drew her conclusions from the fact that the Roosevelt of today is not the Roosevelt of yesterday. Yesterday Roosevelt carried the torch of the "under privileged." Today he is carrying the torch of the "economic royalists." In his present role he is cutting relief, he has withdrawn his support from the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Wages and Hours Bill and the Social Security Law. All social legislation which gave some measure of aid to the people, legislation once championed by Roosevelt, is now left to the tender mercy of the "economic royalists."

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press, which gives William M. Leiserson its biggest headlines when he criticizes his colleagues of the Labor Board, buried deep his letter to Congressman Murdock declaring that elimination of the research division would seriously handicap the board's work. The Wagner Act, Leiserson pointed out, "is a remedial and not a penal statute; it empowers the board only to find facts and to order appropriate remedies." How find facts without a fact-finding division? The decisions of the courts provide ample testimony to the usefulness of the Division of Economic Research and its able head, David J. Saposs. The question of his work came squarely before the courts two years ago in the Third Circuit, where particular objection was made to Saposs's testimony as an economic expert. The court upheld the propriety and relevance of his testimony, and the Supreme Court denied a review. The fight to abolish the research division is only the beginning of a broader fight to make "economy" an excuse to reduce the board itself to impotence.

*

NO CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY IS NEEDED TO discover why Communist leaders are reluctant to divulge their membership lists. In industry, in many schools, and in many offices membership in the Communist Party constitutes ground for dismissal. Mr. Dies knows this, and so does every member of Congress encouraging or condoning his inquisition. The question of whether Communists can legally refuse to disclose the rolls of their party without reprisal is a complex and unsettled one. It is less important than the question of why Mr. Dies has precipitated the issue. The Communist Party is legal, and membership in it is not a criminal offense. Even Martin Dies has verbally conceded its right to existence. But there are more ways to destroy a particular party and civil liberty in general than by official decree. One is to make membership in a minority group equivalent to economic suicide. The other is to eliminate its leaders by a legal *Blitzkrieg*. Mr. Dies seems confident that he has discovered an infallible formula. If the party's leaders bring forth the membership lists, an "index" for reactionary industrialists will be on file, and future recruiting for the party will be shadowed by that fear. If, on the other hand, the Communists defy the demand, as they have thus far done, Mr. Dies vows to "jail every Communist leader in the United States." We don't know who Mr. Dies will select as his next victims if this purge is accomplished. But he has given every warning that the Communists are merely his first prey. We hope that every effort will be made to challenge the legality of the committee's procedure; if it is upheld, radical and liberal groups in America will be confronted with a serious threat to their existence. Will the courts and Congress let Martin Dies continue his one-man crusade against democracy?

THE SACRED RIGHT TO LYNCH NEGROES IS again in danger, and some of the Southern statesmen in the Senate are threatening a filibuster to block a vote on the anti-lynching bill, already passed by the House. The Senate Judiciary Committee voted twelve to four in favor of reporting the bill. Senators Connally, Pittman, Miller, and Chandler made up the minority which stood firm against it. Senator Wagner, who has led the fight in favor of the bill, declared that seventy-three lynchings have occurred during the six years it has been before Congress. The bill would penalize police officers for failing to protect prisoners. Senator Connally, who led the successful filibuster against it in 1937 and again in 1938, calls it "a deliberate affront to the people of the Southern states." The real affront is that a lawless, ignorant, and brutal minority should be identified by Connally and his like with "the people of the Southern states."

*

THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH THAN THAT represented by the Connallys and the Bilbos, and it is reflected in the popular support and subscriptions that have made it possible for George Fort Milton to begin publication of the new *Evening Tribune* in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The *Tribune* made its appearance on March 25, just 100 days after the Chattanooga *News* ceased publication. Under Mr. Milton's editorship the *News* had been one of the outstanding papers of the South. It fought for public power. It campaigned against lynching. It exposed political corruptionists. It befriended labor. But a technical default on its bonds gave its anti-New Deal and power-trust enemies the chance they had long sought to put it out of business. The advertising columns of the new paper indicate the existence in Chattanooga of enlightened business interests prepared to support an independent and liberal paper. Best of luck to the new enterprise!

*

THE CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTION GAVE a new lease of power to the Liberal Party and its leader, Mr. Mackenzie King, whose political astuteness and sense of timing none can deny. His triumph was greatly assisted by the incompetence of the Conservatives. They proved unable to develop any definite program beyond a vague proposal for a "national government," and while they sought hard to "expose" the wrongdoings of the Liberal administration, they neglected genuine grievances such as wholesale abrogation of civil liberties, for which the war has served as excuse. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the voters should have preferred not to swap horses while at war. Mr. King's victory places him in a position of almost uncontrolled power. This is unlikely, however, to lead to any permanent undermining of Canadian democracy, for by temperament

Mob Law in the Midwest

Ten Americans were almost lynched in Pekin, Ill., for exercising their constitutional rights.

Chicago.

TEN of my fellow citizens of Chicago are back home after narrowly escaping lynching in downstate Pekin on May 25 by a drunken, howling mob of American Legionnaires and town hoodlums. Their two cars were burned. They were kicked and pummeled while officers in sympathy with the vigilantes escorted them out of the Tazewell County courthouse. Sheriff Guy Donahue made no attempt to arrest any members of the mob, but instead arrested the delegation.

Those ten Chicagoans—eight men and two women—were attempting lawfully to exercise their constitutional right of securing signatures to place the Communist Party on the ballot—a legally organized, legally functioning political party. Six signature collectors had been arrested and carried to the county line by Sheriff Guy Donahue a week before with the warning "not to come back or there would be trouble."

John Leslie, in charge of the delegation, tells the story in a sworn affidavit to the International Labor Defense.

One group of our people had been distributing leaflets for about five minutes [he said]. Two of these people were attacked by a group and beaten about the head. The people who had been attacked then went to the courthouse steps, together with the other members of their group, and asked admittance of the sheriff.

Shortly afterward the group, of which I was a member, also proceeded to the courthouse and, perceiving the temper of the vigilante-led mob, decided to go inside for protection.

I asked Sheriff Donahue for an explanation of this attack. He showed me the Friday and Saturday copies of the Pekin *Daily Times*. The Friday issue contained a story to the effect that the Communists, who had been in town before gathering signatures, were returning Saturday afternoon, and that a "reception committee" was being organized to take care of them. The Saturday issue, which appeared before our arrival, contained the information that evidently the Communists were not coming since no trace of them had been seen by six carloads of ex-servicemen who were patrolling the city since early morning.

I then asked the sheriff if he knew that a representative of the federal government and Ira Latimer, secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, were to be in Pekin that day to act as observers. He said that he had talked to Mr. Latimer about three hours previously.

No representative of the Department of Justice was seen in Pekin while the mob attempted to break into the courthouse. If anything, the Department of Justice was in part responsible for the mob action. According to the *Journal-Transcript* of nearby Peoria for May 26, US District Attorney Doyle in Peoria "did call Rayburn Russell, Tazewell County state's attorney, to inform him of the impending visit." Sheriff Donahue indicated to Leslie that the state's attorney's office "tipped off" the mob-minded editors of the Pekin paper that the Communists were due to arrive.

When Latimer arrived at the sheriff's office to act as an observer, before the appearance of the Communists, he found that official holding a drinking party in his sanctum with members of the American Legion. Latimer was forced to leave town by the vigilantes. When the attorney for the Communist Party in Chicago was advised of the mob danger in Pekin, he called the office of Gov. Henry Horner in Springfield asking adequate protection for the signature collectors. Arthur O'Brien, the governor's secretary, replied curtly that "no additional officers would be sent to Pekin unless the county authorities asked for assistance."

After the ten had submitted to arrest under protest, Sheriff Donahue with his deputies and the state police conducted them through a howling mob. They were struck and kicked. When one of the local citizens objected to such conduct on the part of the vigilantes, he too was threatened and forced to flee.

In jail [Leslie in his sworn affidavit says] the sheriff forced us to put all our possessions into our jacket pockets, and to surrender our jackets to him, promising that they would be safe there, and alleging that he could not guarantee their safety elsewhere.

He then forced us into a small block of damp, cold cells in which there already were five occupants. From then until 4:00 a.m. the following morning, the leaders of the violence outdoors smashed windows in our cell block, hurled taunts at us, and repeatedly threatened to hang us, daring us to come out and face them.

When we left the jail, our jackets were returned to us, and we found that, despite the assurances we had received from the sheriff that our belongings would be safe, some of them were missing.

The mob which surged about the courthouse caught sight of one of the cars which had brought the Chicagoans to town. Several men seized hold of the automobile, overturned it, and set it afire.

The second car was driven about two miles out of town and burned. A farmer passed, saw the car burning, and decided that there was nothing he could do. After he had driven on, he was arrested and thrown in jail by officers patrolling the countryside on a charge of "leaving an accident."

The victims were finally taken from Pekin to Peoria by state police, with the vigilantes following all the way. "During our drive from Pekin to Peoria," Leslie stated, "the state police expressed their sympathies with the vigilantes, and said that so far as they were concerned, they would just as soon turn us loose to the mercy of the mob."

Unknown hoodlums, who on May 18 wrecked the West Side hall of the Communist party in Chicago, and set fire to it were more secretive than the Pekin mobsters. The marauders entered the hall during the early morning hours, broke the lock, and smashed the furniture and fixtures. Then they started a small fire and left. City firemen extinguished the flame; but when Carl Reynolds reported the outrage to the state fire marshal's office, he was grilled and, by implication, accused of committing the arson himself.

Less than a week later, Bob Wirtz, Midwest secretary of the International Labor Defense, and this writer were beaten by about thirty hoodlums on a crowded West Side corner following a meeting to protest the burning and wrecking of the hall. Previously, the West Side Civil Rights Committee, sponsoring the meeting, had been kept from entering a hall rented for the occasion by legionnaires and police. Before the meeting convened in another hall down the street, Capt. Louis Klatzco in charge of the police detail had boasted to Wirtz:

"I know we have a Bill of Rights, but I'm looking forward to the day when we can change the Bill of Rights and do with bullets what we can't do now."

During the week of the Pekin and Chicago outrages, police at Champaign, seat of the University of Illinois, arrested and tortured a Jewish student, Aaron Bindman, for making a street speech against war. While Bindman was held by one policeman and beaten by another, he was asked his nationality.

"I am an American," he replied.

"Anybody can see that you are a Jew," his assailant sneered, smashing another blow on the lad's face.

Teen-age boys in Chicago—decent young fellows who want to stay home, marry, and rear families instead of being conscripted for death—are being arrested and intimidated for distributing anti-war leaflets. One Jewish mother, whose son had been picked up for passing out leaflets, said, with Old Testament simplicity, to Sergeant Brennan of Albany Park Station: "Since when has it become a crime to quote the commandment in the Bible, 'Thou shalt not kill'? 'The Yanks are not coming' is just another way of saying it."

It is no accident that this gathering fury of the war party should have hit first in the Midwest. The new aviation plants to grind out machines of death will be concentrated in this area under the political trade between the President and Col. Frank Knox, publisher of the pro-British Chicago *Daily News* and vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket in 1936. Nip all opposition to war in the bud before the aviation and other death factories are built—this is the policy of Roosevelt, the Chicago *Daily News*, and the Chicago *Tribune*. This policy is being enforced by guns and clubs in the hands of hoodlums who are out to attack anyone who believes that the way of peace is the only way for America in this international crisis.

HAROLD PREECE.

F. Lynchings
Rec

IRNERIO ROSSI

IL LINCIAGGIO
DEI NEGRI NEGLI STATI UNITI

Estratto dalla RASSEGNA ITALIANA - Marzo 1938 - XVI, n. 238

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DEI NEGRI NEGLI STATI UNITI

Estratto dalla RASSEGNA ITALIANA - Marzo 1938 - XVI, n. 238

ROMA
EDIZIONE DELLA « RASSEGNA ITALIANA »
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1938-XVI

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with my compliments & friendship

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IL LINCIAGGIO
DEI NEGRI NEGLI STATI UNITI

UN NUOVO PROGETTO DI LEGGE FEDERALE

RIFLESSI ODIERNI DELLA SCHIAVITÙ NEL « OLD SOUTH ». – Per qualche mese dimorando ad Athens, in Georgia, ho cercato di avere dalle numerose persone da me avvicinate, e nel corso di amichevoli conversazioni, delle informazioni relative al linciaggio dei negri negli Stati Uniti. Mi si rispondeva, di solito, evasivamente; chi accogliendo la mia domanda con un sorriso ironico per la mia ridicola curiosità di europeo, chi corrugando la fronte e facendomi comprendere, col tatto della ospitalità, che era meglio non toccare l'argomento.

Vi sono dei fenomeni sociali che questi americani appartenenti agli Stati del sud non desiderano discutere, specie con uno straniero. Tale, particolarmente, è il problema delle relazioni tra la razza bianca e negra, e, se si chiede loro come mai, dopo oltre sessant'anni dalla fine della guerra civile, continuino a sussistere così forti pregiudizî di razza, come mai nonostante gli articoli XIV e XV (1) aggiunti alla Costituzione degli Stati Uniti per assicurare ai negri ex schiavi libertà ed eguaglianza, questi continuino ad essere privi di molti diritti civili, politici e sociali, si riceve per lo più, per tutta risposta, una scrollata di spalle. I negri sono adatti per i servizi di casa, per pulire le scarpe o portare i bagagli alla stazione, la *Negro Mammy* è un'ottima e benvoluta bambinaia; ma, all'infuori di ciò, essi devono guardarsi bene dal cercare contatti d'altro genere con la superiore razza bianca: non possono entrare nelle scuole,

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(1) *Article XIV* (*Passed by Congress June 16,1866*).

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Article XV (*Passed by Congress February 27, 1869*).

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

nei teatri, nei caffè dei bianchi, in ferrovia devono viaggiare nel *Jim Crow car* e attendere il treno nelle sale d'aspetto loro riservate. In una parola devono aver il buon senso di stare al loro posto, *to Keep their places*.

Questo particolare stato d'animo e la situazione sociale che ne deriva in un paese di sviluppata civiltà moderna riesce invero comprensibile soltanto a chi sia in grado di giudicare l'attuale concezione di vita, nel sud, come frutto di una tradizione influenzata dall'organizzazione della società schiavista. La convinzione che la schiavitù dei negri fosse un elemento necessario per la prosperità economica delle piantagioni di cotone fece sorgere, nei secoli scorsi, tutta una fioritura letteraria e scientifica intesa a dimostrare, su basi storiche, religiose, filosofiche e fisiologiche, l'inferiorità della razza negra, il suo destino ad essere schiava per legge divina e di natura, e la sua sola attitudine al lavoro manuale. Inoltre lo Stato schiavista era dipinto come il prototipo della più perfetta organizzazione sociale, quello che realizzava, meglio di ogni altro, l'eguaglianza tra i cittadini. Ogni uomo libero nella società schiavista provava un senso di relativa dignità e importanza, si sentiva un aristocratico, e aveva la consolante sicurezza che, per quanto povero e miserabile egli divenisse, vi era sempre una inferiore condizione sociale, facilmente discernibile dal colore, a cui egli non avrebbe mai potuto essere ridotto. Tali principî predicati dapprima per un esclusivo interesse economico presero così profonde radici nella mente delle popolazioni di entrambe le razze che, attraverso le generazioni, finirono con l'essere assorbiti insensibilmente e accettati come assiomi indiscutibili, Non si deve inoltre trascurare, dopo l'abolizione della schiavitù, la grande influenza svolta da associazioni segrete di bianchi, nel disorganizzato periodo di ricostruzione del sud, che seguì ai cinque anni di guerra civile. E, più ancora, di quelle non segrete come i *Cavalieri della Camelia bianca*, il *Ku-Klux Klan* con i suoi riti misteriosi, le uniformi grottesche ma impressionanti dei suoi membri, la grande e importante missione arrogatasi di tutelare la giustizia e la razza bianca nell'« invisibile impero », cose tutte atte a seminare il terrore nelle infantili e superstiziose mentalità dei negri, mantenendo, in dispetto della legge, una decisa supremazia di razza.

È questo substrato psicologico che rende ancora possibile al giorno d'oggi il frequente linciaggio dei negri. Tale barbara forma di giustizia sommaria è in teoria disapprovata dalle classi elevate, ma in pratica il loro atteggiamento non è così contrario come ci si potrebbe aspettare. Sintomatico il referendum indetto da una importante rivista *letteraria* (1) – sottolineo il carattere di questa rivista perchè rivela il tipo di pubblico a cui si rivolge – tra i suoi lettori nel mese di marzo di quest'anno. Ecco il testo delle domande:

« Se un negro, che è stato chiaramente e legalmente convinto di aver assaltato vostra sorella, stesse per essere la vittima di un linciaggio promosso dai vostri amici e vicini, che cosa fareste ?

« Tentereste di difendere il negro aiutando lo sceriffo ?

« Dareste una mano ai linciatori ?

« Vi assistereste come spettatore, senza prender parte per l'uno e per l'altro ?

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(1) *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1937, New York.

« Difendereste il negro con una drammatica arringa in pro della giustizia ?

« Chiedereste a vostra sorella la sua intenzione in merito, per poi agire di conformità ? ».

La risposta della maggioranza fu per quest'ultima soluzione, il che, a mio parere, equivale a dichiarare: « lo lincerei ! ». Invero la sorella sarà probabilmente in uno stato di eccitazione nervosa che la indurrà a reclamare dal fratello quella riparazione dell'onore che degli estranei spontaneamente le offrono.

Dati statitici sui recenti linciaggi. – Di fronte alla esistenza di una pubblica opinione siffatta ho creduto opportuno indagare, con esattezza e serietà di fonti, gli aspetti e il numero dei più recenti linciaggi avvenuti negli Stati Uniti. Ritengo che la conoscenza di tali dati possa essere interessante per il pubblico italiano che altrimenti, per i motivi più sopra rappresentati, difficilmente può avere un'idea precisa del grave fenomeno. L'argomento è del resto anche di interesse attuale perchè, proprio nella scorsa primavera, è stato presentato a Washington un progetto di legge federale per estirpare questa mala pianta specifica della delinquenza americana.

Che il linciaggio sia una figura di crimine tipica degli Stati Uniti è a tutti noto. Non esiste, infatti, alcun altro Stato civilmente organizzato che si rispetti, il quale tolleri che con frequenza i cittadini si atteggino a giustizieri, e strappino dalle mani dei poliziotti o peggio traggano di prigione un imputato o un reo per giustiziarlo selvaggiamente, con la quasi certezza che la loro azione resterà impunita. Per quanto anche altrove, e in ben altri tempi, si siano registrati casi in cui il popolo si è arrogato il diritto di farsi giustizia da sè, ciò si è verificato soltanto in periodi eccezionali e mai con una così impressionante regolarità. Nel quinquennio 1931-35 si ebbero negli Stati Uniti 84 linciaggi, e un ben maggior numero di tentativi fu evitato tempestivamente mediante il trasporto altrove dei prigionieri, l'arrivo di pronti rinforzi di polizia e serrate arringhe rivolte alla folla da parte di persone influenti (1).

Aggiungo subito che solo per sette degli ottantaquattro tragici tumulti identificati furono iniziati procedimenti penali, e soltanto per tre

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(1) Statistica relativa ai linciaggi dal 1882:

Anni	Bianchi	Negri	Totale
1882-1930	1.280	3.300	4.580
1931	1	12	13
1932	2	6	8
1933	4	24	28
1934	0	15	15
1935	2	18	20
1936	0	9	9
Totale . .	1.289	3.384	4.673

Il massimo si verificò nel 1892 con 255 linciati, di cui 155 negri e 100 bianchi. Il minimo nel 1932 con 8.

La media dell'ultimo cinquantennio è di 78 linciaggi per ogni anno. Mississippi, Georgia e Texas hanno il primato nel numero di linciaggi rispetttivamente con 563, 515, 488. Seguono Louisiana con 389 e Alabama con 343. Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky e Tennessee ne hanno più di duecento ognuno.

di essi seguirono sentenze di condanna. Le pene, inoltre, non furono certo commisurate al crimine, perchè raggiunsero al massimo cinque anni di carcere (1).

L'ORIGINE DEL LINCIAGGIO. – I primi episodi di linciaggio considerato come strumento di popolare giustizia si ebbero nelle comunità di frontiera. Ivi i pionieri vivevano come è noto pericolosamente lottando con la natura, con gli animali, con gli indiani e, sopra tutto, con gli avventurieri di ogni parte del mondo che infestavano la regione, mentre il meccanismo dello Stato era ancora in formazione e praticamente inefficiente. Si riteneva, in quel tempo, che la drastica e pubblica forma di repressione escogitata potesse servire, d'altra parte, per il terrore che ispirava, di salutare esempio, funzionando come una medicina preventiva dei reati. Vi è tuttora molta incertezza circa l'origine esatta del termine « legge di Lynch ». Ma crediamo che la dottrina più accreditata sia nel vero ritenendolo derivato dai severi metodi di punizione applicati dal colonnello Charles Lynch in Virginia, durante la guerra per l'indipendenza. Se tale forma rozza e spicciativa di amministrare la giustizia poteva trovare giustificazione nel periodo indicato, è da notare che essa finì, poi, per dilagare come selvaggia espressione di barbari istinti popolari e finì col trasformarsi al giorno d'oggi, come meglio vedremo in seguito, in una specie di tecnica per mantenere la supremazia, nel campo economico, sociale e politico, di una razza sull'altra. Ed è qui che la giustificazione manca.

IL LINCIAGGIO DEGLI ITALIANI IN NEW ORLEANS E L'INDIGNAZIONE MONDIALE. – Ad ogni modo è da considerarsi che prima di trasformarsi in un sistema repressivo usato quasi esclusivamente a danno dei negri, il linciaggio, il quale era praticato nel secolo scorso, scelse assai spesso le sue vittime anche tra gli emigranti europei. Il più noto e grave caso che si ricordi è costituito dagli undici italiani massacrati dalla folla a New Orleans (Louisiana) il 14 marzo 1891 perchè accusati di complicità nell'assassinio del capo della polizia. Il nostro paese, che tanto validamente contribuiva col lavoro tenace e il genio dei suoi figli alla grandiosa costruzione del Nuovo Mondo, fu vivamente turbato dalla tragica notizia. L'Italia chiese una riparazione agli Stati Uniti e durante le trattative la situazione diplomatica tra i due paesi divenne assai tesa. Cittadini di altri paesi subirono, poi, la stessa sorte, e ben presto un movimento di indignazione mondiale si scatenò contro l'America. Miss Ida B. Wells, negra, editrice del *Free Speech* in Memphis (Tennessee) se ne rese la promotrice e, quando a causa della sua violenta campagna, il giornale fu soppresso, si recò in Inghilterra, dove tenne una serie di conferenze (1893-94) e condusse una vera e propria crociata anti-lynch organizzando delle società a tale scopo costituite, di cui fecero parte cospicue personalità internazionali. Fu, anzi, proposto, nel corso della campagna, l'invio di una commissione per studiare le cause e raccogliere statistiche relative al linciaggio negli Stati Uniti. Ciò, naturalmente, provocò una

(1) Ironton, Ohio, 1931 un linciatore minore di età fu mandato in un riformatorio; Manchester, Tennessee, 1934 otto furono condannati dai 3 ai 5 anni; St. Joseph, Missouri, 1934 uno solo fu condannato ad 1 anno.

controondata di indignazione, che si può dire riassunta nelle parole del governatore O'Ferrall di Virginia: « Le cose si mettono proprio male nel nostro paese, quando stiamo per avere un mucchio di moralisti inglesi che vogliono mettere il naso nei nostri affari interni. È la quintessenza dell'impudenza e della sfrontatezza ! ».

MOVIMENTO LEGISLATIVO NEI SINGOLI STATI. – Il movimento, però, non fu vano: esso portò dei frutti legislativi che, se pur non riuscirono di effettiva utilità, rappresentarono il primo segnale di un serio interessamento da parte dell'autorità statale. Si comprese che gli episodi di linciaggio minavano il fondamento di una ordinata società, e lo Stato di Georgia emanava, nel 1893, la prima legge intesa a combatterlo. Essa statuiva che ogni pubblico ufficiale, tenuto a mantenere la pace ed eseguire la legge, era autorizzato, in caso di pericolo di violenza popolare, a convocare un gruppo di cittadini, i quali dovevano collaborare con lui per ristabilire l'ordine usando ogni mezzo, con diritto anche di togliere la vita a chi tentasse opporre resistenza. Statuiva, inoltre, che i partecipanti a un linciaggio dovessero essere puniti con pene detentive di un minimo di un anno e di un massimo di 20 anni. Se, poi, la violenza popolare si concludeva con la morte della vittima, la persona che aveva causata questa morte doveva essere processata come omicida. Successivamente, nel 1895, fu aggiunta una disposizione che, tra l'altro, autorizzava il governatore a destituire uno sceriffo dimostratosi incapace a far rispettare tale legge.

Nella nuova costituzione, adottata nel 1895, dallo Stato di South Carolina, erano contenute analoghe disposizioni intese a stimolare i pubblici ufficiali a compiere con energia il loro dovere per prevenire e reprimere la violenza popolare. Indipendentemente dalla condotta degli ufficiali, la Contea (1) in cui si fosse verificato un linciaggio seguito da morte era tenuta a pagare agli eredi della vittima non meno di 2.000 dollari. La Contea, a sua volta, aveva diritto di rifarsi della somma pagata perseguendo giudizialmente i partecipanti al linciaggio.

Altri Stati seguirono gli esempi succitati con leggi di uguale natura. Le quali, però, lasciarono, purtroppo, inalterata la situazione che si erano proposte di migliorare, e rimasero, praticamente, lettera morta.

MANCATA CONDANNA DEI LINCIATORI. – I linciaggi continuarono, e per motivi politici, economici e sociali i loro autori continuarono a restare impuniti, salvo rare eccezioni. Alcuni esempi serviranno meglio ad illuminare tale punto assai delicato. Se i partecipanti ad una *Lynch-party* non vengono puniti, ciò dipende dalla convinzione ancora radicata che essi, anzi che rei, siano esecutori della volontà collettiva in una forma di giustizia popolare. Tale principio fu riconosciuto, di recente, perfino pubblicamente. A seguito del linciaggio di due negri minorenni, Ernest Collins e Bennie Mitchell, avvenuto il 13 novembre 1935 in Colorado County (Texas) il pubblico ministero (*County attorney*) disse: « Ritengo che il linciaggio dei due giovani negri, eseguito da una folla di 700 persone, tra cui numerose donne, fu un'espressione della volontà popolare »

(1) Divisione territoriale amministrativa corrispondente, grosso modo, all nostra provincia.

e il giudice, – dopo aver premesso che era contrario alla violenza popolare, – dichiarò: « Il fatto che i negri, i quali assassinarono così brutalmente una ragazza, non potevano essere adeguatamente puniti dalla legge a causa della loro minore età, mi impedisce di condannare i cittadini che fecero giustizia degli assassini rapitori ».

Nel maggior numero dei casi non si fa assolutamente nulla e il processo viene archiviato, dichiarandosi che risultano ignoti gli aggressori e che la vittima morì *at the hands of parties unknown*. Nei pochi casi in cui si tentano indagini non è possibile trovare testimoni perchè nessun bianco è disposto a deporre contro un altro bianco e, anche chi è contrario a partecipare a un linciaggio, prova un sentimento di omertà, di solidarietà di razza. Talora non vengono deliberatamente citati, perfino testimoni disposti a deporre come risultò nei casi Cordie Cheek (in Davidson County, Tennessee, 13 dicembre 1933) e Norris Dendy (in Laurens County, South Carolina, 4 luglio 1933).

Il clamoroso linciaggio in Leeville, Texas nel 1930. – Uno dei più clamorosi linciaggi, che merita di essere riferito nei suoi minuti particolari, e che riprova l'impotenza dell'autorità giudiziaria anche in casi di estrema gravità, avvenne in Texas nel 1930. Riassumo i dati raccolti su di esso da uno studio eseguito nell'estate 1936 a cura della sezione di sociologia della *Southern Methodist University* in Dallas (Texas) e basato sui due volumi di testimonianze segrete assunte dalla Corte militare di inchiesta, su libri, giornali, dati pubblicati dalla *Commissione di cooperazione fra le razze*, e su centinaia di interviste con persone di Leeville e del territorio adiacente.

Un sabato della primavera del 1930 un operaio negro, dipendente di un agricoltore vicino a Leeville (Texas, cittadina di 15.000 abitanti), si recò dal suo datore di lavoro per riscuotere la paga. Fu ricevuto dalla moglie dell'agricoltore, la quale lo informò che il marito si era recato in città, senza lasciare disposizioni per la paga. Il negro si allontanò contrariato, ma ritornò ben presto armato di uno schioppo, assalì la donna e la violentò. Questa, dopo un po', riuscì a fuggire in una casa vicina, dalla quale fu chiamato telefonicamente lo sceriffo. Il negro inseguito tentò fuggire, sparò contro lo sceriffo, ma fu, infine, arrestato e tradotto in un carcere distante alcune miglia da Leeville. Nei giorni seguenti una vera folla si radunò ripetutamente intorno alla prigione, e si disperse soltanto quando fu data la prova che il ricercato era stato trasportato altrove.

Per raccogliersi nuovamente questa folla attese il giorno del processo e penetrata nel palazzo di giustizia divenne minacciosa quando si sparse la voce (priva di fondamento) che il governatore aveva telegrafato ordinando alla polizia di non usare le armi nel caso in cui essa avesse tentato di impadronirsi del negro. Da questo momento (l'una del pomeriggio) la folla diventò addirittura selvaggia e dovette essere cacciata dall'aula a colpi di fucile sparati in aria e con l'impiego di gas lagrimogeni. Aggravandosi la situazione l'imputato fu trasportato in una stanza di sicurezza. Allora la folla (erano le 14,30) comprendendo che le autorità erano decise ad impedire che l'imputato cadesse nelle sue mani, decise di dar fuoco al palazzo di giustizia.

I pubblici ufficiali poterono scampare all'incendio, scendendo dal

secondo piano dello stabile a mezzo delle scale dei pompieri, ma non fu concesso di salvare il negro dalle fiamme. I pompieri tentarono per loro conto di domare l'incendio; ma il popolaccio rese vana l'opera loro.

Verso le 16 arrivò sul posto un piccolo distaccamento di guardie nazionali da un villaggio vicino, ma, visto il numero e l'attitudine della turba, prudentemente si ritirò. Alle 18 giunsero 52 soldati. Dalle 20 alla mezzanotte si svolse una vera battaglia tra la folla (che voleva impadronirsi del negro) e i soldati. Finalmente la camera di sicurezza venne fatta saltare con la dinamite e il corpo del negro morto fu tratto fuori dalle macerie. Il cadavere fu trascinato per le strade rimorchiato da una Ford, mentre la folla impazzita lo seguiva cantando, come in un delirio e suonando le sirene delle automobili. Il corteo si arrestò nel quartiere negro, e qui, assaltato un negozio di drogheria, lo saccheggiò, ne accatastò i mobili e, dopo aver orribilmente straziato il corpo del negro, lo bruciò sulla catasta.

Parte della folla, a questo punto, si disperse, ma un gruppo cospicuo di energumeni continuò a saccheggiare e a dar fuoco a case e proprietà di negri tra cui vari negozi, due caffè, un teatro, e gli uffici di un avvocato e di un medico. Ai pompieri fu consentito di isolare il fuoco solo quando minacciava case di bianchi. Tutti i negri del quartiere dovettero fuggire lontano dalla città, o cercare asilo e nascondiglio presso amici bianchi.

Alle 13 del giorno che seguì alla notte in cui si era scatenato tanto bestiale furore popolare giunsero altre 150 guardie nazionali armate di mitragliatrici e gas lagrimogeni. Esse riuscirono a disperdere la folla, e furono seguite da altri rinforzi di soldati. Fu proclamata la legge marziale e cominciarono gli arresti. Malgrado voci insistenti secondo le quali la folla intendeva distruggere tutte le case del quartiere negro, non si verificò più nulla di grave per la imponenza della forza pubblica presente. Furono accusate 14 persone che vennero trasportate in un grande carcere al sicuro. Esse finirono, però, con l'essere tutte assolte, ad eccezione di un ragazzo che si buscò due anni di prigione.

Le relazioni tra le due razze prima che la situazione ritornasse normale continuarono molto tese per alcuni mesi. Significativo il caso del pastore di una chiesa protestante che ebbe l'idea di criticare, dal pulpito, l'accaduto: egli veniva, subito dopo, consigliato, da un comitato di fedeli, di non toccare più l'argomento se voleva conservare il posto.

CAUSE DELLA INEFFICIENZA DELLA POLIZIA E DELLA MAGISTRATURA. – Risulta chiaro, da quanto sopra, che, anche senza una norma repressiva specifica, i linciatori dovrebbero essere puniti perchè la loro azione viola sempre altre disposizioni della legge penale. Nulla di più facile della loro incriminazione, a seconda dei casi, per omicidio, radunata sediziosa, incendio doloso, saccheggio, violenza, ecc. Ma la punizione dei rei dipende, sempre, in genere, da quegli stessi pubblici ufficiali che hanno già dato prova evidente della loro incapacità o mancanza di volontà nell'impedire il linciaggio, e il loro comportamento si può quindi ritenere logico. Fu giustamente osservato che, poichè i linciatori sono, in molti casi, responsabili soltanto verso le Corti locali, pretendere da queste la loro punizione sarebbe come ritenere possibile, da un sovrano detronizzato, la punizione di coloro che lo hanno rovesciato. Tale senso di sfiducia nella giustizia e di riconoscimento della sua impotenza fu ri-

levato da un pubblico ministero della South Carolina: « To see jury lists packed, witnesses swearing lies, and defense lawyers capitalizing upon a lynched Negro as a potential rapist – all in a planned effort to acquit known lynch-murderers – leaves one with a feeling of helplessness ». Chiedere l'applicazione alla legge, significa vederla, questa legge, derisa. Mi sovvengo della vignetta di un giornale: dal tronco di un albero pendeva un negro impiccato, e da un ramo vicino il Libro delle Leggi, pur esso linciato.

A queste considerazioni se ne deve aggiungere un'altra di fondamentale importanza, che non vedo messa in evidenza dagli scrittori americani, forse perchè essa trascende il fenomeno in esame e involve il sistema generale di nomina dei giudici e degli ufficiali di polizia. Nell'Unione Americana ogni Stato ha la propria legge e, di conseguenza, l'organizzazione giudiziaria non è, ovunque, la stessa. Pur tuttavia vi sono dei principî comuni e, nella maggior parte degli Stati, vige il sistema della elezione popolare dei giudici. I magistrati così eletti durano in carica per un periodo vario, a seconda dei singoli Stati, con una media che va dai sei ai nove anni, e nei casi limite dai due (Vermont) ai ventun anni (Pennsylvania). Tale sistema di elezione dei giudici è così lontano dalle nostre abitudini, che ci riesce perfino difficilmente concepibile. Esso abbassa il livello della magistratura, tende a fare del giudice un politicante e lo sottopone ad influenze di gruppi, a cui spesso è incapace di resistere.

In Italia abbiamo una magistratura di primissimo ordine, degna delle luminose tradizioni giuridiche romane, ma essa è tale soltanto perchè i suoi membri sono scelti dallo Stato attraverso un vaglio di severi concorsi. Inoltre il magistrato, una volta ottenuto l'ufficio, per conservarlo non ha che da adempiere al proprio dovere, e lo stimolo della carriera lo induce non soltanto a pronunziare sentenze giuste, entro i limiti delle umane possibilità, ma ispirate ad una dotta ed acuta interpretazione del diritto. Avendo avuto l'onore di far parte, per qualche anno, della famiglia giudiziaria ho potuto ammirarne da vicino tutta la grandezza, la operosità e la modestia, e ho potuto, anche, sperimentare personalmente, in delicati processi politici, la assoluta indipendenza dal potere esecutivo.

Come può, per converso, il popolo americano scegliere un giudice e valutare la sua conoscenza del giure ? Come può essere sereno nel suo giudizio e indipendente da influenze politiche un magistrato che deve il posto ai suoi elettori ? Con questo sistema può ben darsi che chi potrebbe essere un ottimo giudice non abbia invece le attitudini di un abile politico, e sia facilmente sconfitto da chi, anzi che il diritto, conosca l'arte di procacciarsi i voti. E, anche ammesso che il giudice scelto sia infine onesto e colto, sussisterà sempre l'obbiezione che egli debba preoccuparsi di non contrariare l'opinione pubblica, per assicurarsi una rielezione allo spirare del termine. Ecco perchè, nei centri dove si verifica un linciaggio, un giudice che ne condanni i partecipanti condanna anche se stesso col solo prendere posizione contro la corrente degli elettori. A nulla, poi, gli gioverà il favore della popolazione negra, che in siffatte elezioni è priva di voto.

Lo stesso dicasi per gli ufficiali di polizia i quali, durante la campagna elettorale, fanno promesse pubbliche alla comunità di svolgere le loro

funzioni onestamente nell'interesse degli elettori, e mettono in evidenza, con aperta propaganda nella stampa, i loro meriti polizieschi. E poichè, in ultima analisi, anche pubblici ufficiali incaricati di mantenere l'ordine si possono considerare responsabili verso gli elettori anzi che verso i loro superiori gerarchici, non è logico ritenere che, se essi impediscono un linciaggio in un agglomerato la cui maggioranza lo favorisce, vengono indirettamente a tradire il tacito mandato di coloro che li hanno eletti? Non hanno essi, in un certo modo, quasi il dovere di lasciare le mani libere alla folla? Solo così può essere spiegato uno degli esempi più recenti e gravi di linciaggio, verificatosi nell'autunno 1934. Claude Neal, negro che si trovava custodito in una prigione di Alabama, fu rapito e linciato in Florida. Almeno 15 ore prima che Neal fosse linciato, a mezzo della radio e della stampa, fu data comunicazione dell'itinerario che sarebbe stato seguito e fu inviata la folla ad accorrervi in massa. Si raccolsero così dai quattro ai settemila bianchi tra cui si notavano molti bambini. Il negro fu indicibilmente torturato e finalmente ucciso. Neppure una persona venne arrestata.

CAUSE CHE DETERMINANO IL LINCIAGGIO. EVOLUZIONE DI DETTE CAUSE. – Sarebbe logico ritenere – anche sulla scorta delle ragioni storiche brevemente illustrate – che vittima di un linciaggio sia soltanto l'autore di un grave delitto, che esaspera la coscienza popolare e ne determina la violenta reazione. Questo però non si verifica in molti casi per due motivi fondamentali:

1° non vi è peggior giudice della folla, incapace di esaminare prove e trascinata, da una contagiosa eccitazione, a giudicare anche contro l'evidenza;

2° il reato commesso da un negro rappresenta, assai spesso, una causa occasionale per dare libero sfogo a sentimenti di odio di razza.

Pochi esempi servano di prova.

In Baker County (Georgia) nel giugno 1933 un *bootlegger* bianco fu ucciso in un ballo negro; poichè non fu possibile trovare l'uccisore, furono linciati, per dare un esempio, due negri innocenti.

Nel novembre 1933 George Greene, fittuale di un fondo in Greenville County (South Carolina), fu ucciso nella sua casa da una folla mascherata, per nessun'altra apparente ragione all'infuori di quella d'esser colpevole di aver ripetutamente insistito per il riconoscimento dei suoi diritti relativi al raccolto.

Nell'ottobre 1935 vicino a Moltrie (Georgia) « Bo » Brinson, non accusato di alcun reato, fu ucciso, nella propria casa, dalla folla che cercava un altro negro accusato di omicidio.

In Oxford (Mississippi), nel settembre 1935, la folla entrava tumultuando nella prigione e ne traeva il negro Elwood Higginbotham. Egli era accusato di omicidio, ma durante il processo risultò che un ladro bianco era entrato di notte nella casa di Higginbotham, aveva sfondato due porte e minacciato il negro nella sua stanza da letto. Higginbotham sparò uccidendo il malvivente, e la prova della legittima difesa apparve così chiara cha la giuria era poco disposta a condannare il negro alla sedia elettrica. Mentre la giuria stava deliberando, la folla lo linciava.

Il 5 agosto 1935 vicino a Calhoun City (Mississippi) venne linciato

Bodie Bates accusato di essere apparso alla finestra della stanza da letto di una ragazza, tentando di forzarla. Il linciaggio fu giustificato col motivo che il reato del negro era abbastanza grave per meritare una severa sentenza dalla giustizia.

Il 13 dicembre 1933 Cordie Cheek, negro che era stato accusato di tentato ratto e assolto per insussistenza dell'accusa dalla giustizia, un'ora dopo che era stato rimesso in libertà veniva *kidnapped* e linciato in Maury County (Tennessee).

Il 27 agosto 1933 Dock Rogers veniva linciato in Dender County, (North Carolina) perchè aveva leggermente ferito, per accidente, la moglie di un contrabbandiere bianco, con cui discuteva per l'acquisto di liquori.

Dai dati raccolti dalla *Commissione per la cooperazione tra le razze* risulta che l'undici per cento delle persone linciate, nel quinquennio 1931-35, non erano accusate di alcun reato, e che un altro trenta per cento lo erano soltanto di reati lievi. Tra questi se ne trovano del genere seguente: aver osato discutere con un bianco; parlato con poco rispetto; rubato del liquore; schiaffeggiato una donna; tentato di entrare in una casa; minacciato uno sceriffo con un fucile; e perfino: *not knowing his place*.

Il secondo motivo da cui è scatenato il furore popolare risulta evidente dal caso avvenuto nel Texas più sopra riassunto: i *poor whites* vollero profittare della scusa che loro si offriva, per soddisfare il loro sentimento di odio e di invidia contro la crescente prosperità dei commercianti e dei professionisti negri e per poche ore, godendo di una illusoria superiorità momentanea, si atteggiarono a difensori della razza. La manifestazione, però, non fu soltanto espressione di una lotta economica. Essa rappresentò piuttosto un gesto attribuibile all'intera comunità, che lo favorì con un passivo comportamento, se pur non lo approvò palesemente.

Risulta, dagli esempi riportati, una evoluzione storica del linciaggio per quel che si riferisce al territorio dove è praticato, alla razza delle vittime che ne sono oggetto, ed agli impulsi che lo determinano. Riguardo al territorio, appare che nel quinquennio 1932-36 i linciaggi si verificarono nella misura di 19/20 entro i confini degli Stati del sud; riguardo alla razza, i 9/10 delle vittime furono negri, mentre nei primi tempi la proporzione di bianchi linciati era superiore a quella dei negri (1); le cause sono più spesso da ricercarsi nel disagio economico e nel tradizionale pregiudizio di colore, piuttostochè in quello *spirit of the frontier* che giustificò l'origie della legge di Lynch (2).

Associazioni per combattere il linciaggio. – Abbiamo passato in breve rassegna l'origine, le cause, la natura, l'evoluzione del linciaggio

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(1)

Anni	Bianchi	Negri
1882	65	49
1883	79	52
1884	158	52
1885	104	80

(2) 1 4/5 dei linciaggi si verificano nelle regioni più povere del sud rurale.

e l'inefficiente sua repressione. Esaminiamo, ora, alcuni rimedi tentati, proposti ed applicati. È pensiero comune che bisogni, soprattutto, cercare di educare l'opinione pubblica. In altre parole, occorre far comprendere al popolo che tale pretesa forma di giustizia popolare è contraria ai principî fondamentali dell'organizzazione sociale, è opposta agli ideali religiosi ed umani. In questo campo, specie di recente, si è fatto molto. Assai utile e meritoria è l'opera propagandistica svolta dalla *Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lyching*, di Atlanta (Georgia). Quando, nel 1930, si ebbe una recrudescenza di linciaggi, fu convocata, da alcune donne dirigenti di associazioni culturali e religiose, una conferenza in Atlanta per discutere che cosa poteva essere fatto in merito dalle donne del Sud. La conferenza fu accuratamente preparata con la elaborazione di statistiche relative al periodo 1922-29, e fu particolarmente messo in evidenza che meno del 29 % dei linciati erano accusati di delitti contro donne. Con ciò si tentò combattere l'opinione, comunemente diffusa, che il linciaggio venga eseguito come un mezzo di protezione della donna bianca, e, sfatando tale pregiudizio, si volle togliere ai linciatori la scusa della loro pretesa cavalleresca difesa del sesso debole. Fu anche deplorato che in ogni linciaggio le donne fossero risultate presenti in buon numero, e, talvolta, quali attive partecipanti. Molte erano madri con bambini, che venivano alzati sulle spalle dei genitori per meglio assistere allo spettacolo: efficace mezzo istruttivo per una futura generazione di linciatori ! La conferenza approvò un programma educativo e di propaganda anti-lynch attraverso varie istituzioni. L'associazione, fondata nel 1930 da dodici donne, contava, nell'ottobre 1936, trentaduemila appartenenti.

Una grande attività è stata anche svolta dalla *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP), fondata nel 1909, a cui si deve, tra l'altro, l'organizzazione, nel 1917, di un grande corteo in New York, nel quale più di quindicimila negri sfilarono nella *Fifth Avenue* in segno di protesta contro il linciaggio.

La propaganda svolta da queste associazioni principali e da molte altre associazioni minori, l'influenza esercitata dalla Chiesa Cattolica, dalla YMCA, da educatori e maestri è stata, certamente, assai utile. Essa, però, non si è palesata sufficiente per estirpare una malattia tanto radicata in profondità. Altri mezzi statali sarebbero necessari, quali una forza pubblica adeguata nei casi di pericolo; esemplari punizioni ai pubblici ufficiali che manchino di fare il proprio dovere; la custodia delle probabili vittime in prigioni sicure; processi svolti lontano dalla zona infetta, e, soprattutto, leggi repressive applicate scrupolosamente da giudici imparziali.

Pretesa inevitabilità del linciaggio. – A proposte del genere si sente spesso rispondere, con fatalistica rassegnazione, che non è possibile curare rapidamente il male, che esso è connaturato alla società americana, che è inevitabile come lo sciopero.

A noi, cresciuti nel clima fascista e nutriti di sani principî di ordine, tali argomenti fanno sorridere. Anche da noi si diceva, un tempo, che gli scioperi erano inevitabili, ma ciò dipendeva dalla esistenza di uno Stato fiacco che si lasciava trascinare dagli eventi e dai partiti. Il fascismo con le sue infallibili medicine: severe punizioni, disciplina.

lavoro, giustizia e coscienza della superiore missione dello Stato, ha trasformato tali piaghe in un ricordo storico.

La educazione delle masse con sistemi persuasivi è certamente da incoraggiarsi, ma richiede un lungo periodo di tempo. Lo Stato, per contro, con i mezzi a sua disposizione potrebbe ottenere rapidamente ciò che a molti sembra irrealizabile. E una prova evidente è offerta dal numero notevole di linciaggi che, di recente, sono stati evitati in tempo: 74 nel 1934; 84 nel 1935; 79 nel 1936. Ciò vuol dire che vi è oggi una grande maggioranza di pubblici ufficiali decisi a fare il loro dovere: basterebbe, dunque, far entrare tale convinzione nel cervello della restante minoranza.

La legge di Virginia. – Soltanto lo Stato di Virginia – patria del colonnello Lynch e della sua degenerata pratica repressiva – ha dato prova di considerare seriamente il problema e si è riabilitato nel 1928, emanando una legge contro il linciaggio rivelatasi pienamente rispondente allo scopo.

La legge in parola, dopo aver data la definizione della radunata sediziosa (*mob*) e del linciaggio, statuisce che la partecipazione di una persona ad un linciaggio la rende responsabile di omicidio. Contempla, inoltre, disposizioni procedurali per render possibile il rintracciare i partecipanti al linciaggio, e attribuisce facoltà al Governatore di spendere quelle somme che ritenga necessarie per ricercare e arrestare i membri della turba giustiziatrice. Se, poi, una persona imputata o condannata viene tratta di prigione, o strappata dalle mani di pubblici ufficiali, ed è linciata, la contea, dove il reato si verifica, è tenuta a pagare agli eredi della vittima una somma che può raggiungere i 2500 dollari. Indipendentemente da ciò, gli eredi della persona linciata possono convenire in giudizio, per risarcimento danni, i partecipanti alla *mob*.

I progetti di legge federale. – Questo esempio legislativo, però, rimase isolato e da tempo si pensa, pertanto, che solo una legge federale, applicabile a tutti gli Stati, potrebbe essere *realmente* efficace. Fin dal 1902 fu proposto il primo progetto di legge federale contro il linciaggio da Crumpacher. Il progetto – inteso particolarmente ad evitare il ripetersi di casi analoghi a quello del massacro degli undici italiani in New Orleans – naufragò; come naufragarono, per motivi più che altro formalistici, a causa dell'opposizione dei senatori del sud, il progetto di Dyer nel 1922, e di Costigan-Wagner nel 1935. Ora ne è stato presentato un altro (1), ma esso è aspramente combattuto dai rappresentanti del sud, con l'asserzione che esso violi la sovranità degli Stati. Il deputato Sumners definì infatti, in un suo discorso, come pestifera l'influenza del Nord in materia, ed asserì che, se la pratica del linciaggio non può evidentemente essere difesa, altrettanto deve dirsi di questo progetto di legge che distrugge i diritti degli Stati. Giustamente si osserva per contro che, poichè gli Stati e le autorità locali continuano a tollerare il verificarsi dei linciaggi nel loro territorio,

(1) Senatori Robert F. Wagner e Frederick Van Luys: *A Bill for the Better Assurance of the Protection of Persons from Mob Violence and Lynching.*

senza punire i partecipanti, tale cavillosa difesa di diritti finisce col degenerare in una espressione priva di contenuto. Il progetto tenderebbe infatti ad evitare proprio il verificarsi e il protrarsi della constatata quiescienza e incapacità degli Stati.

Il progetto provvede perchè ogni responsabile *peace officer* che trascuri o rifiuti di fare sforzi adeguati per proteggere un prigioniero dalla folla che voglia impadronirsene, o che non faccia sufficienti sforzi per arrestare i componenti della stessa folla dopo un linciaggio, debba essere incriminato e punito con una pena detentiva fino a cinque anni, o pecunaria fino a cinque mila dollari, o con entrambi tali pene.

Quando l'*Attorney-General* degli Stati Uniti venga a conoscenza che un pubblico ufficiale è responsabile di uno di tali reati, dovrà iniziare inchiesta a mezzo dei *Federal G-men* (*Federal Bureau of Investigation*) per assicurarsi se la legge sia stata violata. Se il risultato dell'inchiesta è affermativo si inizierà processo contro l'ufficiale o gli ufficiali pubblici nella *United States District Court.*

A differenza della legge esistente in Virginia, il progetto non contiene alcuna speciale disposizione per punire i partecipanti al linciaggio. Evidentemente si ritiene che l'intervento del Governo federale e il suo controllo per una rigida osservanza della legge offrano sufficienti garanzie.

Nel progetto è, inoltre, statuito che la contea, per ogni linciaggio verificatosi entro i suoi confini, possa essere condannata dalla *U. S. District Court* a pagare agli eredi della persona linciata una riparazione pecuniaria in una misura che va dai duemila ai diecimila dollari. La contea può, però, essere liberata da tale obbligo quando possa dimostrare che i suoi ufficiali abbiano esercitato ogni diligenza per proteggere la vittima dalla folla (1).

L'ULTIMO LINCIAGGIO. – Il 13 aprile 1937 due negri *Boot Jack* MacDaniels e Roosevelt Townes, accusati dell'omicidio di un mercante di Duck Hill (Mississipi), furono bruciati dalla folla dopo indicibili torture.

Essi avevano protestato la loro innocenza davanti al giudice che li aveva interrogati. Mentre, però, lo sceriffo assistito da due aiutanti li traduceva dal palazzo di giustizia alla prigione, un gruppo di persone, entrate improvvisamente nel cortile di questa, immobilizzarono i poliziotti strappando loro gli arrestati. Lo sceriffo dichiarò in seguito, che l'azione si svolse con grande rapidità, calma e ordine. Quantunque gli assalitori non fossero mascherati egli e i suoi aiutanti si dissero incapaci di riconoscere alcuno, asserendo di essere stati assaliti alle spalle.

I due negri furono trasportati a sette miglia da Duck Hill, sul posto dell'omicidio. Ivi, mentre Townes veniva legato ad un albero, MacDaniels era indotto rapidamente a confessare sotto le torture di

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(1) I precedenti progetti di legge avevano incontrato l'obbiezione che la legge potesse essere interpretata come applicabile alle lotte tra *gangsters* ecc.; perciò fu introdotta nel presente la seguente aggiunta: « Provided, however, that « lynching » shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of law breakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters or racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any « labor dispute » as that term is defined and used in the act of March 23, 1932 (Stat. 70).

una torcia ardente. Egli dichiarò di aver fato il palo mentre Townes sparava attraverso la finestra. Allora la folla, costituita da duecento persone circa, lo crivellò di palle. Poi si rivolse con la torcia ardente a Townes, lo torturò, e quindi ammucchiatagli attorno della legna, resa meglio infiammabile con benzina, vi diede fuoco.

Prima di morire i due negri ne accusarono un altro delle vicinanze, *Shorty* Dorroh, che era stato indiziato dalla polizia e che, prontamente ricercato, fu portato sul posto. Dorroh spergiurò di essere stato estraneo all'assassinio e di aver ricevuto soltanto parte del denaro rubato. Fu, allora, come si può leggere nel *The New York Times* del 14 Aprile 1937, sferzato a sangue e ammonito a lasciare immediatamente lo Stato.

I DUE TIPI DI FOLLA CHE LINCIA. – Le folle che linciano, pur avendo in comune la frequente caratteristica di trovare soddisfazione soltanto nelle sadiche torture inflitte alle loro vittime, operano generalmente in due modi che sono caratteristici della loro psicologia.

1° Come nell'ultimo caso verificatosi nel Mississippi, la folla eseguisce un quieto, ordinato linciaggio senza strombazzature e senza precedente pubblicità. Ed è, questa forma organizzata e inaspettata, la più difficile a prevenire.

II° Come nel caso verificatosi nella Florida e nel Texas, la folla è violenta e spettacolosa e giunge ad una rapida eccitazione attraverso la sua immaginazione infiammata. Folle di questo secondo tipo danno, spesso, pubblico annuncio della loro intenzione di linciare qualche volta parecchie ore, tale altra parecchi giorni, prima della stessa cattura della vittima designata.

CONCLUSIONE. – Concludendo, risulta evidente da quanto ho esposto, che sono stati fatti e si stanno facendo nobili e notevoli sforzi per determinare la scomparsa definitiva dalla vita degli Stati Uniti di questo residuo di barbarie. L'esperienza del prossimo passato non autorizza, però, a troppo rosee previsioni, e ancora non sembra giunto il tempo in cui la folla criminale di alcune regioni del sud possa rassegnarsi, per evoluzione della sua educazione, a non impiccare o bruciare un negro.

L'ultimo linciaggio da me ricordato è una conferma di questa mia conclusione. Il Governatore dello Stato di Mississippi, il 13 aprile u. s., in un discorso pronunciato a Jackson, asseriva: « Noi siamo fieri del fatto che negli ultimi quindici mesi non si è verificato neppure un linciaggio nel Mississippi ! » Non aveva finito, si può dire, di parlare che veniva informato d'urgenza che a Duck Hill due negri erano stati allora, allora torturati e bruciati. Eloquente e dolorosa smentita !

IRNERIO ROSSI

NOTA. *Il presente articolo, redatto alcuni mesi or sono, viene pubblicato con ritardo a causa di esigenze tipografiche. Nel frattempo il progetto di legge contro il linciaggio, portato in discussione in seno alla sessione speciale del Congresso chiusasi prima di Natale, è stato respinto per la consueta opposizione dei senatori del Sud.*

Linciaggi commessi contro bianchi e negri (periodo 1882-1936).

Anno	Bianchi	Negri	Totale
1882	64	49	113
1883	77	53	130
1884	160	51	211
1885	110	74	184
1886	64	74	138
1887	50	70	120
1888	68	69	137
1889	76	94	170
1890	11	85	96
1891	71	113	184
1892	69	162	231
1893	34	117	151
1894	58	134	192
1895	66	113	179
1896	45	78	123
1897	35	123	158
1898	19	101	120
1899	21	85	106
1900	9	106	115
1901	25	105	130
1902	7	85	92
1903	15	84	99
1904	7	76	83
1905	5	57	62
1906	3	62	65
1907	2	58	60
1908	8	89	97
1909	13	69	82
1910	9	67	86
1911	7	60	67
1912	2	61	63
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	3	35	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	0	16	16
1925	0	17	17
1926	7	23	30
1927	0	16	16
1928	1	10	11
1929	3	7	10
1930	1	20	21
1931	1	12	13
1932	2	6	8
1933	4	24	28
1934	0	15	15
1935	2	18	20
1936	0	9	9
Totale	1.289	3.384	4.673

Numero di linciaggi per ogni stato (periodo 1882-1936)

Stato	Bianchi	Negri	Totali
Alabama	47	296	343
Arizona	29	0	29
Arkansas	59	227	286
California	41	2	43
Colorado	66	2	68
Delaware	0	1	1
Florida	24	248	272
Georgia	37	478	515
Idaho	20	0	20
Illinois	14	17	31
Indiana	33	14	47
Iowa	17	2	19
Kansas	35	19	54
Kentucky	64	141	205
Louisiana	56	333	389
Maryland	2	27	29
Michigan	7	1	8
Minnesota	5	4	9
Mississippi	41	522	563
Missouri	51	70	121
Montana	82	2	84
Nebraska	52	5	57
Nevada	6	0	6
New Jersey	0	1	1
New Mexico	33	3	36
New York	1	1	2
North Carolina	15	83	98
North Dakota	13	3	16
Ohio	10	16	26
Oklahoma	82	41	123
Oregon	20	1	21
Pennsylvania	2	6	8
South Carolina	4	154	158
South Dakota	27	0	27
Tennessee	47	200	247
Texas	143	345	488
Utah	6	2	8
Virginia	16	83	99
Washington	25	1	26
West Virginia	21	28	49
Wisconsin	6	0	6
Wyoming	30	5	35
Totale	1.289	3.384	4.673

Classifica delle cause di linciaggio (periodo 1882-1936).

Anno	Omicidio	Violenza personale	Ratto	Tentato ratto	Furto e rapina	Insulti a bianchi	Altre cause
1882	54	0	33	0	16	0	10
1883	71	0	24	3	4	0	28
1884	62	0	36	0	10	0	103
1885	91	2	28	0	1	0	62
1886	70	1	32	0	8	0	27
1887	54	0	41	0	6	0	19
1888	62	0	31	0	3	4	37
1889	73	1	34	6	10	1	45
1890	35	0	31	2	5	0	23
1891	58	14	39	2	12	1	58
1892	93	3	49	12	15	1	58
1893	60	2	34	4	8	2	41
1894	75	1	37	12	5	1	61
1895	68	0	34	13	7	0	57
1896	39	6	35	6	6	0	31
1897	67	2	26	9	14	2	38
1898	68	7	15	6	8	2	14
1899	43	2	17	9	7	1	27
1900	43	5	21	16	7	1	22
1901	51	7	17	8	10	0	37
1902	37	6	18	12	2	0	17
1903	50	7	15	8	0	1	18
1904	37	1	15	7	0	2	21
1905	32	3	11	7	2	0	7
1906	25	7	16	10	2	1	4
1907	16	7	12	12	4	1	8
1908	35	8	15	14	3	1	21
1909	46	5	14	5	3	4	5
1910	41	3	18	5	4	2	3
1911	36	3	6	7	3	4	8
1912	34	2	11	3	4	3	6
1913	25	4	7	3	1	1	11
1914	30	7	6	1	2	1	5
1915	26	9	11	6	9	3	3
1916	21	7	3	9	8	2	4
1917	7	3	7	6	1	6	8
1918	27	3	10	6	5	2	11
1919	29	8	9	10	1	7	19
1920	23	9	15	3	0	3	8
1921	19	8	16	3	0	3	15
1922	15	5	14	5	4	2	12
1923	5	5	6	1	1	2	13
1924	4	2	5	2	0	3	0
1925	8	1	4	2	0	1	1
1926	13	3	2	3	1	1	7
1927	7	2	2	3	0	0	2
1928	5	2	3	0	0	0	1
1929	1	3	3	0	0	2	1
1930	5	0	8	2	3	0	3
1931	5	3	0	5	0	0	0
1932	1	2	1	1	0	1	2
1933	8	4	3	3	1	1	8
1934	2	2	2	4	1	3	1
1935	8	1	3	3	0	1	4
1936	1	0	3	3	0	1	1
Totale	1.921	198	908	282	227	81	1.056

RAPPORTO TRA IL NUMERO NELLE PERSONE LINCIATE E IL NUMERO DI QUELLE TEMPESTIVAMENTE SALVATE NEGLI ANNI DAL 1914 AL 1936.

Anno	Persone linciate	Persone salvate	Rapporto
1914	52	24	2.17
1915	67	25	2.68
1916	54	25	2.16
1917	38	23	1.65
1918	64	19	3.37
1919	83	43	1.93
1920	61	84	0.72
1921	64	108	0.59
1922	57	114	0.55
1923	35	56	0.59
1924	16	61	0.26
1925	17	53	0.32
1926	30	40	0.75
1927	16	68	0.24
1928	11	40	0.28
1929	10	34	0.29
1930	21	60	0.35
1931	13	91	0.14
1932	8	43	0.19
1933	28	48	0.58
1934	15	74	0.20
1935	20	84	0.24
1936	9	79	0.11

Nota. – Queste statistiche sono state compilate da Monroe N. Work, Direttore del *Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute*, Alabama.

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— *L'infanterie italienne dans les luttes heroiques sur l'Isonzo* (1915) » 3 —
— *Der italienische Soldat im Heldenkampf am Isonzo* 1915 . » 3 —
— *How the italian infantry fought on the Isonzo front* 1915 . » 3 —
— *O soldado italiano nas heroicas batalhas do Isonzo* (1915) . » 3 —
— *La infantaria italiana en las heroicas batallas del Isonzo* (1915) » 3 —
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— *La XII battaglia* . . . . . » 3 —

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N. 5. - ID. *L'armata del Grappa nella battaglia del giugno* 1918 (*Conclusione storica*) (fuori commercio)
N. 6. - WOLFDER, *La conquista militare dell'Etiopia* (3 ottobre 1935-XIII – 5 maggio 1936-XIV) (con 5 carte) . . . » 4 —

Dirigere le ordinazioni alla:

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LA RASSEGNA ITALIANA

POLITICA LETTERARIA E ARTISTICA

Fondata e diretta da TOMASO SILLANI

È la più bella, la più organica, la più viva rivista d'Italia, e una delle maggiori d'Europa. Vi collaborano i migliori scrittori nostri e gli uomini politici più noti per l'ardore della loro italianità. La RASSEGNA ITALIANA esce in fascicoli mensili di circa 100 pagine; pubblica scritti originali scelti con grande cura: articoli di politica estera ed interna, studi economici ed industriali, poesie, novelle, romanzi, lavori teatrali, pagine di storia e di archeologia, saggi filosofici e scientifici, critiche e recensioni dei libri più recenti, accurate rassegne di politica internazionale, di questioni militari, di teatro, corporativismo ecc.

La RASSEGNA ITALIANA entra, col 1938, nel suo XI anno di vita. Ha sostenuto lotte memorabili contro i frodatori dei trattati, i parassiti della Vittoria, la demagogia uscita all'assalto delle Istituzioni e i Governi imbelli che piegavano l'autorità e il prestigio dello Stato in cospetto della piazza. Le sue magnifiche campagne per la restaurazione della gloria italiana culminanti con la polemica Foch-Cadorna, le sue inesorabili denunzie delle deformazioni e delle menzogne straniere ai danni del nostro prestigio, l'hanno resa cara al cuore di tutti gli Italiani.

Nel 1938, tutto quello che è tradizione e primato della RASSEGNA ITALIANA ormai indiscusso, avrà il suo organico sviluppo, e i migliori scrittori d'Italia, nel campo della politica, delle lettere, della storia militare, dell'arte, delle scienze, dei problemi coloniali e delle questioni che si riferiscono ad una sagace espansione nel mondo, daranno alla rivista la loro preziosa collaborazione.

È utile ripetere che questa rivista, col suo fascicolo allegato RASSEGNA DEL MEDITERRANEO E DELL'ESPANSIONE ITALIANA, è il più completo organismo del genere che esista in Italia e [illegible].

ABBONAMENTI PER IL 1938

Italia e Colonie	L. 55,—
Per militari e scuole	» 45,—
Estero	» 75,—
Tunisi, Corsica, Malta, Dalmazia, Canton Ticino	» 65,—

Chi desidera l'invio raccomandato all'Estero dovrà aggiungere L. 20.

Un fascicolo L. 5,50 - *Estero* L. 8,50 - *Arretrato il doppio.*

Dirigere le ordinazioni alla Amministrazione della RASSEGNA ITALIANA

ROMA - Piazza Mignanelli, 25 - ROMA

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Arti Grafiche Panetto & Petrelli — Spoleto

SIX ARE FOUND MURDERED



The Prisoner And His Captors

Pictured here with Charles Bannon are the three officials responsible for wringing a confession of sextuple murder from him. Left to right: State's Attorney J. S. Taylor; Bannon; Deputy Sheriff Early Gordon, and Sheriff C. A. Jacobson.



Newspaperman shows how one of lynching mob looked—the mask was found at scene—and also exhibits rope used.



Here The Story Ended

Bridge two miles from the Haven farm, where masked mob lynched Charles Bannon after seizing him at jail. They wanted to string him up at scene of killings but tenant at farm threatened to open fire on them. Rope still hangs from bridge.

OCT 20 1940

broke down and admitted he had killed them all.

He said that the bodies of Mrs. Haven and Charles would be found in an Indian cave on his mother's homestead, five miles from the Haven farm. He had intended to move all the bodies to this spot, he said, but had never been up to the job. He had marked the grave with an Indian skull.

* * *

BANNON said that, on the morning of Feb. 10, he and Daniel Haven had quarreled over who should milk a certain cow. During the argument, Daniel called him a foul name, whereupon he took a rifle hanging on a saddle and, pointing it at the other youth, told him he ought to be shot for that. The gun went off — accidentally, according to him—and Daniel fell dead.

Then Leland came out, Bannon continued. Seeing Daniel down and bleeding, Leland had pulled a revolver, only to be shot down.

Next, Mr. and Mrs. Haven, attracted by the shots, rushed to the barn and attempted to beat Bannon into submission. He said that he had to shoot them, too.

Then he went into the house and shot Charles, and clubbed the baby to death.

Late on the same day of the prisoner's confession — which officials doubted in certain respects —word came that his father had been taken into custody at Waldport, Ore. He was brought back to Williston. So that father and son could not communicate with each other, Charles was transferred to the jail at Stanley. The elder Bannon dienied any knowledge of the murders.

With pressure still heavily upon him, Bannon made a new and final confession on Jan. 10, 1931. He now admitted that he plotted the killings in order to obtain possession of the Haven livestock and other personal property.

He said that he was hired by Haven on Feb. 9 and that, on the following morning, he shot Daniel and Leland while they were doing the chores in the barn. When Mrs. Haven came running, he hid behind some harnesses hanging on the wall until she passed him. Then he shot her twice. However, she kept her feet, ran out into the yard, and reached the steps of the house before she fell.

Bannon said he hurried into the house, where he found Haven standing with 3-year-old Charles in his arms. He shot them, then crushed the skull of the baby.

Emerging into the yard, he saw that Mrs. Haven was still alive. He swung the gun against her head, breaking the stock. After he had hidden the bodies, he put the barrel of the gun on top of the chicken house, and stuck the bloodstained stock under the eaves of the granary.

The sextuple killer told officials that he would be willing to plead guilty and start a life sentence, the severest penalty in North Dakota.

* * *

ON FRIDAY, Jan. 23, both Bannons were removed to the county jail at Schafer, so that they could be arraigned before a justice of the peace and bound over to the district court to await trial. On that same day, Charles was taken to the Haven farm, where he re-enacted the crime. The date of the arraignment was set for the following Friday.

But Charles Bannon was fated never to be arraigned.

At about 1:30 a. m., Jan. 29, a masked mob suddenly appeared at the jail. They broke into the place, made captives of Sheriff Brewer Thompson and his deputy, Peter Hallan, then seized Bannon. When Bannon came out of the jail he had a rope around his neck.

LYNCHING FINISHES NIGHTMARE LIFE

They took him to the Haven farm, where Edward Evanson had become the tenant. Evanson, roused from his bed, demanded to know what they were doing there. They told him it was a lynching party. "If you start hanging," he warned them, "I'll start shooting."

The mob retreated, led Bannon to a bridge two miles away, and hanged him there.

According to Sheriff Jacobson, Bannon had lived a sort of nightmare existence on the farm after the killings. Jacobson quoted the prisoner as saying:

"Once I dreamed Mrs. Haven was standing over my bed with a knife in her hand. When I went into the house at night I used to lock the door, and it seemed to me that people were always peeping in the windows. It was a terrible feeling when I would walk over the graves in the barn in the dark."

As is almost always the rule, nobody was punished for assuming —or attempting to improve upon— the powers of Justice in North Dakota.

Bannon's father was offered an opportunity to plead guilty to a charge of being an accessory after the fact, which would have brought him a five-year sentence. Instead he insisted that he was innocent and demanded trial. In the summer of 1931, he was convicted on a charge of murder, and got, not five years, but life.

THE FAMILY DISAPPEARED

Sextuple Murder On Dakota Farm Ends In Lynching

By Peter Levins

OCT 20 1940

WHEN the Albert Haven family disappeared from their farm home near Schafer, McKenzie County, N. D., early in February, 1930, no one thought anything about it because report had it that they had gone to Oregon for the balance of the Winter.

Mrs. Haven, mother of four children—Daniel, 19, Leland, 16; Charles, 3, and a 6-months-old daughter—had been suffering from a mental disorder for a depressingly long time, and the authorities and doctors had advised that she be sent to the State Hospital for the Insane at Jamestown. But the family had shrunk from taking such an extreme step. It was said that they hoped the visit to Oregon would bring a change for the better in her condition.

The neighbors soon learned that Charles Bannon, 22, long an acquaintance of the Havens, had taken over the farm as a tenant. Later his father, James F. Bannon, 55, joined Charles there.

A week after the Havens were supposed to have left, Charles Bannon exhibited a letter, signed Daniel Haven, which stated that the family had arrived safely at Colton, Ore., that Mrs. Haven's condition was worse, and suggested that he proceed with the operation of the farm as previously agreed.

Here is the letter, as written:

Colton, Oregon
Feb. 17, 1930

"Dear Charles:

"We all arived here safe with out much trouble. Have got a small place rented. Pop sure was tired when we got here and so he had me write for him. He says go a head and put the crop in as you and him planed half all crops including calfs all cream. You pay our prosenil propty taxes for use of horses and michenry.

"Mother is even more bad than when she was home and she has forgotten everything about home. Pop say we will stay for a year or so and if mother don't get better will have you hold an auction sale sometime.

"Pop wants to know how every thing is an says hello to you.

"As ever you friend Daniel Haven. Address your letters to Colton, Ore. Mr. Daniel Haven, Colton, Oregon. Box 79."

Young Bannon confided to neighbors that on the evening before the Havens left home, while he was there discussing arrangements for the farm during their absence, Mrs. Haven had tried to trample her infant daughter to death and had assaulted her husband with a stove poker.

"That woman ought to be put away," said Bannon, "before she does something to her family, or to herself. She just ain't in her right mind."

* * *

EIGHT months now passed before the whereabouts of the long-absent Havens became a matter of official concern. In the latter part of October, Charles Bannon, as well as relatives of the Havens in North Dakota, Washington and Minnesota, began to remark on the strange fact that nothing had been heard from them.

But that wasn't all. Insurance policies held by the Havens had lapsed. A payment on a seed loan became due.

The family's long silence seemed to concern young Bannon particularly; he didn't know much about business, he explained, and he needed advice. The crop had been harvested and only a renter's share belonged to him. Moreover, there had been increases in the livestock, and mail for the Havens had been accumulating.

Bannon wrote to Albert Haven's parents at Wanamingo, Minn., asking for help in locating the family. He also requested the police at Portland, Ore., only 20 miles from Colton, to make an investigation.

Meanwhile relatives sought the aid of State's Attorney J. S. Taylor of McKenzie County, who turned the job over to Sheriff C. A. Jacobson.

Jacobson communicated with the postmaster at Colton. The latter declared that no family by the name of Haven was receiving mail there, and that he had no recollection of them. The search spread out over Washington and Oregon on the theory that the family had settled on some out-of-the-way farm, possibly while Mrs. Haven was receiving treatment in an asylum.

Young Bannon, ever willing to supply what information he could, said that he drove the family to Williston, 45 miles from the farm, early on the morning of Feb. 10. He left them at the railroad station, he said, receiving $5 from Mr. Haven for his services.

Sheriff Jacobson checked railroad records, in an effort to learn the Havens' destination, but made no headway.

INQUIRY FOCUSES ON LETTER

Now the letter from Daniel Haven was scrutinized. It was written on cheap writing paper with a pencil, and had become blurred because of having been carried around in Bannon's pocket. Officers took the letter to the county school superintendent in Schafer, and obtained young Haven's eighth grade examination papers to compare the handwriting and spelling.

OCT 20 1940

The investigators agreed that there was some similarity in the handwriting, but they noted that none of the misspelled words in the letter had been misspelled in the papers. There was ample evidence, however, that Daniel had been a poor speller.

* * *

SHERIFF JACOBSON turned to Charles Bannon for further information. Would he go over again just what Haven told him before the family left for the West?

Bannon said that, two or three days before taking the family to Williston, he had met Mr. Haven in town, and the farmer had told him he intended taking his family to Oregon, and asked if he (Bannon) would take care of the place. Bannon said that he arrived at the farm on Feb.. 9, reaching there in the early afternoon.

A neighbor, Robert Fassett, remembered seeing Charles at the Haven farm that afternoon.

Meanwhile, shortly after the investigation got under way, James Bannon left by car for the west coast, saying that he, too, planned to make a search for the Havens. With the harvest in, there was no longer any need of the elder Bannon at the farm.

In view of the confused situation, Public Administrator C. E. Evanson took charge of the Haven place, despite Charles Bannon's protest that the Colton letter from Daniel Haven amounted to a contract for his operation of the property. Evanson's first move was to make an inventory, including the livestock.

This inventory revealed that some of the original Haven property had been sold, some in the name of Charles Bannon, and some in the name of his father.

With Charles evicted from the farm—at least temporarily—county officials wished to hold him under suspicion while the investigation proceeded. Accordingly, the administrator signed a complaint accusing him of dissipating the property on the specific charge of selling four hogs in the value of $5[illegible].

Bannon was therefore arrested and placed in jail at Schafer. His mother, separated from her husband, came on from East Fairview, N. D., where she was teaching school, and hired an attorney, A. J. Knox, of Williston, to defend him. At the same time, the authorities decided that James Bannon should be arrested, also on a charge of embezzlement.

The preliminary hearing for Charles began at Watford City on Dec. 5 and lasted until Dec. 11. Many times the proceeding became more a court of general inquiry into the whereabouts of the Havens than a trial for theft.

One prosecution witness expressed his belief that the family had been killed and dumped into the Missouri River, several miles away. Neighbors testified that they had heard nothing from the Havens regarding their intentions to leave the community. Another witness told of buying land, belonging to Albert Haven, from Bannon.

It was also brought out that Sheriff Jacobson had found Mrs. Haven's winter coat at the farm and Feb. 10 had been a bitterly cold day.

* * *

DEFENSE Attorney Knox declared that he considered it his duty as an officer of the court to help in solving, if possible, the mystery of the missing family. He added that when they were found he was confident that his client's innocence would be proven. He thus allowed the examination to cover a wide range of territory, and had Bannon take the stand.

While in jail, the young suspect had been asked to do some writing. It was noted that in the material dictated to him he misspelled the words "arrived," "without," "ahead," and "machinery" in the same way they were misspelled in the letter from Colton. Other mispelled words in the letter, "planned," "personal," and "property" were spelled by Bannon as "pland," "personl," and "propety."

Came the noon recess on Dec. 11. Bannon, after hours of unusually harsh cross-examination, held a conference with his mother, her spiritual adviser, and Attorney Knox. The conference lasted for an hour-and-a-half, and while the minister prayed, and Mrs. Bannon begged her son to tell the truth, he gave the first clue to the mystery.

He said that Mrs. Haven had killed her baby daughter during an insane spell, and that her husband had buried the body in a manure pile near the barn. The Havens had then fled from the country, Charles said, after the distracted father had obtained a promise from him that he would never reveal this dreadful thing that had happened.

CHILD'S BODY FOUND AT SPOT

"I promised," said the prisoner, "because I knew Mrs. Haven was out of her mind at the time, and Haven wanted to protect her."

County officials accompanied by Charles, his mother, and his attorney, hastened to the farm. At the spot designated, the child's body was found. It was, of course, badly decomposed.

Word of the sensational development spread very quickly. Indignation flared against Bannon. For his own safety, he was moved to the jail at Williston, seat of Williams County, where Attorney Knox held another conference.

This time, when he emerged from his client's cell, Knox carried a rude map of the barn at the Haven place, drawn and marked by Bannon.

"He says," the attorney announced, "that the bodies of Albert Haven and his sons, Daniel and Leland, are lying under the manure that covers the floor of the barn.. He says that Mrs. Haven killed them all, and that she took her other son, Charles, with her when she fled. He says she paid him $100 to drive her to the train at Williston."

Officials immediately drove back to McKenzie County, picked up Coroner Harrop Larson, and proceeded to the farm. Although nothing had been given out about this new revelation, it wasn't long before car lights began to appear from all directions on the prairie. Soon more than 100 persons were gathered at the scene.

Investigators seized shovels and forks and began to dig, using the map as a guide. Two feet down they came upon the body of Haven. Underneath him was the body of Leland. Below Leland, Daniel.

OCT 20 1940

But the grisly discoveries did not end there, for they found the lower limbs of the other son, Charles, who Bannon said had gone away with his mother. Long strands of a woman's hair were also found. But continued search failed to uncover any more remains.

Confronted with proof that he had lied, the suspect told a new story. He said that Mrs. Haven had killed her husband and four children, and that in wrestling with her for possession of the gun, he had wounded her fatally in the chest. Of course, this version won only disbelief.

FINALLY CRACKS, ADMITS HE DID IT

At another time, he accused a neighbor youth and a stranger as the murderers. The youth was brought to Williston, whereupon Bannon admitted that he had lied again.

His mother and the minister tackled him anew. Finally he





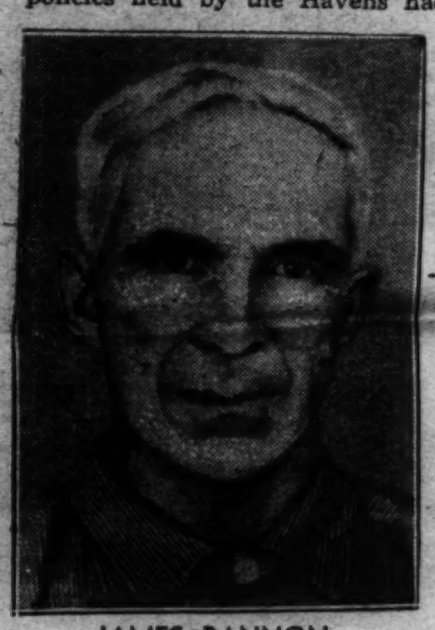


Victims, Scene

Fotos show Mrs. Haven and her baby daughter; two of her sons, Leland (left) and Daniel (right), with a neighbor boy; and, the Haven farmhouse, scene of killings.



CHARLES BANNON



JAMES BANNON

They Took Over

After the disappearance of the Haven family, Charles Bannon and his father, friends and neighbors of the Havens, took over the care of the farm.

The Nation 9/14/40

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

NOT long ago a Negro educator went down into Mississippi and stopped at the home of a prosperous Negro farmer. On the porch in the hot twilight after supper the farmer asked the educator if he knew Monroe Work, who since 1908 has kept the records on lynchings in America at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Yes, the educator said.

"I'd like to meet him," the colored farmer told him.

"Why?"

"I want to see the biggest liar now living."

The statement was not a reflection on the character of Dr. Work, who is one of the most distinguished statisticians of his race, but an angry rejection of his statistics, which have recorded what has appeared to be the process of disappearance of lynching in the South.

Far otherwise, say those Negro leaders who for a quarter of a century have been steadily and unsuccessfully seeking a federal anti-lynching bill, what has happened is that lynchings have gone "underground." The Underground Railroad now, they say, is operated by white Southerners, and it runs in killing quietness to the river, the buzzards, and the grave too deep for the dogs to dig up.

Obviously there is no reason for a federal anti-lynching bill if the lynchings no longer occur. But those who still advocate the legislation strenuously insist that a "new technique" has been worked out to "kill the niggers" and yet keep the killings, which are expressions of white group bitterness and not of mere individual murderousness, out of the statistics and the newspapers. That keeps them also off the conscience of the South and the nation. Cases of such killings have been investigated and reported by Negroes and by white men, too. The pattern of violence, they say, has changed. Even country towns have learned that lynchings are bad for business. Indignation, near and far, has made many people more sensitive than they were a few years ago. But the sensitiveness sometimes resembles that of an East Texas sheriff who told a Southern white woman, on her inquiring about a case, that they were going "to have to do something to the simp who sent in that story to the Beaumont *Enterprise*. He gets paid by the word and he'd send in anything for a dollar."

Every sensible Southerner familiar with the facts of small-town life in the black belt of the Deep South knows that such killings do occur. What may very well be questioned, however, is that such killings are new. In big cities men talk about "new techniques"; in the back country they more often act in terms of old emotions. A wise friend of mine in the Deep South, who hates lynchings with as much bitterness as Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. and with more shame as a man of the same race as lynchers, talked about this question of violence and statistics not long ago. "I have no doubt that lynching statistics are imperfect," he told me, "but if so, there should be no news in that. I take it that killers have ever had a tendency to cover up and that in the past they covered up many crimes. But I know of no reason why our lynching statistics are not as trustworthy now as they were twenty years ago. I certainly know that mob action is on the decline in all the Southern states, especially in Alabama. I know that public opinion regarding it has changed."

But killers remain. The important fact is that they remain; they are not new. Five years ago I crossed the plantation of a landlord who was said to have killed, with the help of friends and neighbors, some nine or ten Negroes without ever having to go into the courthouse about it. But the number of such murders has been both magnified and minimized by the constant movement of Negroes. A man might be reported murdered who had only walked out on his wife and family. On the other hand, a man might be reported to have gone to Chicago whose battered body was rotting in a bayou.

One thing is certain: there is plenty of room for indignation about the continued killings without denying the real advance which has been made. Not only have the lynchings which get into the statistics decreased; also there is basis for belief that the number of killings covered up has decreased also. Nevertheless, as a part of advance, this charge of "new technique—it seems rather a broadening of the definition of lynching to include the relatively private and unpublicized murders based on prejudice—may be a valuable thing. Southern white men, who hate lynching like a deformity in their South, think the South deserves honor for its advance out of shameful violence. But the South should not luxuriate in any sense of righteousness merely because arrogant, open violence seems to be disappearing. In race relations it still has a great task—but also greater hope—in escaping from the amazing combination of sentimentality and fury, softness and violence, petting and killing which outside the cities has so long made the whole business of race relations in the South a subject almost for despair.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

6393

Five Lynchings In 1939; Twenty Others Reported

Daily Worker
1-1-40

NAACP and ILD Charge 23 Negroes Among People Murdered in 1939 in Course of Terror Drive Against Labor Organizations

There were five authenticated lynchings and "20 unreported lynchings," during the year 1939, according to statistics released here yesterday by the International Labor Defense and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Three of the victims in the five authenticated lynchings were Negroes and two were of whites. Presumably, it is believed that in the case of the "20 unreported lynchings" the victims were all Negroes. All of the "unreported" lynchings are said to have taken place in Mississippi.

In only one case was the innocent victim charged with "molesting" whites. The other cases grew out of differences arising out of terror drives of the employers against workers and sharecroppers.

(Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., reported yesterday of only three lynchings.)

The list of lynch victims, in chronological order, together with the alleged causes, follows:

Walter Lee Frazier, week of January 29, Eldorado, Arkansas, shot, allegedly for "molesting" white couples; Miles W. Brown, white, April 1, Panama City, Florida, shot, convicted of first degree murder for killing employer; Lee Snell, April 29, Daytona Beach, Florida, shot, charged with fatally inuring white child with his taxicab; Joe Rodgers, May 8, Canton, Mississippi, shot, chrged with defending himself in fight with a lumber mill foreman; M. Eggleston, sometime in the spring of 1939, a national maritime union official, New Orleans, Louisiana, drowned.

The N.A.A.C.P. report added that many lynchings have not come to light because of the new technique adopted by lynch mobs, who spirit away their victims quietly without attendant publicity.

I.L.D. Lists 5 Lynchings During Year

Daily Worker

NEW YORK—Five known lynch deaths since the beginning of this year are described by the International Labor Defense in a letter to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, released last week. On May 9 Mrs. Ames announced the end of an entire year without a single lynching from midnight, May 8, 1939 to May 8, 1940.

The I.L.D. letter, which called attention to a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People report on 20 so-called "quiet lynchings" in the state of Mississippi alone during 1939, stressed the danger of unwarranted optimism at a time when serious obstacles are being erected to block passage of the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys federal anti-lynching bill now before the U. S. Senate.

The 1940 lynch victims include two Race members, "Texas Red" and Richard Johnson, and three whites, Sarah Rawls, Benton Ford and Ike Gaston.

The victims on I.L.D. records are:

'TEXAS RED'—Negro, February 3, 1940—Port Gibson, Miss.

A fugitive wanted for the alleged slaying of a deputy sheriff. Trailed by a posse for more than a month. Shot to death. Clothed in rags and exhausted by exposure when finally cornered and killed. Troops sent by the governor to protect him arrived after he was dead.

SARAH RAWLS and BENTON FORD—white—March 2, 1940—Atlanta, Ga.

Beaten to death by mob dominated by or made up of members of the Ku Klux Klan. Taken from a parked car in which they were sitting. Klansmen charged them with 'immorality."

1940—Atlanta, Ga.

ISAAC GASTON—white— March 7, 1940—Atlanta, Ga.

The body of this victim was found in the woods. Flogged to death with four-foot stud whips. Charged with 'wife beating' and 'drinking too much.'

RICHARD JOHNSON—Negro—February 28, 1940—Miami, Fla.

The death of this 18-year-old boy charged with stealing in a clothing store is a tragic illustration of the case in point. While he was actually shot to death by the proprietor of the store, his death cannot be described as anything but a lynching.

Six Mob Victims, Says ILD

Daily Worker
7-30-43
Atlanta, Ga.

NAACP Had Reported Four, Tuskegee None

NEW YORK--(SNS)-- Three Negroes and three whites were brutally lynched in the first six months of 1940, a survey by the International Labor Defense disclosed this week. The figures do not include several others who met death through lynch terror during the first half of the year.

The survey, compiled as of June 30, reported a steady rise of mob violence against Negroes, accompanied by savage police brutality resulting in death or serious injury to scores of victims.

Reported by the Labor Defense organization as having been lynched were:

1. February 3—Port Gibson, Miss. "Texas Red" (no other name known) Negro Trailed by a lynch posse for 34 days this fugitive, wanted for the alleged slaying of a deputy sheriff, was shot to death by posse leader. Troops sent by the governor to save him from lynching never quite caught up with the mob until he was dead.

2.- 3. March 2—Atlanta, Ga.—Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford, white, beaten to death by mob dominated by or made up of members of the Ku Klux Klan. Taken from a parked car in which they were sitting, Klansmen charged them with "immorality".

4. March 7—Atlanta, Ga.—Isaac Gaston, white, flogged to death with four-foot stud whips. KKK charged him with "wife beating" and "drinking too much." Body found in the woods.

5. June 23—Brownsville, Tenn. Elbert Williams, Negro. One of the leaders of the heroic Right-to-Vote campaign conducted by Negro citizens. Body fished out of river following a general reign of mob violence marked by threats of 'Red-tie' party from sheriff if Negroes tried to register and vote in the present elections. Arms and feet tied with rope, head battered in, two stab or bullet wounds in body.

6. Reported June 29—New Roads La., Booster Williams, Negro, body found on Highway 30. Attempts to create impression of hit-and-run driver death, contradicted by condition of body when found plus the fact that this body had been threatened with lynching.

Among the examples of vicious police brutality listed by the International Labor Defense was the those of Ernest McDay, fifteen-year-old Negro boy who was beaten to death by policeman at the State Training school in Dallas Texas, one day after entry on a four year sentence.

The report bitterly assailed mob violence and urged renewed efforts to force passage of the anti-lynching bill. It urged organizations, groups and individuals to flood Congress with letters insisting that the measure long buried in committee be favorably reported an that it should become law befc the Congress adjourned.

Another Report '40 Lynch Toll 3

Defender
Chicago Ill

So far from there being "not a single lynching in the United States during the first six months of 1940," as Congressman Sam Hobbs, Democrat of Alabama, had told the House of Representatives, there were at least three, all of white persons, David Clendenin, national secretary-treasurer of the Workers Defense League, wrote the Congressman this week in urging him to "put all the weight at his command behind the passage of the Federal anti-lynching bill.

"A Congressman like yourself from a section that has become identified in the public mind with Judge Lynch and his methods should not ostrich-like keep insisting that there are no lynchings when the press is full of the revolting details," Mr. Clendenin wrote.

Clendenin reminded Congressman Hobbs about the killing of a young white couple by masked men in Fulton County, Ga., on March 2, and the flogging by Klansmen of a barber in East Point, Ga., resulting in his death. The Federal anti-lynching bill to which the Workers Defense League executive refers is the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys Bill, S845, Snate companion measure to the Gavagan bill, which passed the House of Representatives on January 10, 1940 by a vote of 252 to 131. The Senate bill was reported favorably to the Senate on March 25 by the Senate Judiciary Committee after a 12 to 4 vote, and is now on the Senate calendar.

Eighth Lynching Of Year Disclosed

New York, N.Y.

Roosevelt Jones, 24, was killed at Dyersburg, Tenn., on August 8, in what has since been verified as the eighth lynching of 1940, it was announced by the International Labor Defense last week.

OCT 12 1940

The I. L. D. also urged additional pressure on all members of the United States Senate for passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill during this session of Congress.

Guardian

Boston, Mass.

SAYS FIFTEEN LYNCHED IN 1940

FEB 15 1941

NEW YORK—Fifteen men and women, colored and white, were the victims of lynching in the United States during the year 1940, according to the International Labor Defense survey released last week.

Among the victims of lynch barbarism were two women, one colored and one white. The former, Vivian Morris, was lynched on Christmas Day, 1940 in Wynne, Arkansas. She was almost literally hacked to pieces with ice-picks. The latter, Sarah Rawls, was lynched in Atlanta, Georgia, together with Benton Ford. They were flogged to death by Klansmen.

The I.L.D. stated that the survey confined itself entirely to those slaughtered by lynch mobs in what can be defined as "authenticated" lynchings as distinguished from the "quiet, stream-line lynchings" which remain unreported and uninvestigated. There were at least four narrowly averted lynchings in the year 1940 where mobs of people—between 330 and 500—were dispersed and their victims saved only by intervention of troops. These near lynchings occurred in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama.

Georgia and Louisiana were the scenes of four lynchings each in 1940. The rest occurred as follows: Tennessee, 2; Mississippi, 2; Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, 1.

Of the 12 men lynched 10 were Colored and 2 white.

6394

LYNCHING - 1940
REPORTS ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

COMMUNISTS SAY THREE BLACK, TWO WHITES LYNCHED

Negro Labor

NEW YORK CITY — (CNA) — Three Blacks and 2 white were brutally lynched in the first six months of 1940, a survey by the International Labor Defense disclosed this week. The figure does not include everal others who met death through lynch terror during the first half of the year, the body claimed.

Texas Texas

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Among the examples of vicious po-

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Afro-American
Baltimore, Maryland

ILD Survey Lists 15 Lynchings in 1940

FEB 1 5 1941

NEW YORK — According to a survey conducted by the International Labor Defense, fifteen persons, including one colored and one white woman and two white men, were lynched in the United States during 1940.

Mrs. Vivian Morris, who was hacked to death with ice picks on Christmas Day in Wynne, Ark., was one of the women. The other, Mrs. Sarah Rawls, white, flogged to death by Atlanta Klansmen, was among four Georgia victims. Others included four in Louisiana, two each in Tennessee and Mississippi, and one each in Alabama and Florida.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

6373

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser
March 9 1940

THE "SCOTTSBORO" DECISION

Alabama's old man of the sea, the "Scottsboro Case", is still on its neck, but sitting more lightly perhaps than before. The Advertiser's advice as of July, 1937 that Alabama should "throw away this body of death" by summarily paroling the remaining offenders into the hands of citizens beyond the borders of the state, a request sanctioned and supported by numerous Alabama citizens of high reputation, has at last come to naught. The policy urged by The Advertiser in this editorial and by the reputable Alabamians who lent their names and minds to its support, led first to an awakening of Governor Graves's interest in the matter. After he had studied the record as well as one man could, after he had pondered the question of public policy involved, he decided to parole the five remaining prisoners into the custody of the "Scottsboro Defense Committee." headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, famous New York minister. He appointed the day and the hour for the release of the men, but before the day came, pursuant to his practice in such matters, Governor Graves summoned the men before him for a personal interview. He was so upset by the demeanor of the prisoners that he instantly reversed himself and decided not to parole them.

In due time came the new State Board of Pardons and Paroles, and a new petition was filed. The members of this board made a thorough study of the record of these cases from the beginning. Yesterday they announced their decision that petitioners are not yet eligible for parole under the principles that guide the board in its usual deliberations, notwithstanding that in the six months of its life the board has paroled 500 prisoners, probably half of whom are Negroes. Because of the extraordinary interest in the "Scottsboro" cases the board did not announce its decision casually, but each member wrote his opinion independently of other members setting forth the reason that controlled his conclusion. The board, we are sure, acted without prejudice and made its decision only after a thoroughgoing professional study of all aspects of the cause before it.

The decision is frankly disappointing to The Advertiser, for while it is technically sound The Advertiser doubts that it is philosophically sound. The three statements are powerful documents to be sure and should impress any dispassionate student of this nasty case. What is most reassuring about them is the reminder that in Alabama we now have a model penal system and that this system is as capable of "rehabilitating" the Scottsboro men as any other agency and has full confidence that if the men can be rehabilitated and made worthy of release on parole administrators of this system are now prepared to do it. Also the board is wise in its decision that henceforth prisoners who ask for clemency will not be judged as a group, but as individuals, and upon their individual merits as prisoners and prospects. In future the "Scottsboro boys" will be just so many prisoners with an equal chance to prove their worthiness for personal paroles; they will be thought of no longer as persons deserving special consideration. Some of them are regarded as good parole prospects, others are not. Each one will be judged upon his personal merits. This is sound and salutary, and so we are far from agreeing with Judge Robert M. Hill of the board that an arbitrary limit of four years more of imprisonment fo all is wise.

Dr. Chalmers and his associates have done a good job of rehabilitating the four prisoners who were discharged at the request of the Attorney-General, and they believe that they were prepared to do an even better job on directing the lives of the remaining five if released into their custody. They made impressive pledges to the board and The Advertiser is sorry that they were no given a chance to see what they could do with these men—for after all these prisoners have injured Alabama far more than Alabama has injured them and this newspaper is sorry that the board could not see its way clear to release them into the care of agencies outside of this state. But The Advertiser respects the decision of the board, for it knows that decision to be worthy of respect.

Johnson City, Tenn., Press
February 16, 1940

Parole Petitions Studied In Notorious 'Scottsboro Case'

MONTGOMERY, Ala. Feb. 16. (AP)—Voluminous files of Alabama's notorious "Scottsboro case" were before the state pardon and parole board today for study following a hearing yesterday on applications of five negro convicts for freedom.

Alexx Smith, chairman, said after the sparcely attended special session the board was interested "only in seeing that justice is done" and told advocates and opponents of parole for the negroes that the cases would be given "careful consideration."

Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who read court testimony then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged rape of two white women in 1931.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, told the board that "thinking negroes are inclined to have little sympathy" with the convicts, and based his plea on the "apparent inconsistency" in the treatment of the defendants.

Four of nine original defendants were freed after six years imprisonment when the state dropped charges against them. Those whose parole applications were heard yesterday were Clarence Norris, whose death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Andy Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

Knoxville, Tenn. Journal
March 9, 1940

Scottsboro Negroes Lose Liberty Pleas

Alabama Board Denies Appeals

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 8 (AP)—The five Negro convicts in the nine-year-old "Scottsboro Case" involving state charges of mass criminal attacks were denied liberation today by Alabama's new board of pardons and paroles.

The three-member board's decision was unanimous, but Chairman Alex Smith said "a day for reconstruction in each case will be

conviction of attacking two white women aboard a freight train in 1931, had lost a clemency pleas, Former Gov. Bibb Graves denied parole in 1938.

Originally there were nine defendants, but the state dropped prosecution of four in 1937, after they had spent more than six years in jail. The case went through many trials.

A Scottsboro Sunday!

Petitions asking the freeing of the Scottsboro boys are pouring in, though it is less than a week since the blanks for signers reached the public. The thought that animates many is well expressed by a little woman who came bringing hers. Said she, "I am willing to do all I can for those boys." She had no need to say more. The widow's mite has always been potent.

Why not a Scottsboro Sunday later on? A Sunday when the pulpits of the nation ring with appeals and when the prayers of the people ask for justice! To those who are skeptical of the value of public opinion thus united we simply cite history. The deed follows the thought. When the black minority with one mind wants the Scottsboro boys free they will convince the white majority that a grave injustice needs correction.

Alabama Still Vengeful

In denying clemency again to the five imprisoned Scottsboro Boys, Alabama again demonstrates that its administration of law is still characterized by revenge rather than justice.

The guilt of the five Negro youths has never been established to the satisfaction of fair minded people.

Few intelligent white people in Alabama have ever believed that the five youngsters are guilty, and no white people outside Alabama believe it.

But Alabama, like many other states in the vicinity, believes that it is to its best interest to "keep the Negroes in their place," and cases like that of the five Scottsboro boys afford an opportunity to do so.

It is singular that in this day and time, with all the advantages of education, transportation and world-wide communication, any people should think that progress is being made toward civilization by penning up five young black men for a crime everybody of intelligence is convinced they did not commit.

The South remains the most backward section of the country precisely because it persists in believing that it can maintain two systems of justice, one for white citizens and one for colored.

It has not yet learned that the progress of any section may be gauged by the status of the least privileged, and that it will remain backward as long as it denies to any of its citizens the rights and privileges due them under the Constitution.

The Negro remains the acid test of American democracy.

The continued incarceration of the Scottsboro Boys shows that democracy in Alabama is a mockery and that fair play remains an alien sentiment to those who control the state.

NORRIS SEEKS TO GET PAID FOR LOSS OF INDEX FINGER

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 29. — Clarence Norris, largest and most robust of the remaining five Scottsboro case defendants, appeared at the capitol Monday, accompanied by counsel and a guard from Kilby penitentiary, to file a formal claim with the State Board of Adjustment for the maximum compensation provided by law for the loss of the first joint of the index finger on his left hand. The finger was injured sometime ago while Norris was at work in the prison shirt factory where he is regularly employed, and the first joint was so badly mangled it had to be amputated. The board, after hearing statements by Norris, his attorney, the surgeon who performed the amputation, and the shirt factory superintendent, took the claim under formal consideration.

Originally sentenced to death following his first trial and conviction, Norris had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment by former Gov. Bibb Graves. He and his four co-defendants recently had their parole pleas renewed by the submitting of petitions to the state board of paroles and pardons which, following their submission at formal hearings, are now being studied by the board pending action which is expected to come sometime early next month.

Under Alabama law, the state cannot be sued, although its individual officers and agents can be when those officers or agents are under official bond required by the nature of the functions of government they have charge of, or the nature of their employment. The State Board of Adjustment, composed of the state auditor, state comptroller and state treasurer, was created to handle all claims against the state and grant restitution if justified, in cases where injured parties have no recourse through court action. This board can award Norris up to $115 for the loss of the amputated portion of his finger.

FOUR MORE YEARS FOR ALA. BOYS

State Board of Pardons and Paroles Turns Down Appeals—Says Prisoners "Unrepentant."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Mar. 14—Unanimously denying the renewed petitions for parole filed some weeks ago on behalf of the remaining five Negro Scottsboro case defendants, the Alabama State Board of Pardons and Paroles late last Friday, promised that the clemency applications will be reconsidered should developments warant reconsideration, but added that in the opinion of board members, at least four years should elapse before such reconsideration is accorded.

Though the decision made involved other factors, the principal basis for denial of the petitions was that the petitioners are at present unrepentant and unfitted for parole, due to a warped and distorted mental attitude and personality each has developed as the result of the international publicity that has been given them in the role of martyrs to Alabama court procedure.

all three members of the board subscribed, it was announced that each member had separately considered each case and reached a separate conclusion that the petitions should be denied, and that when reconsideration is given in the future to any petition, it will be on the basis of responses to institutional treatment of the individual petitioner.

The five Scottsboro case defendants still serving prison terms are: Clarence Norris, life imprisonment; Andy Wright, 90 years; Heywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

Birmingham, Ala. News
April 28, 1940

Outstanding Figure In Alabama Judiciary, John Anderson, Dies

Chief Justice, On State Bench 27 Years, Succumbs To Brief Heart Attack

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Death Saturday claimed the foremost figure in Alabama's judiciary—Chief Justice John C. Anderson, who succumbed at his home to a heart attack.

In his seventy-sixth year, Anderson already had announced he would retire at the end of his term in 1941, after 27 years in the highest office his state could bestow and 10 years as an associate justice.

The funeral will be at 3 p.m. Sunday from First Presbyterian Church here, with burial in Greenwood Cemetery.

Associates on the Supreme Court, as well as members of the bar throughout the state who had practiced before him prior to and since his election to the supreme bench in 1904 mourned his passing. The state capitol was closed, and flags flew at half staff.

Anderson generally was regarded as a conservative, but his decisions frequently displayed liberal leanings. A notable example was his lone dissent in the first appeal of the famed "Scottsboro case" when the Alabama court upheld death sentences for a group of Negroes accused of assaulting two white women.

The United States Supreme Court later reversed the Alabama decision on the same grounds outlined in Anderson's dissenting opinion.

After a distinguished career as a lawyer, circuit judge and associate justice, he held the office of chief justice longer than any other man. He swore in six Alabama governors, missing the inauguration in 1939 because of illness.

Death Is Unexpected

He had been away from his office at intervals during the last two years, due to the infirmities of age, but his mind remained alert and often he astounded reporters and lawyers with his remembrance of past arguments or vague points of law. Until Sunday he had kept up his daily walks to the capitol from his Adams Street home several blocks away, and his death was unexpected.

Due to the fact Anderson had announced his retirement plans, capitol political observers expected Gov. Frank M. Dixon to appoint Associate Justice Lucien D. Gardner, lone candidate for the post in the May 7 Democratic primary, to the chief justiceship for the unexpired term.

In that event, observers predicted the governor would fill Gardner's present place by appointing the victor in a two-man race between Davis F. Stakely, Montgomery, and J. Ed Livingston, Tuscaloosa, for associate justice.

Gov. Dixon was out of the city, but his office ordered cessation of all capitol activities upon learning of Anderson's death.

Born Aug. 5, 1863, at Burtons Hill in Greene County, Anderson was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1883. He served nine years on the First Judicial Circuit bench and was elected an associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1904. He was appointed chief justice in 1914 when James R. Dowdell resigned, and was never defeated never left Montgomery to campaign even when he had opposition.

His first wife, the former Mary Byrd, of Tuscaloosa, died many years ago. In 1927 he married Miss Glen David, of Talladega, who survives him. Other survivors include three daughters, Mrs. James L. Screws, wife of an assistant state attorney general; Mrs. Joe Garland, who served him as confidential secretary, and Miss Glen Anderson, all of Montgomery.

Scottsboro Case Lawyer Elected Judge

NOV 8 1940

NEW YORK, Nov. 6.—Samuel Leibowitz was on the other side of the legal fence today. Leibowitz, who obtained acquittals for 140 murder suspects against only one sentenced to the electric chair, won an easy victory for county judge in Brooklyn over his Republican opponent, Orin G. Judd. He conducted his campaign on the premise that he knew the underworld and how to deal with it.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

6374

SEEK PAROLE FOR SCOTTSBORO BOYS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 11—Formal applications for parole of the five remaining Negro Scottsboro Case defendants were filed here Thursday with the state Board of Pardons and Paroles by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, and Chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, which was set down for summary action with scores of other applications at the Board's next regular hearing scheduled for the second Tuesday in February.

Just prior to filing the parole petitions, Dr. Chalmers was in conference for some time with members of the Board, but none of the conferees had any comment to make regarding the trend of their discussion at its conclusion. The last preceding attempt to obtain release of the five prisoners failed some two years ago when the then Governor, Col. Bibb Graves of Montgomery, declined to extend clemency to any of them with the exception of Clarence Norris whose death sentence he commuted to life imprisonment.

In addition to Norris, the other four defendants concerned and their respective sentences, follow: Andy Wright 99 years, Charlie Weems 75 years, Haywood Patterson 75 years, Ozie Powell 20 years.

The five seeking freedom are: Clarence Norris, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment; Andrew Wright, serving 99 years; Charles Weems, serving 75 years; Haywood Patterson, serving 75 years, and Ozie Powell, serving 20 years.

All except Powell are serving sentences growing out of their conviction of assaulting two white girls aboard a freight train in Northern Alabama several years ago. Similar charges against Powell were dropped after he was sentenced to 20 years for stabbing a guard while being transferred from Decatur to Birmingham during one of the numerous "Scottsboro trials."

face-to-face with a case involving much more than five criminal records. It is by all odds the most important case with which the board has dealt. It is a tar baby that the board could not turn loose, and doubtless members have turned it over in their minds frequently.

However, members said yesterday that they had not yet delved into the Scottsboro file.

The five yet in State prisons are: Clarence Norris, 24, life; Andrew Wright, 24, 99 years; Charles Weems, 24, 75 years; Haywood Patterson, 23, 75 years; Ozzie Powell 20 years, attempted murder of an officer during one of the trials.

Cases of four others were nolle prossed in 1937.

The board's statement reads:

"The press has indicated . . . its interest in knowing whether or not applications for parole had been filed by the Scottsboro men. We are therefore advising you that applications for parole were filed today . . .

"The applications, in accordance with our rules, were today set down by the board for consideration on its February work calendar along with approximately 250 other routine cases.

"No action will be taken on the cases until after they have been considered in the regular routine manner on the February work calendar and until after the board has made such investigation and study as in its discretion it deems proper as in the usual case."

Parole of the Scottsboro prisoners is also sponsored by a group of Alabamians under the leadership of Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, [illegible] of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Birmingham. Among the noted Alabamians who have worked with him are Donald Comer, Birmingham industrialist; Forney Johnston, Birmingham attorney; former Gov. Thomas E. Kilby, of Anniston, and Dr. Guy E. Snavely, former president of Birmingham-Southern, and numerous others.

Freedom Asked For 5 Youths

Applications Received In Alabama

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS)—The Alabama Pardon and Parole Board Thursday received applications for parole for the five Scottsboro boys, still imprisoned in Alabama prisons.

Applications for parole were filed by Osmond Frankel, white, New York attorney, for Clarence Norris, originally sentenced to death but whose sentence was commuted to life imprisonment; Andrew Wright, sentenced to 99 years; Charles Weems, sentenced to 75 years, and Ozzie Powell, sentenced to 20 years.

Other members of the "Scottsboro" group were released at their last trial two years ago.

Trial of the "Scottsboro Boys" on charges of attacking two white women brought international attention to the state of Alabama.

Atty.-Gen. Lawson, who inherited the Scottsboro case from his late predecessor, Thomas E. Knight, said last night he wished to summarize the history of the [illegible] and would oppose the release of the five remaining prisoners—"certainly at this time."

In writing to the board Mr. Heflin did not indicate his intentions, but, of course, he will oppose paroles.

The board had set the hearing on the routine docket for the second Tuesday in February, but announced yesterday that it would hold a special hearing February 15.

Judge Alex Smith, chairman of the board, said the special hearings had been decided upon "in view of the large number of persons who wish to be heard in support of, or against, paroles for the negroes.

Parole petitions were filed January 5 by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, pastor of New York's famous Broadway Tabernacle, in behalf of nine original defendants who remain in prison—Clarence Norris, Andrew Wright, Haywood Patterson, Charlie Weems, Ozzie Powell.

Four other negroes originally indicted in the case in 1931 were freed in 1937 when the State dropped charges.

Permanent parole pending good behavior was approved yesterday for Grady Ladiner, Mobile, who was sentenced in January, 1938, to one to one and a half years in each of four cases of burglary. Ladiner was 17 when he began his sentence.

Others paroled were Superior Blackburn, negro, Fayette County, manslaughter, and Ezell Chatman, negro, Morgan, assault to murder.

Paroles Board Gets Scottsboro Case In Its Lap

Files Applications Of 5 Convicts For Routine Handling In February

The internationally known Scottsboro case was yesterday placed in the lap of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, distinguished pastor of New York's Broadway Tabernacle, who has nine assistants, yesterday conferred informally with the three board members.

Dr. Chalmers, chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, filed a petition for parole of the five Scottsboro prisoners now in Kilby and Atmore prisons.

The petition set forth that the celebrated inmates were convicted on the incompetent testimony of Victoria Price and that they had "already suffered more than is just."

The board received the petition, declined to give it preferred status on the docket and prepared to hear the case along with 250 "routine" cases the second Tuesday in February.

In releasing a formal statement to the press, board members appeared most desirous to have it known that the cases of the Scottsboro prisoners would be treated routinely. An air of casualness was observed.

The progress of the Scottsboro case towards the board docket has been watched with hawk eyes, because it will bring the Dixon-created board

'SCOTTSBORO' PLEAS GET ROUTINE STUDY

No Special Treatment, Says Parole Officer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 5.—(INS) — Parole applications filed late yesterday in behalf of the five "Scottsboro negroes" still in prison will be treated as "usual cases," a member of the Pardon and Parole Board said today. "The fact they are well publicized won't make any difference."

The applications, filed by Osmond Traenkel, New York lawyer, mark the first appearance of the celebrated cases before the new State Pardon and Parole Board.

Parole Pleas In Scottsboro Cases Slated

Heflin Plans To Attend; Lawson Will Oppose Freedom Now

Atty.-Gen. T. S. Lawson and Tom Heflin have requested audiences with the State Board of Pardons and Paroles next month when the board will hold a special hearing on the parole petitions of the Scottsboro principals.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
February 16, 1940

HEFLIN OPPOSES MOVE

Ex-Senator Argues Against Clemency for Negroes

Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 15.—(U.P.) J. Thomas Heflin, fiery former United States senator from Alabama, warned today that lynch law in the South would be encouraged if the state board of pardons and paroles grants clemency for five negroes convicted of rape in the famous Scottsboro case.

"You can't temporize with rape," Heflin told the parole board members. "If you pardon these negroes, you say that rape law does not apply to poor white women. The facts in this case will ruin any administration which pardons them."

The board is considering a petition for parole of the five negroes, who originally were convicted with four others and sentenced to death in 1931.

The negroes were accused of criminally assaulting two white women aboard a freight train near Scottsboro. During intervening years, the case was caried to the United States supreme court three times and each time convictions of the negroes were reversed.

Heflin took up two hours of today's hearing by reading the complete transcript of testimony given at the first trial nine years ago. After he concluded, the board adjourned with the statement that a decision would be made within thirty days.

During the hearing today, Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee institute, famous negro school, read a brief statement in which he pointed out the "apparent inconsistency of keeping the five defendants in prison while four others were allowed to go free, although they were accused of the same crime".

Dave Birmingham, former member of the state prison department wrote the board that if paroles were granted to the negroes, the board would become "the most despised branch of the present government".

"It would be a slap in the face of justice," Birmingham said, "if these gorillas should be given paroles".

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
February 16, 1940

Board Studies Scottsboro Plea

Appeal for Pardon Is Debated After Lengthy Hearing

Voluminous files of Alabama's notorious "Scottsboro case" were before the state pardon and parole board Friday for study following a hearing on applications of five negro convicts for freedom.

Alex Smith, chairman, said after the sparsely attended special session the board was interested "only in seeing that justice is done" and told advocates and opponents of parole for the negroes that the cases would be given "careful consideration."

Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin who read court testimony then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged mass attacks on two white women in 1931.

Inconsistency Charged

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee institute told the board that thinking negroes are inclined to have little sympathy for the convicts, and based his plea on the "apparent inconsistency" in the treatment of the defendants.

Four of nine original defendants were freed after six years in jail when the state dropped charges against them. Those whose parole applications were heard yesterday were Clarence Norris, whose death sentence had been commuted to lif imprisonment; Andy Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years. Powell plead guilty to assault with intent to murder after slashing a deputy sheriff's throat in an attempt to escape.

Dr. H. M. Edmonds, Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama interracial committee, said his group had advised with Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York, who filed the parole applications, and did "not believe that the public interest would be served by a formal appearance at the hearing." He expressed the opinion that dismissal of charges against four former defendants "because of admitted doubt of their guilt . . . is not to be reconciled with the election to try the present convicts."

Attorney General T. S. Lawson, who has said he would oppose paroles "at this time," announced he would file a formal brief later.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
February 16, 1940

Scottsboro Parole?

AGAIN the Scottsboro case is in the public eye, with friends of the remaining negroes asking the State Board of Pardons and Paroles to free them.

The board has taken their case under advisement, but what particularly strikes us is the advice given by Dave Birmingham, clerk of the State Convict Department in the Graves administration. Mr. Birmingham warns the board that if it paroles these negroes it will become the "most despised arm of the present government."

As Mr. Birmingham points out, this state spent $80,000 in convicting these negroes, and for the board to parole them without thought of the effect of turning them back on society will be little short of criminal. Millions of words have been written in defense of these negroes; how they were allegedly persecuted by Alabama, and how they are the angelic victims of a vicious system. Birmingham refers to them as "gorillas," and a lot of others who have had personal dealings with them during their imprisonment resort to stronger words than that. If the board plans to parole these negroes, would it not be appropriate that their prison records be revealed to the public; that the public be given the full particulars of how they have behaved themselves during their confinement?

Mr. Birmingham intimates that a description of their behavior would not make pleasant reading, and before they are set free, the board owes it to the people of Alabama to expose these negroes in all their vicious aspects. Our authorities too long have kept silent on the behavior of these negroes in prison.

Scottsboro Men Lose As State Pardon Board Denies Clemency Plea

Freedom At This Time' Refused, But Way Left Open For Future Action

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Alabama is not willing "at this time" to liberate five Negroes serving long sentences on charges growing out of the alleged mass rape of two white women near Scottsboro nine years ago—the world notorious "Scottsboro case."

Clemency applications of the convicts were denied late Friday by the state's new Board of Pardons and Paroles, which said that hereafter the Negroes would be treated as individual prisoners and that reference to them as "Scottsboro" defendants would be "inaccurate."

While the same general conclusion—that paroles should be denied—was reached by the three board members, each wrote a somewhat divergent opinion. A statement by Chairman Alex Smith left the way open for further consideration in the future, as in the case of other convicts.

Denied paroles were:

Clarence Norris, whose last death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Heywood Patterson, 75 years; Andy Wright, 99 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, all convicted of rape, and Ozie Powell, 20 years on a charge of assault to murder resulting from an escape attempt.

Originally there were nine defendants, all taken from a freight train March 25, 1931, and accused of raping Mrs. Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, who said they were en route from Chattanooga to their Huntsville home. Ruby Bates later denied she was attacked and testified for the defense.

The state dropped charges against four of the nine in 1937 after they had spent six years in jail. Rape charges against Powell also were dropped. This action came after the case had been fought through many trials, with the U. S. Supreme Court twice reversing death sentences but later refusing to review Patterson's last conviction.

In a general statement announcing the Pardon-Parole Board's action Friday Smith said:

"Each member of this board has reached a conclusion in these cases without interference or suggestions from either of the other members. All three reached the same conclusion, and that is to deny the applications at this time. . . .

"Consideration was given to each one of these applicants as an individual, although our announcement refers to them as a group. Hereafter, any reference to these prisoners as the "Scottsboro" defendants will be inaccurate. They will be dealt with as individuals, each one being considered on his own merits. A day for reconsideration in each case will be set in accordance with our judgment as to the response of the individual to institutional treatment."

Associate Member Robert M. Hill, concurred in the general conclusion but expressed opinion "that further applications in these cases should not be considered for a minimum period of four years."

Both Smith and Hill expressed conviction the Negroes were guilty of the crime with which they were charged, while Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, third board member, said:

"I am convinced that the offense was committed but I am unable to form a judgment as to which one of the applicants committed that offense."

Each set down an observance that notoriety of the case had been harmful to the defendants.

Proponents of parole, led by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York minister, and a committee composed prominent Alabamians, had predicated their pleas largely on contentions that the Negroes had been convicted on inadequate evidence; that they had been punished sufficiently, and that the fact four were freed while five remained in prison constituted an inconsistency. They also promised rehabilitation efforts in the event paroles were granted.

After expressing opinion the Negroes were guilty, and that they had not been punished sufficiently, Chairman Smith said:

"It has been suggested that the attitude of belligerence and hostility toward organized society on the part of these applicants is due to the unusual amount of publicity they have received. If this be true, we can go no further than to deeply regret the existence of such cause. The proper attitude on the part of the applicant must still remain a prerequisite to favorable action on the part of this board. . . . Are there definitely good prospects of rehabilitation? Not in these cases until further service under wise and humane discipline. . . ."

Hill's observations on this point were almost parallel, but he also upheld action of state authorities in releasing four of the Negroes, "two . . . were under the age of 14 years at the time of conviction, one was badly diseased, the other practically blind. The state was not as firmly convinced of their guilt as of the guilt of the others."

"The attorney for the defendants proposed the release of these men and he in turn agreed he would not actively fight through the courts again the cases of the remaining five, and would waive a capital venire and make other concessions as to the impending trials," Hill continued.

"At the behest of a group of Alabama citizens . . . the attorney general finally agreed the state would close the matter of the trials in this manner . . . The men were released but the agreement was ruthlessly broken by the out-of-state attorney for the defendants and there ensued another bitter battle. The nolle prosequi of the case against these two juveniles and the near-blind and badly diseased defendants can be no justification for the parole of these five leaders justly proved guilty. . . ."

Mrs. Mitchell said, in part:

". . . The offense charged is punishable in this state by death except when attended by extenuating circumstances. In my opinion, there were mitigating circumstances and the sentences properly reflect them.

"The question that presents itself then is whether or not these subjects have served sufficient time to effect the purpose of their sentences. So far as punishment for the purpose of deterring others is concerned, they may be considered as a group. We have learned from long experiment and study that severe and harsh punishment does not act as a deterrent.

"It is the sure and quick punishment that restrains. A knowledge that 10 years of penal servitude is certain is more effective as a deterrent than a possible 25 years. These applicants have served nine years. There is no accepted guide

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

6375

Says Scottsboro Boys Should Not Be Given Freedom

Alabama Ex-Senator Tells of Ruby Bates' Auto Ride Which Saw Her Get $1,500—Tuskegee Head Pleads for Release of Boys.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 22.—Only five persons in addition to newspapermen, attended the special hearing Thursday afternoon in the State Board of Pardons and Paroles of petitions for parole filed in behalf of the remaining five Negro Scottsboro case defendants. They were former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, R. E. Carlisle, of Montgomery, who accompanied him; Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, who limited his attendance to a few minutes required for filing of a written statement before excusing himself; Dr. W. E. Gray, local Negro physician, and Dr. H. M. Edmonds, of Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Interracial Committee. Attorney General T. S. Lawson, who opposes clemency for any of the defendants, sent word he would file a written brief setting out his views.

BOARD TAKES PETITIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

At the conclusion of the hearing, the board took the petitions under consideration, and though no indication was given as to when action may be expected, it is believed from three weeks to a month may probably elapse before a decision is announced. Prospects appear to be regarded as somewhat better than even that the decision will be favorable, though odds were heavy on the side of parole just prior to denial of the last preceding clemency petitions.

The five defendants still confined in the Alabama penitentiary, with their respective sentences are: Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Andy Wright, 99 years; Clarence Norris (whose death sentence was commuted), life; Charlie Weems, 75 years; Ozie Powell (who pleaded guilty to a charge of assaulting to murder a guard), 20 years.

When Powell entered the plea of guilty to the less serious offense, the criminal assault charge was dropped.

HEFLIN TELLS OF RUBY'S $1,500 AUTO RIDE

At Thursday afternoon's proceedings, former Senator Heflin spent several hours in reviewing the records and testimony despite a reminder from board members that the entire records in all cases with transcripts of the testimony in each were already before them—and in an extended argument in which he charged that Ruby Bates, one of the State's principal witnesses during the original trials, had been bribed to change her testimony by "a man from New York" who came to Alabama, and with a bag containing $1,500, all in one-dollar bills, and took the witness for an automobile ride; and argued that the granting of clemency to the petitioners would encourage enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law.

Dr. Edmonds advised the board that the commitee he heads had conferred with Dr. Allen K. Chalmers, of New York, who filed the petitions for parole, and that Dr. Chalmers had stated it was his judgment that a personal appearance at the hearing would be of no service to the public interest.

NEGROES DETEST THE CRIME OF RAPE

In his written statement filed with the board Dr. Patterson, of Tuskegee Institute, stated: "First of all, permit me to say that every self-respecting Negro detests as much as we believe you do the heinous crime of rape. Knowing the black eye which is given the entire race when one of its members commits such a crime, thinking Negroes are inclined to have little sympathy with those so accused.

"It is also true that information about the behavior of these boys since they have been placed in jail places them with the lowest class of human beings. It would probably be of little importance even if their lives were taken so far as society's loss is concerned.

"My plea for their pardon at this time is on the basis that there is a much bigger issue involved—an issue that has to do with the reputation of this State and its law enforcement body.

"It has to do with the apparent inconsistency which exists when several of the boys involved are allowed to go free when accused of the identical and self-same offense. It has to do with what certainly has been established as reasonable doubt as to their guilt in these cases.

"I should also like to point out that failure to pardon these boys continues to add fuel to the fire of those who would use this solely for the purposes of agitation to besmirch the reputation of this State and of the South in general.

RECEIVE JUSTICE ONLY AS WHITES GIVE IT TO THEM

"The South presents a unique situation in the history of mankind in the existence of two races—white and black—living side by side in peaceful and amicable relations. It is a tribute to the wisdom, sanity and peaceful qualities of both groups. Negroes in the South can, by and large, only receive justice as the white people who man the courts and the jails find in their sense of justice and wise interpretation of the law, to give it to them. I suppose this matter has strong political implications. I am, however, confident that courageous action on the part of this board in giving freedom to these boys will bring more plaudits than brickbats.

SEEKS CONSIDERATION FOR 900,000 NEGROES IN STATE

"The Negroes of Alamaba love this State. They are happy for every reason to be proud of this State and its people. We ask you in your action here to give some thought to the other 900,000 black citizens whose loyalty and devotion shall be ruthlessly trampled upon in your failure to give clemency to these boys."

Decision as to the granting or rejection of the pending clemency pleas is entirely in the hands of the State's three-member Board of Pardons and Paroles, created by the present Legislature, which by constitutional amendment, is clothed with all powers to act in clemency matters that were formerly vested in the Governor of the State, except the granting of reprieve or commutation of sentence to persons upon whom the courts of Alabama have imposed the death penalty.

Memphis, Tenn. Com'rcial Appeal
February 16, 1940

SCOTTSBORO PAROLES OPPOSED BY HEFLIN

Board Will Make Decision Within 30 Days

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 15.—(UP)—J. Thomas Heflin, fiery former senator from Alabama, warned today that lynch law in the South would be encouraged if the State Board of Pardons and Paroles grants clemency for five negroes convicted in the famous Scottsboro case.

The board is considering a petition for parole of the five negroes who originally were convicted with four others and sentenced to death in 1931.

The negroes were accused of criminally assaulting two white women aboard a freight train near Scottsboro. During intervening years, the case was carried to the Supreme Court three times and each time convictions were reversed.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, pointed out the "apparent inconsistency of keeping the five defendants in prison while four others were allowed to go free although they were accused of the same crime."

The board said a decision would be made within 30 days.

Montgomery, Ala Journal
February 14, 1940

Scottsboro Hearing Scheduled Thursday By State Parole Body

The Alabama board of pardons and paroles is ready to hear Thursday both proponents and opponents of freedom for the five Scottsboro negroes now serving sentences for the criminal assault of two white girls.

Date for the special hearing was set by the board following presentation in January of a petition in their behalf by Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.

Wm. P. Shirly, board secretary, said he knew of no plans of proponents to appear in person in behalf of the negroes, but that former United States Senator J. Thomas Heflin had been supplied, at his request, the date and hour of the hearing and it was assumed he would appear in opposition.

Little public interest has been manifested in the hearing, Shirley said, and other than that of Heflin he has received only one letter expressing interest.

If either side appears at the hearing, they will be heard beginning at 2:30 p. m.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
February 16, 1940

Heflin Reads Brief Opposing Clemency In Scottsboro Case

The Scottsboro hearing yesterday before the Board of Pardons and Paroles attracted less than half a dozen wishing to be heard. Tom Heflin was there. He read a mass of transcript from the first Scottsboro trial. Board Chairman Alex Smith suggested that the first trial was irrelevant, but Heflin read on.

P. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, appeared, deposited a formal statement urging the parole of the prisoners and bowed himself out of the room.

Atty.-Gen. T. S. Lawson, instead of personally appearing before the board as he first planned, sent word that he would file a written brief.

Dr. W. E. Gray, negro M. D., who practices in Montgomery, sat through the hearing but made no representation. Likewise, J. L. Andress, also of Montgomery.

R. E. Carlisle, of a Jackson Street address, was the other citizen. He prompted Heflin occasionally, but offered no exposition of his convictions. He opposed leniency.

Heflin Reads On

The hearing started at 2:30 o'clock ended at 4:45. Heflin began reading the transcript of testimony. Chairman Smith put the other foot on his desk and interjected that the board had access to the testimony. In view of that, would the gentleman regard it as important to read it? He would.

After an hour of this Heflin launched into his brief. Chairman Smith observed that one of the State's star witnesses, Ruby Bates, had recanted the testimony he was reading.

"I think the board ought not to have another hearing in a long time," shouted Heflin to the board and the office force beyond the partition who kept an ear cocked.

"...They sent a man down here from New York with a bag with $1,500 in $1 bills and took her (Ruby) to ride and offered the money to her to change her testimony....

"Clemency would encourage the enaction of a lynch law. In the future people will say, 'look how they turned the Scottsboro boys loose!'

"Some people who pressed for prosecution now are advocating paroles. Grover Hall even said he wanted to deliver the State from 'this body of death'...What's this State coming to, for God's sake, what's it coming to?"

Associate Member Bob Hill sat with Chairman Smith. Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, the third member, is on a Florida holiday recovering from the effects of overwork.

Final action will not be taken for probably a month.

Patterson Statement

Dr. Patterson's full statement follows:

"First of all, permit me to say that every self respecting negro detests as much as we believe you do the heinous crime of rape. Knowing the black eye which is given the entire race when one of its members commits such a crime, thinking negroes are inclined to have little sympathy with those so accused.

"It is also true that information about the behavior of these boys since they have been placed in jail places them with the lowest class of human beings. It would probably be of little importance even if their lives were taken so far as society's loss is concerned.

"My plea for their pardon at this time is on the basis that there is a much bigger issue involved—an issue which has to do with the reputation of this State and its law enforcement body. It has to do with the apparent inconsistency which exists when several of the boys involved are allowed to go free when accused of the identical and self-same offense. It has to do with what certainly has been established as reasonable doubt as to the guilt in these cases.

"I should also like to point out that failure to pardon these boys continues to add fuel to the fire of those who would use this solely for purposes of agitation to besmirch the reputation of this State and of the South in general.

"The South presents a unique situation in the history of mankind in the existence of two races, white and black, living side by side in peaceful and amicable relations. It is a tribute to the wisdom, sanity and peaceful qualities of both groups. Negroes in the South can by and large only receive justice as the white people, who man the courts and the jails, find in their sense of justice and wise interpretation of the law to give it to them.

"I suppose this matter has strong political implications. I am, however confident that courageous action on the part of this board in giving freedom to these boys will bring more plaudits than brickbats.

"The negroes of Alabama love this State. They are happy for every reason to be proud of this State and its people. We ask you in your action here to give some thought to the other 900,000 black citizens whose loyalty and devotion shall be ruthlessly trampled upon in your failure to give clemency to these boys."

PLEAS FOR PRIDE OF ALABAMA

F. D. Patterson Urges That All be Freed; Tom Heflin Opposes

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A brilliant plea that a pardon be given the five Scottsboro boys being held in state prison was made here, last week at a session of the state board of pardons and paroles, by Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute.

The boys are in prison on rape convictions. They were convicted with four others, but through a "compromise" with Alabama justice, after a series of court skirmishes, four were freed and five were sent to prison.

Doctor Patterson's plea was quite in contrast to the opposition of Thomas J. Heflin, former Alabama United States senator, who expressed vigorous opposition to the granting of a pardon. No action was taken.

Five people attended the session. Doctor Patterson, who said he had another engagement, remained five minutes, but before leaving submitted his pardon plea in a written statement. It said:

"First of all, permit me to say that every self-respecting Negro detests as much as we believe you do the heinous crime of rape. Knowing the black eye which is given the entire race when one of its members commits such a crime, thinking Negroes are inclined to have little sympathy with those so accused.

"It is also true that information about the behavior of these boys since they have been placed in jail places them with the lowest class of human beings. It would probably be of little importance even if their lives were taken so far as society's loss is concerned.

"My plea for their pardon at this time is on the basis that there is a much bigger issue involved—an issue that has to do with the reputation of this State and its law enforcement body.

Hits Inconsistency

"It has to do with the apparent inconsistency which exists when several of the boys involved are allowed to go free when accused of the identical and self-same offense. It has to do with what certainly has been established as reasonable doubt as to their guilt in these cases.

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'Love the State'

"The Negroes of Alabama love this State. They are happy for every reason to be proud of this State and its people. We ask you in your action here to give some thought to the other 900,000 black citizens whose loyalty and devotion shall be ruthlessly trampled upon in your failure to give clemency to these boys."

The Scottsboro Convicts

The three members of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles have decided unanimously to deny the parole applications of the five remaining prisoners in the so-called Scottsboro case. The board states, significantly, that it has decided against paroling them at this time; perhaps later they may be paroled, or some of them may be; for the board makes it clear that reconsideration of the cases will be on an individual basis.

To those Alabamians, including this newspaper, who have thought that justice and the state's own welfare would be best served by paroling these convicts the board's decision naturally is disappointing. But we have no doubt that every member of the board gave the most conscientious consideration to this case and acted only on his own best judgment. The statements issued by the members of the board reveal that plainly.

It is noteworthy, too, that each member, as Chairman Alex Smith says, "reached a conclusion in these cases without interference or suggestion from either of the other two members." The unanimity of the decision is all the more impressive in view of that procedure.

The decision makes it plain also that the applications were denied primarily because in the unanimous opinion of the board members, the prisoners were not now definitely good prospects for rehabilitation; because their conduct in prison "indicates a belligerent, resentful and anti-social attitude."

It appears, then, that these five men lost their chances for parole this time for substantially the same reasons that Gov. Bibb Graves finally denied their applications in 1938, after making arrangements to parole them into the custody of Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, noted New York clergyman. Notwithstanding that Dr. Chalmers had carefully prepared for the care and supervision of the men, Gov. Graves, after talking with them, refused to release them because he was disturbed by their conduct and attitude.

This newspaper respects the board's reasons for its decision, and wishes to compliment the members for their conscientiousness. Nevertheless, we feel that in this very exceptional case the release of the men, under the special custody available, would have been not only proper, but wise from every standpoint. We hope that in due time this will be brought about on reconsideration.

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

6376

The 'Scottsboro' Decision

Alabama's old man of the sea, the "Scottsboro cases," is still on its neck, but sitting more lightly, perhaps, than before. The Advertiser's advice as of July, 1937, that Alabama should "throw away this body of death" by summarily paroling the remaining offenders into the hands of citizens beyond the borders of the state, a request sanctioned and supported by numerous Alabama citizens of high reputation, has at last come to naught. The policy urged by The Advertiser in this editorial and by the reputable Alabamians who lent their names and minds to its support, led first to an awakening of Gov. Graves' interest in the matter. After he had studied the record as well as one man could, after he had pondered the question of public policy involved, he decided to parole the five remaining prisoners into the custody of the "Scottsboro Defense Committee," headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, famous New York minister. He appointed the day and the hour for the release of the men, but before the day came, pursuant to his practice in such matters, Gov. Graves summoned the men before him for a personal interview. He was so upset by the demeanor of the prisoners that he instantly reversed himself and decided not to parole them.

In due time came the new State Board of Pardons and Paroles, and a new petition was filed. The members of this board made a thorough study of the record of these cases from the beginning. Yesterday they announced their decision that petitioners are not yet eligible for parole under the principles that guide the board in its usual deliberations, notwithstanding that in the six months of its life the board has paroled 500 prisoners, probably half of whom are Negroes. Because of the extraordinary interest in the "Scottsboro" cases the board did not announce its decision casually, but each member wrote his opinion independently of other members, setting forth the reasons that controlled his conclusion. The board, we are sure, acted without prejudice and made its decision only after a thoroughgoing professional study of all aspects of the cause before it.

The decision is frankly disappointing to The Advertiser, for while it is technically sound, The Advertiser doubts that it is philosophically sound. The three statements are powerful documents, to be sure, and should impress any dispassionate student of this nasty case. What is most reassuring about them is the reminder that in Alabama we now have a model penal system and that this system is as capable of "rehabilitating" the Scottsboro men as any other agency and has full confidence that if the men can be rehabilitated and made worthy of release on parole administrators of this system are now prepared to do it. Also the board is wise in its decision that henceforth prisoners who ask for clemency will not be judged as a group, but as individuals, and upon their individual merits as prisoners and prospects. In future the "Scottsboro boys" will be just so many prisoners with an equal chance to prove their worthiness for personal paroles; they will be thought of no longer as persons deserving special consideration. Some of them are regarded as good parole prospects, others are not. Each one will be judged upon his personal merits. This is sound and salutary, and so we are far from agreeing with Judge Robert M. Hill of the board that an arbitrary limit of four years more of imprisonment for all is wise.

Dr. Chalmers and his associates have done a good job of rehabilitating the four prisoners who were discharged at the request of the attorney general, and they believe that they were prepared to do an even better job in directing the lives of the remaining five if released into their custody. They made impressive pledges to the board and The Advertiser is sorry that they were not given a chance to see what they could do with these men—for after all these prisoners have injured Alabama far more than Alabama has injured them, and this newspaper is sorry that the board could not see its way clear to release them into the care of agencies outside of this state. But The Advertiser respects the decision of the board, for it knows that decision to be worthy of respect.—Montgomery Advertiser.

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Scottsboro Boys' Plea Again Denied

Pardon Board Rejects Clemency Appeal Of Five

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Mar. 9.—The five Scottsboro boys who are still in the Alabama penitentiary serving their lives out in the world-famous 7-year old frame-up, were yesterday again denied clemency by the Alabama state board of pardons and paroles.

In rejecting the clemency applications, the board attempted to dissolve the tremendous world-wide attention which has been focussed upon the case since the International Labor Defense enetered the defense in 1933, by declaring that in the future each of the lads will be treated as "individual prisoners" and that reference to them as "Scottsboro defendants" will be inaccurate.

The five Scottsboro prisoners still suffering in Alabama jails are Clarence Norris, Andy Wright Heywood Patterson, Charles Weems, and Ozie Powell.

SCOTTSBORO BOY TO BE PAID FOR LOSS OF FINGER

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The State board of Adjustment last Wednesday was asked to pay Clarence Norris, one of the Scottsboro defendants, $112 for the loss of a finger tip in a prison camp mill accident. He petitioned the board under workmen's compensation laws.

Deny Freedom To Scottsboro Boys Again

3-16-40

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The five "Scottsboro boys" have been refused paroles because their "personalities" are not what they should be, that is the decision of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles.

It seems that the five Negro prisoners in Alabama's notorious rape case have not been "tamed" enough by their stay in prison, the Parole Board decided.

TheParole Board put more Study on whether these prisoners are still too "cocky" than it did on whether or not they are innocent.

Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, who is one of the members of the Parole Board, completely changed the first rule of evidence as set out by the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution says a person is looked upon as innocent until he is proved guilty.

In her decision, Mrs. Mitchell said she was against freeing the boys because she was not sure that they were not guilty, and that she felt that a person should be looked upon as guilty unless he can be proved innocent.

'SPOILED BY PUBLICITY'

Another thing that the Parole Board held as a reason for not freeing the five prisoners was that they had been given too much publicity and that this had spoiled them.

The Parole Board did not mention the fact that if these prisoners had not been given all this publicity and thus aroused the whole nation, they would have been put to death a long time ago.

Another member of the Parole Board, Judge Robert Hill, seemed to feel that it would take as least four more years before the five Negroes could be "un-spoiled." He said that their paroles should not be considered for at least another four years.

DID NOT SEE FIVE

Even though all three members of the board said that they did not like the way the "Scottsboro boys" were acting these days, it is known that none of the board members talked to the prisoners themselves.

The five prisoners are CLARENCE NORRIS, who had been given a death sentence but later had this changed to life imprisonment; HEYWOOD PATTERSON, who was given 75 years; ANDY WRIGHT, 99 years; CHARLIE WEEMS, 75 years; and OZIE POWELL, 20 years.

Rape charges against Powell were dropped when he pleaded guilty to assault with intent to murder during an escape attempt.

The United States Supreme Court twice over-ruled death sentences given all the Negroes in this case. This was done on the grounds that the defendants did not have adequate counsel at their trial. The second time the Supreme Court ruled that the defendants did not have a fair trial because Negroes could not serve on juries in Alabama.

This ruling made Alabama and several other Southern states change their jury laws.

There were nine defendants in this case to start off with. Four of them were later turned loose.

MANY DO THEIR SHARE IN CAMPAIGN TO FREE FIVE INNOCENT ALABAMA YOUTHS

Call-6/21/40-Kansas City Mo.

If the response given by Kansas City churches is an indication of the way in which Scottsboro Sunday was celebrated everywhere, then petitions will be pouring into The Call office by the hundreds this week.

As this is being written (on Monday), petitions from out of town have not had time to reach us. But all day, representatives from Kansas City churches of all denominations have been bringing large numbers of petitions to the office with signatures of hundreds who did their share toward helping to free the Scottsboro boys.

In Kansas City, large numbers of petitions were signed at the Paseo Baptist church of which the Rev. D. A. Holmes is pastor, the St. Stephen's Baptist church, the Rev. R. J. Jordan, pastor, Ward Chapel A.M.E. church, the Rev. C. A. Williams, pastor; the Bethel A.M.E. church, the Rev. Frank Martin, pastor; the Pleasant Green Baptist church, the Rev. W. A. Scott, pastor, and other churches.

Persons who did not attend church Sunday will be given an opportunity to sign the petitions again next Sunday.

Ministers of out of town churches who want extra petitions for their congregations may obtain them by writing The Call's Scottsboro editor, 1715 E. Eighteenth street, Kansas City, Mo.

The time is growing short. Sometime this summer, The Call plans to present the petitions to the governor of Alabama and his board of pardons. We want at least 100,000 signatures.

Won't you do your part?

Mrs. W. E. Freeman, Atchison, Kas., six petitions.

Mrs. Fred T. Roberts, Kansas City, Mo., three petitions.

Emergency club, Macon, Mo., three petitions.

William B. Wood Jr., Kansas City, Kas., one petition.

Edna M. Monroe, Kansas City, Mo., one petition.

J. A. Williamson, Rosedale, Miss., one petition.

Committee Warns Public Of Fake "Scottsboro" Boy

Oklahoma City

2-13-40

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — The Scottsboro Defense committee this week issued a warning to the public to be on guard against fakers who are making appearances and appealing for funds for the Scottsboro boys. According to their warning, a young man traveling under the name of "Rev. Willie Wright," is posing as one of the freed Scottsboro boys.

This "Rev." has made many speeches in churches, collecting moneys which are supposedly for the defense fund, said the warning. The defense committee asks that anyone posing as a representative of the committee be asked to show credentials signed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, chairman of the committee.

Cooperating organizations signing the statement contained in the warning are: American Civil Liberties union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Church League for Industrial Democracy, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation of Social Service, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

6377

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

PUBLIC WARNED OF "SCOTTSBORO CASE" IMPOSTER

NEW YORK—The International Labor Defense recently issued a warning by the Scottsboro Defense Committee concerning a "Scottsboro" imposter. The warning in full follows:

"It has come to the attention of the Scottsboro Defense Committee that a young colored man going by the name of the Rev. Willie Wright is going about the country making speeches in Negro churches, representing himself as one of the Scottsboro boys and collecting funds for his personal use. There is no Scottsboro boy by the name of Willie Wright. The man is an imposter, preying upon the sympathies of people for the Scottsboro boys.

"The Scottsboro Defense Committee asks that any information concerning this man's real identity and whereabouts be sent promptly to the office of the committee, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York. Any information received will be treated confidentially in an effort to stop his unlawful operations. All persons and organizations are warned not to recognize any person posing as a representative of the Scottsboro Defense Committee or one of the released boys without credentials signed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, chairman of the committee.

To Begin Public Campaign

"The Scottsboro Defense Committee is endeavoring to effect the release of one or more of the remaining five boys through action by the Alabama pardon board, which indicated that it would act on individual cases at the time it refused to act on the group as a whole. If individual pardons cannot be secured, a public campaign will be undertaken to bring the issue again before the public with the utmost possible pressure upon the Alabama authorities.

"The organizations composing the Scottsboro Defense Committee are determined not to let the matter rest until the last innocent victim of this tragic miscarriage of justice is freed.

"This statement is made on behalf of the cooperating organizations: American Civil Liberties Union. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Church League for Industrial Democracy. Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Labor Defense. League for Industrial Democracy, Methodist Federation of Social Service. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice."

See: Lynchings- Rape: Attacks by Negroes. (Michigan) for clipping -Scottsboro Boy Held After Detroit Attack. News. 7-28-40 Birmingham, Ala.

'Scottsboro' Defendant Is Accused Anew

Olen Montgomery Held In Detroit On Charge By Negro Woman

7-27-40

By United Press

DETROIT, July 27—Three years and one day after he was freed of criminal attack charges in Alabama's sensational "Scottsboro case," a 38-year-old partially-blind negro was in custody today and again charged with criminal attack.

Police seized the negro, Olen Montgomery, on the complaint of a negro woman who ran partially-clad to a precinct station early this morning crying that Montgomery had attacked her at the point of a knife.

He was found in a bedroom at the home of the negro woman, asleep. Police said that nearby was a pocket knife with a four-inch blade which opened at the touch of a button.

Montgomery denied the woman's charges. He said he had frequently visited the apartment where the woman lived with her husband and another couple. Last night there was a party at the apartment, he said, and he admitted drinking heavily.

"I don't know just what happened," he said, but he denied that he criminally assaulted the woman whom he described as his "girl friend."

The woman, however, told officers at Canfield Station that Montgomery attempted several advances during the evening. She said that her husband and the husband of the other woman in the apartment were away from home as she went to her bedroom and locked the door. Montgomery, she charged, broke through the door flourished the pocket knife and threatened her with death if she resisted him.

Montgomery, a slender, 5 foot 11 negro who is blind in one eye and so near-sighted in the other that he must wear extremely thick glasses, was held pending issuance of a rape warrant which the prosecutor's office said would be signed Monday.

Montgomery came to Detroit in 1937 under sponsorship of the Scottsboro Defense Committee to aid in raising funds for five of his companions in the nationally-prominent case of the early '30's who are serving long terms. Montgomery and three others were acquitted on July 26, 1937 as a finale of the case which began in March, 1931, when two white girls allegedly were attacked in a freight car. All nine originally were sentenced to death. Their ages ranged downward from 21 and to their aid sprang racial defense groups which, charging "intolerance," enlisted the support of some of the nation's foremost legal talent. Twice the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, finally resulting in the new trial at which Montgomery and three others were freed.

In Detroit Montgomery had worked at odd jobs but mainly has been supported by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. He told police he had a "good reputation" and had hoped to lead a life which would by example eventually help win freedom for his five companions still in prison.

UNCENSORED HOLDS NEGROES OWE NOTHING TO ATTY. SAM LEIBOWITZ

Most whites seem to believe that the Negro race owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to that truly gifted gentleman of the bar, Samuel S. Leibowitz, for the role he played at Scottsboro, Alabama.

Many Negroes have hailed this leading criminal lawyer as a sort of Twentieth Century Savior who wore the crown of sacrifice and martyrdom in the interests of suffering humanity.

Personally, I believe that Samuel Leibowitz is purely and simply a very talented lawyer who went down to Scottsboro and did a very good job—not as yet completed—for a very considerable amount of money and a very considerable amount of fame. Lesser men have been known to have sacrificed their lives for higher ideals than these.

Personally, I believe that Negroes owe Mr. Leibowitz nothing more than respect.

I sincerely hope that the Negro voter in Kings County in this current election will not be tricked into feeling that he owes the Democratic Party or the Kelly machine one iota of tribute because their candidate happens to be Sam Leibowitz.

I hope that he will remember that the Democratic machine in this county has been double-crossing its Negro constituency for the past quarter century.

I hope that he will remember that the philosophy of Scottsboro which Leibowitz went into the deep South to combat is the same brand of unjust disregard for the rights of human beings which has been exhibited by the Democratic Party right here in enlightened Kings County.

At Scottsboro, nine innocent Negroes were left to perish in prison for a crime they knew nothing of.

In Kings County forty-five thousand voters receive annually about $15,000 in political patronage—enough to pay the salary of a municipal judge—for the crime of being Negroes.

It may be true that Sam Leibowitz stands for justice. However, there has been a great deal of profit in that stand.

The party that presents him to voters this fall stands for profit without justice—as far as consideration to the Negro is concerned.

THE JOB CAMPAIGN

When on Thursday afternoon a group of borough organizations descends upon Fulton street in a sensational mass picket of the merchants there who have been denying Negroes the right to work where they spend their money, it will be the beginning of a campaign which must be won.

The merchants of Fulton street and every other street in this borough where Negroes are an economic factor must be made to realize that we are out to get some return on the money we spend with them.

The citizens of this community must be made to realize that they deserve consideration in the way of employment; that the only way they will get it is to fight for it; that the only way to fight for it is to take away that financial support from the merchants who refuse to be fair.

It was done in Harlem on 125th street.

It can be done in Brooklyn on Fulton street. 8-3-40

The strategy of the groups working on the campaign is this: They will concentrate on certain sections of the Fulton street area until those sections, or the majority of stores in each section, comes through. Then they will go to another area.

There is no way to win unless Negroes heed these picket lines and stay out of those stores which refuse to hire Negroes.

You have nothing to lose by doing so.

You have everything to gain.

On with the fight! It is squarely up to the citizens of this community.

News Notes of a Week

Georges Mandel, Reynaud's Minister of the Interior, was acquitted by the Supreme Court at Riom on treason charges and it was revealed that he had previously been acquitted by a Moroccan court. . . . Norwegian students engaged in a noisy demonstration against the Quisling government and were suppressed by heavy police forces. . . . Premier Konoye warned the United States against interfering with Axis military affairs, stating it would mean war with Japan. . . . The Germans charged that Gibraltar's famous Barbary apes were being trained in the use of hand grenades. . . . The British reinforced their Malta base, while the Pope warned that Italian women were "facing a danger that may bring an end to their purity." The danger turned out to be a barbarous invasion by immodest dresses. . . . Herbert Hoover again urged the feeding of European civilians and was opposed by a group of prominent clergymen and educators. . . . The functions of Chief of Staff of the Army and Commanding General of the Field Forces were combined by creation of a War Department GHQ, with General Marshall assuming the new post. . . . Walter Pollak, lawyer famous for his defense of the Scottsboro boys, died in New York.

Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
August 5, 1940

A Sequel To Scottsboro

(From Tuscaloosa News).

From Detroit, Mich., comes the latest sequel to Alabama's infamous Scottsboro Case. This chapter began to unravel itself last Saturday when Olen Montgomery, 28, one of the nine original Scottsboro defendants, was arrested on a charge of attempting to rape a negro woman in Detroit.

Late yesterday afternoon Montgomery was turned loose and advised "to leave Detroit." The negro woman involved said she would not sign a warrant charging Montgomery with rape because she feared "unfavorable publicity."

Montgomery was one of four negroes against the Scottsboro rape charges, proved before several juries, were dropped by Alabama as a result of great pressure on the part of left-wing elements from the East who eventually enlisted the help of some of this state's leading citizens. Some of Alabama's biggest newspapers [illegible] for this sentimental gag. It was contended that Montgomery was almost blind, and "incapable" of committing the crime for which he had been convicted. Five of his Scottsboro com

THE EUFAU

panions are still in the state penitentiary.

The campaign for release of these prisoners, still being revived intermittently, certainly is not aided one whit by Montgomery's conduct in Detroit.

One news service, in relating how Montgomery invaded the negro woman's home, and attacked her at the point of a 4-inch knife, quotes the man as saying, "I just made a mistake and got too drunk. I got to have some pleasure."

Here is an eloquent example of a miscarriage of justice in two incidents, first in Montgomery's release from an Alabama prison and second in his freedom granted yesterday in Detroit.

The law has a tangled web from which escape is often easy for those who have counsel who know the ropes. Habeas corpus proceedings such as those which released Montgomery yesterday are accepted as good maneuvers by lawyers who defend criminals.

But there is a double tragedy behind the fact that the victim of Montgomery's rapine is afraid to sign a warrant against him. That negro woman knows how the whole commonwealth of Alabama was persecuted for dealing out justice to Montgomery and his Scottsboro mates.

It is natural that she should fear like persecution if she took the stand against this "celebrated" defendant. One cannot but wonder what threats had already been made against her by sinister forces which have sought for so long to pin the lily-white badge upon the black crime against two young white women at Scottsboro back in 1931.

LEIBOWITZ SWORN AS JUDGE IN KINGS

New York N.Y.

Widely Known Criminal Lawyer Takes Oath in Brooklyn Supreme Court Library

FAMILY AT CEREMONY

F. E. Dorn, L. W. Olliffe and R. E. Crews Also Inducted as Assemblymen

DEC 22 1940

Samuel S. Leibowitz was sworn in yesterday for a fourteen-year term as a judge of the Kings County Court, the tribunal before which he had practiced for twenty-five years as one of the best known criminal attorneys in the country.

In a brief ceremony in the library of the Brooklyn Supreme Court Building, Justice Joseph Fennelly administered the oath of office to Judge Leibowitz, who will ascend the bench of the State's highest criminal court on Jan. 1.

Family at Ceremony

Present at the ceremony were Mrs. Leibowitz, their daughter, Marjorie, 15, and their twin sons, Robert and Lawrence, 20, both seniors at Princeton University, who plan to follow their father into the field of law. Also Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Munves, parents of Mrs. Leibowitz; Joseph Melcer, Mr. and Mrs. John Terry and Jamie Kelly, deputy county clerk of Kings County.

Judge Leibowitz was elected to the $25,000 a year judgeship on Nov. 5 as the regular Democratic candidate, defeating his Republican opponent, Orrin G. Judd. He is 47 years old and received his law degree from Cornell University's Law School in 1915. He lives at 102 Coleridge Street, in the Manhattan Beach section of Brooklyn.

During his criminal law practice Judge Leibowitz appeared in courts throughout the country, defending 140 persons charged with murder, twenty-five of them women. Only one of the defendants was sent to the electric chair. He received international recognition for his defense of the Negroes in the Scottsboro case, which was reviewed twice by the United States Supreme Court.

Opportunity to Serve

Soon after his election Judge Leibowitz said in an interview that he regarded his elevation to the bench as a "great opportunity to serve the people of Kings County and to work hand in hand with District Attorney William O'Dwyer of Brooklyn to keep this great community free from the professional criminal and racketeer." He added that he was interested in the rehabilitation of first offenders, "chiefly in aiding the youngster who embarked on a career of crime because of his environment or lack of religious training."

Also sworn in yesterday in Brooklyn Supreme Court were Francis E. Dorn, Republican Assemblyman from the Tenth Assembly District; Lewis W. Olliffe, Republican Assemblyman from the First Assembly District, and Robert J. Crews, re-elected as Republican Assemblyman from the Sixth Assembly District. Mr. Crews is the brother of John R. Crews, Republican leader of Kings County.

Mr. Olliffe and Mr. Dorn received the oath of office from Justice Charles C. Lockwood and Mr. Crews was sworn in by Justice Harry E. Lewis. A delegation attended both ceremonies, including Fred M. Ahern, Republican leader of the Tenth Assembly District; Leo V. Doherty, former Assemblyman, and Joseph Cox, secretary of the Kings County Grand Jurors Association.

6378

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
March 9, 1940

ALABAMA SPURNS SCOTTSBORO MERCY

Board Denies Paroles to Five Negroes in Prison.

By Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 9—Alabama is not willing "at this time" to liberate five Negroes serving long sentences on charges growing out of the alleged mass rape of two white women near Scottsboro nine years ago—the world famous "Scottsboro case."

Clemency applications of the convicts were denied late yesterday by the state's new Board of Pardons and Paroles, which said that hereafter the Negroes would be treated as individual prisoners and that reference to them as "Scottsboro" defendants would be "inaccurate."

While the same general conclusion—that paroles should be denied—was reached by three board members, each wrote a somewhat divergent opinion. A statement by Chairman Alex Smith left the way open for further consideration in the future, as in the case of other convicts.

Denied paroles were:

Clarence Norris, whose last death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Heywood Patterson, 75 years; Andy Wright, 99 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, all convicted of attack, and Ozzie Powell, 20 years on a charge of assault to murder resulting from an escape attempt.

Huntsville, Ala., Times
March 10, 1940

Scottsboro Boys' Denied Clemency

State Parole Board Unwilling At This Time To Free Them

MONTGOMERY, March 9 (AP)—Alabama is not willing "at this time" to free five negroes serving long sentences on charges growing out of the alleged mass attack of two white women in the "Scottsboro case."

Their clemency applications were denied yesterday by the state's new board of pardons and paroles. It said that hereafter the negroes would be treated as individual prisoners, and that reference to them as "Scottsboro" defendants would be "inaccurate."

A statement by Chairman Alex Smith left the way open for future consideration.

Smith said the three pardon and parole board members "reached the same conclusion, and that is to deny the applications at this time," and added:

"A day for reconsideration in each case will be set in accordance with our judgment as to the response of the individual to institutional treatment."

Associate Member Robert M. Hill concurred in the general conclusion, but expressed opinion "that further applications in these cases should not be considered for a minimum period of four years."

Both Smith and Hill expressed conviction the negroes were guilty, while Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, third board member, said:

"I am convinced that the offense was committed, but I am unable to form a judgment as to which one of the applicants committed that offense."

Each set down observance that notoriety of the case had been harmful to the defendants.

After expressing opinion the negroes were guilty, and that they had not been punished sufficiently, Chairman Smith said:

"It has been suggsted that the attitude of belligerence and hostility toward organized society on the part of these applicants is due to the unusual amount of publicity they have received. If this be true, we can go no further than to deeply regret the existence of such cause. The proper attitude on the part of the applicant must still remain a pre-requisite to favorable action on the part of this board. x x x Are there definitely good prospects of rehabilitation? Not in these cases until further service under wise and humane discipline. x x x."

Hill's observations on this point were almost parallel, but he also upheld action of state authorities in releasing four of the negroes "two x x x were under the age of 14 years at the time of conviction one was badly diseased, the other practically blind. The state was not as firmly convinced of their guilt as of the guilt of the others."

Free the Scottsboro Boys

In launching what we hope will become a nation-wide movement on behalf of the Scottsboro boys, THE CALL feels sure of the American people—including the state of Alabama. The people want justice. Alabama is not so much bent upon injustice as it is blinded by habit. It fails to see the injustice of continuing to hold in prison some of the boys after it has freed others.

Labor fought two long decades for Mooney in California. Liberals everywhere were partisans of Sacco and Vanzetti whom Massachusetts condemned. These five Scottsboro boys are ours. We should do what we can for them.

To anyone who says "You can't make Alabama sorry!" we reply that a handful of abolitionists made the nation, Alabama included, reverse itself on slavery. How much Negroes accomplish is determined entirely by how much they try. Direct appeal to the people of Alabama has been tried. It failed, but still we can try again. If we fail every year, we owe it to the thousands of our people who have victims of prejudiced trials to keep on until this form of injustice is driven out completely.

After appeal, Negroes can take recourse to pressure. Because they are the subordinate minority, the habit is to think them impotent. Not so. Right and one are still a majority. It is for them to have the courage to maintain that right in every way they can. Fate can demand their utmost, because the freedom from persecution which they ask is worth it.

Once Negroes set out to make America know the injustice done these boys, they will give their neighbors an education in the workings of race prejudice which will put every good man and woman in this country against a continuance of it, even when put forward as the way to "keep the black man in his place." The white race needs no such sacrifice of principle made for it. Self-respect will make it reject what is done under that claim, including the conviction of the Scottsboro boys.

The time has come for the courts of southern states to be temples of justice with the color of the prisoner at the bar cutting no figure in their verdict.

'Scottsboro' Case Up Again April 11

NEW YORK, March 22—Appeal in the John Williams case, the "Brooklyn Scottsboro Case," will be heard in the Appelate Division in New York on April 11, it was learned this week.

Williams won a new trial in what is generally considered here as a frame-up charge in an appeal taken by the International Labor Defense ant the William Defense Committee. At the second trial, he was again found "guilty" in January.

Among the errors of the judge being cited in the appeal is his hostile attitude reflected most glaringly in his statement from the bench: "I wish I could give him life . . . Remember, this was a white girl!"

Samuel A. Neuberger and Samuel Shapiro have again been retained by the I.L.D. and the Williams Defense Committee to take the appeal. The defense groups have announced their intention of taking appeals to the highest court if necessary.

Justice Still Denied Scottsboro Boys

IF the authorities in Alabama cannot do full justice to the Scottsboro case boys remaining in jail, they might be manful—and consistent. About two years ago they found enough lack of evidence to remove the charges of criminal attack from the records of five, and gave freedom to four. The fifth was kept in custody to complete a sentence for assaulting a guard.

Now, if any of the boys is innocent then all are innocent. The lone girl hobo who has refused to relax her accusations against the boys—arrested at Paint Rock, Alabama, nine years ago on the 31st of this month—avers each of them violated her and each was indicted under the same charge. If any is guilty, all are guilty—in fact and by legal technicality.

How, then, has Alabama freed some of these youths and kept others in jail—several without ever being actually tried? Only two of them—Patterson and Norris—have been re-tried since the U. S. Supreme Court invalidated the farcical 1931 convictions in the mob-dominated town of Scottsboro, and a change of venue was made to Decatur, county seat of Morgan County.

There is something fiendishly cruel in the treatment of these boys, all 'teen age when apprehended. Under different racial involvements, the cases would have been thrown out of court when Ruby Bates recanted her complaint in April, 1933, with the corroboration of Lester Carter, one of the freight train companion-lovers of herself and Victoria Price—and the scientifically conclusive testimony of Dr. Bridges, the Alabama born practitioner in Scottsboro, who promptly examined the "victims" of the mass rape, only to find instead hour-old evidence of the moral turpitude confessed by Ruby Bates and Carter.

Alabama has never answered the decision of Judge Horton—that there not only is reasonable doubt of the boys' guilt but that "the preponderance of the evidence" is in their favor, except by removing him from the bench. Nine years is a long time to keep the fires of righteous indignation burning, and the coffers of a defense fund filled, but there must be no turning back, no letting up, until real justice is done for the Scottsboro boys.

Every Signature Counts

When THE CALL launched its drive to have the public petition Alabama to release the Scottsboro boys, it depended upon the sound thinking and the good heart of the American people. Its faith seems to be well founded. Though the effort is only in its beginning stage, already we are receiving letters which indicate that public opinion is sound, and that justice for these boys is the wish of both races.

As the ones most helped by the experiences of the Scottsboro boys and the subsequent cases at law, Negroes should be unanimous in petitioning for their release. They are not, being for the most part doubtful of their influence. That is tragic! Time was once when they did not count, but this is a new day. Things have changed and they should change with them. If they have not before them examples of the power of Negro opinion, it is for them to look about and see what their people are doing. In the meanwhile they should try. They have all to gain and nothing to lose.

The help that is coming from whites is like the olive leaf brought back to Noah in the ark. Old hates are subsiding and the day is dawning when men of all races can and will work together for ideals. Brotherhood is no longer an idle dream. For ages yet to come men will differ in appearance, but the day they will it, they are alike in spirit.

Scottsboro and its unfortunate black victims of prejudice ridden law can become a symbol like the cross which at first was the expression of man's inhumanity to man. Then it became his reminder of divine love. Alabama tried these boys under the old dispensation. It should try the new, and it will because these humanitarians now offering their aid to the cause of the unfortunate boys will multiply.

Right is a hardy plant. The demand of old was not that for a majority, but only for a few in order that the true faith could be kept alive. These whites who come now with offers of help for the Scottsboro boys tell us how deep are the foundations upon which human progress rests.

Scottsboro Fake Flees

Rev. T. S. Harten Exposes Ruse of N.J. Preacher

NEWARK, N.J.—"The Rev. Willie Wright," who preached throughout Jersey and insisted he was the Willie Wright who is one of the four released Scottsboro boys, was unmasked here this week by the Rev. Thomas S. Harten of Brooklyn.

The "Rev. Mr. Wright" vanished in mystery the past week when the Rev. Mr. Harten caught up with him at Bethel Baptist Church, 145 Myrtle Avenue, Passaic, where he was preaching to a large and happy throng.

The Brooklyn cleric notified Passaic police of the impersonation and Wright failed to show up at the church the following night.

All Four Faked

Appearing ostensibly under International Labor Defense auspices, Wright might be one of a twin set of all the four released boys, which have been making public appearances since the ILD lost control of the real boys.

The Rev. Mr. Harten had received complaints from all over the State from ministers hoodwinked by the alleged imposter. He called Wright "emphatically a fake." On Friday, the Rev. Mr. Harten brought the real Willie Wright to Newark newspaper officers and confronted him with a photo of the pseudo Rev. Willie Wright.

"Rev. Wright" told the Passaic congregation he had "lied his way out of seven jails; all except the one at Decatur, Ala." Decatur is where the Scottsboro boys were imprisoned.

"There is one man in the house," he thundered, "who saw a bullet hole through my body." Willie Wright was wounded in the head by a guard.

He was with Mrs. Bernice Baskerville of the ILD and she counselled reporters not to mention the Scottsboro boys. Some took this as an indication that the Communists might have a "duplicate set" of the four released Scottsboro boys on the road.

Mrs. Baskerville lives at 49 Putman Street, Brooklyn, and is active in the ILD, which handled the Scottsboro defense.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

ALABAMA

6379

Call for Renewed Scottsboro Fight

ILD Secretary Asks for Protests to Alabama Governor and Parole Board on Rejection of Clemency Plea

"Now more than ever, the people will have to take up the fight for freedom of the five remaining Scottsboro boys," Anna Damon, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, said yesterday in a statement on the refusal of the Alabama parole board to grant clemency to the Negro lads who, in less than a month, will have spent nine years in prison for a crime which the world knows they did not commit.

The Alabama board of pardons and paroles last week, presented with the same evidence of innocence on which the court at Decatur, Ala., in 1937 released four of the Negro youths, denied the application. The five remaining Scottsboro prisoners are Clarence Norris, serving a life sentence under commutation of death verdict; Haywood Patterson, sentenced to 75 years; Andy Wright, 99 years; and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

Originally, nine boys were sentenced on charges of "rape." Following two reversals obtained by the International Labor Defense in the United States Supreme Court, and one reversal by a trial judge, new trials resulted in the sentences for the five, and freedom for four others against whom the evidence was identical. The case, for the past four years, has been conducted by the Scottsboro Defense Committee, a body representing numerous organizations including the ILD. Repeatedly, the Governor of Alabama and the parole board have refused to grant the five remaining boys clemency.

DECISION HIT

Following the latest refusal, the "Post," conservative daily published in Birmingham, Alabama, commented:

"The Parole Board has stated its belief that a crime was committed. It indicates doubt, however, as to the guilty person or persons so we are led to wonder how its members justify their position with the law which requires for conviction proof of guilt beyond reasonable doubt . . . Until justice prevails, there should be no rest for public or official conscience."

In her statement for the organization, Miss Damon said:

"No one doubts any more that these Negro boys were framed. Even the Southern press which once attacked every defender of the Scottsboro boys, now calls for their freedom. It has been thoroughly established by the courts themselves, and by the admission of the prosecution in freeing the other four boys, that there is no evidence against them. These five boys are entitled to their freedom, just like the other four.

"But the parole board, and the governor of Alabama, refuse to free them. Now more than ever, the people will have to take up the fight for the freedom of the five remaining Scottsboro boys. The justice-loving people of the country must make their voices heard, so that the Alabama authorities will have to let their victims go.

"Support of the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys should be expressed by the people of the country by writing to Governor Frank M. Dixon, and to Chairman Smith of the Board of Paroles at Montgomery, Ala., what they feel about the latest refusal of the parole board to free these innocent victims."

The Five Scottsboro Boys And a Lynch Decision

The refusal of the Alabama Parole Board to free the five Scottsboro boys outrages every decent American.

The innocence of these youths has long been established, and universally accepted. Even the Alabama authorities were forced to admit it in 1937 when they freed four on the same lying perjured evidence that they still hold Clarence Norris, Heywood Patterson, Andy Wright, Charlie Weems and Ozie Powell. The continued 10-year imprisonment (under virtual life sentences!) of these Negro youths reflects the hollow ring of American democracy, and symbolizes the attempt to keep the hideous lynch system supreme over the Negro people.

In the face of the growing labor and progressive movement in the South, the Alabama officials would like to get the Scottsboro case off their hands by finishing off these boys. The Negro and white workers and sharecroppers are beginning to clasp hands in the fight against the poll tax, and Rep. Geyer's bill to abolish this feudal relic in federal elections is the result. The freedom of these boys would give strength and momentum to the fight to enact this measure, and to the solidarity arising between the Negro and white masses in the South. But this is an election year with war hysteria rife, and President Roosevelt's bourbon allies in the South want to nip every stimulus toward increased constitutional liberties particularly in the poll tax states.

Fair minded Americans will reject the lynch decision of the Alabama Parole Board. They will not rest until the five Scottsboro boys are snatched from a living death and are free. Protests should rain into Gov. Frank M. Dixon, and Chairman Smith of the Board of Paroles, at Montgomery, Ala.

Action In Ala. Case 'Shocking'

Latest Move In Scottsboro Case Draws Comment

NEW YORK—(ENS)—Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in an official statement Monday declared that the board of directors of the NAACP "is profoundly shocked at the refusal of the board of pardon and parole of Alabama to release the five Scottsboro Boys."

Continuing, he said:

"Even more are we shocked at the careless statement alleging the guilt of the defendants. This is utterly incomprehensible in view of the fact that four of the defendants convicted on precisely the same evidence were released in 1937 and the Supreme Court of the United States has twice reversed the decision of the Alabama courts and Judge Horton of the Alabama circuit court set aside each verdict as being contrary to the evidence on the basis of what seemed to the judge to be the incontrovertible physical proof that there had been no criminal assault of the two plaintiffs at the time alleged.

"The refusal to release the defendants, coming almost on the ninth anniversary of the commencement of the case, disheartens all Americans who had been led to believe Alabama would do the just and decent thing. Alabama has in the past bitterly resented so-called 'outside interference.' For the past several years Alabama citizens have been supporting the plea of the Scottsboro defense committee for the release of the Scottsboro defendants into the custody of the committee, and all negotiations during the past year have been carried on almost entirely by distinguished Alabamians.

"The recent action of the Pardon and Parole Board is, therefore, doubly serious since it constitutes such a complete repudiation of the considered opinions of their own well-informed citizens. We consider this a decided setback both to better race relations throughout the country and to the hope believers in justice throughout the world have had that through orderly and considerate negotiation, reason and good sense would take the place of bitterness, prejudice and fear."

Scottsboro Rally To Send Groups To Washington

Daily Worker

To speed up the fight for the passage of the anti-lynching bill and the freedom of the five remaining Scottsboro boys, a mass rally will be held April 3rd at Congress Casino, 168 W. 132 St., under the auspices of the Harlem Section of the Communist Party.

Richard B. Moore, outstanding fighter for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, will be the main speaker. A delegation to take to Washington thousands of names collected on petitions circulated by the Communist Party will be organized at the meeting.

Claudia Jones, Negro youth leader of the YCL, will preside.

Alabama C. P. Hits Pardon Board for Decision Against Scottsboro Victims

Daily Worker

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 2.—Branding the action of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles in refusing to pardon the five framed Scottsboro boys as a "cowardly attempt to avoid the issue," Robert F. Hall, state secretary of the Communist Party, today sent a letter to the Board demanding immediate freedom for the five boys.

Charging that "anything which tends to create hatred and distrust between the races is a blow to the welfare of the South as a whole," Hall called upon the Board to rescind its unjust ruling.

THE LETTER

The letter reads in part:

"We, as Southerners, believe that the welfare and progress of our native South depend on how well and how soon Negro and white Southerners can learn to live at peace with each other and develop a harmonious, friendly and cooperative relationship between the races. We believe that more and more Southerners every day are realizing that this is our first and most pressing problem.

"For this reason, a lynching hurts the whole South. A lynching tells white Southerners: 'The Negro is not a citizen, entitled to equal justice before the law. He is someone to be hunted and terrorized into submission. Treat him with contempt. Lok on him as an enemy.' Just as surely, a lynching says to every Negro Southerner: 'The white man keeps law and justice for himself. He will not share them with you. Treat him with suspicion. Regard him as your enemy.' Thus every lynching makes many times worse the problem which the lynchers and the apologists for lynching claim to be trying to solve.

"The same thing is true of the Scottsboro case and for much the same reasons. Five Negro boys have now been held in Alabama prisons for nine years. Yet the evidence against them is so flimsy, by so much other evidence that no white person could even have been indicted, let alone convicted, on the basis of it. For nine years the government of Alabama has been, in effect, saying to the whole world: 'In Alabama, this evidence, or any evidence, or no evidence, is sufficient to hold these defendants, because these defendants are Negroes, accused of attacking a white person.'

THOSE WHO BENEFIT

"We have already pointed out that friction and distruct between the races hurts the South as a whole. But there are some people whom it benefits. It benefits the Black Belt landlords. They need it to hold their sharecroppers, Negro and white, in semi-slavery. It benefits the capitalists, North and South, who wring huge profits out of the sweat of Southern working men. They need it to keep the trade unions from growing strong and powerful, to keep Southern labor divided against itself and therefore weak. It benefits those reactionary politicians who make their living fighting to hold back social progress. They need it to keep large sections of the people in ignorance, illiteracy and terrible poverty. They need it as a drag on every effort to raise the living standards of the people as a whole.

"It is the pressure from this selfish and anti-social handful of people which compels Southern congressmen to fight like wildcats against an anti-lynching law which the majority of the Southern people approve. It is their pressure which, year after year, has balked every effort to rid Alabama of the Scottsboro case. In its recent refusal to liberate these prisoners, the Alabama board of pardons and paroles has once more bowed to the will of that minority.

"The pardon board has now announced that it has abolished the Scottsboro case by decree. 'Hereafter,' says the Board, 'any reference to the 'Scottsboro defendants' will be inaccurate. They will be dealt with as individuals. . . .'

"The Scottsboro case is not ended and will never be ended until all the defendants are free. As the Birmingham Post rightly commented on the Board's latest decision: 'Until justice prevails, there should be no rest for public or official conscience.'

"We call upon the people of Alabama, Negro and white, to express themselves through their churches, clubs, trade unions and fraternal orders, insisting that the pardon board shall free the Scottsboro boys now.

"Alabama State Committee,
Communist Party,
"By Rob F. Hall, Secretary."

Bristol, Va., News-Bulletin
March 16, 1940

SCOTTSBORO CASE' FILES SUBJECT STUDY

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 16. (AP) Voluminous files of Alabama's notorious "Scottsboro case" were before the state pardon and parole board today for study following a hearing yesterday on applications of five negro convicts for freedom.

Alex Smith, chairman, said after the sparsely attended special session the board was interested "only in seeing that justice is done" and told advocates and opponents of parole for the Negroes that the case would be given "careful consideration."

Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who read court testimony then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five Negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged mass rape of two white women in 1931.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, told the board that "thinking Negroes are inclined to have little sympathy" with the convicts, and based his plea on the "apparent inconsistency" in the treatment of the defendants.

Four of nine original defendants were freed after six years imprisonment when the state dropped charges against them. Those whose parole applications were heard yesterday were Clarence Norris, whose death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Andy Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

6380

LYNCHINGS- 1940 ALABAMA
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE.

Paroles Board Gets Scottsboro Case In Its Lap

Files Applications Of 5 Convicts For Routine Handling In February

The internationally known Scottsboro case was yesterday placed in the lap of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, distinguished pastor of New York's Broadway Tabernacle, who has nine assistants, yesterday conferred informally with the three board members.

Dr. Chalmers, chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, filed a petition for parole of the five Scottsboro principals now in Kilby and Atmore prisons.

The petition set forth that the celebrated inmates were convicted on the incompetent testimony of one Victoria Price and that they have "already suffered more than is just."

The board received the petition, declined to give it preferred status on the docket and prepared to hear the case along with 250 "routine" cases the second Tuesday in February.

In releasing a formal statement to the press, board members appeared most desirous to have it known that the cases of the Scottsboro prisoners would be treated routinely. An air of casualness was observed.

The progress of the Scottsboro case towards the board docket has been watched with hawk eyes, because it will bring the Dixon-created board face-to-face with a case involving much more than five criminal records. It is by all odds the most important case with which the board has dealt. It is a tar baby that the board could not turn loose, and doubtless members have turned it over in their minds frequently.

However, members said yesterday that they had not yet delved into the Scottsboro file.

The five yet in State prisons are: Clarence Norris, 24, life; Andrew Wright, 24, 99 years; Charles Weems, 24, 75 years; Haywood Patterson, 23, 75 years; Ozzie Powell 20 years, attempted murder of an officer during one of the trials.

Cases of four others were nolle prossed in 1937.

The board's statement reads:

"The press has indicated . . . its interest in knowing whether or not applications for parole had been filed by the Scottsboro men. We are therefore advising you that applications for parole were filed today . . .

"The applications, in accordance with our rules, were today set down by the board for consideration on its February work calendar along with approximately 250 other routine cases.

"No action will be taken on the cases until after they have been considered in the regular routine manner on the February work calendar and until after the board has made such investigation and study as in its discretion it deems proper as in the usual case."

Parole of the Scottsboro prisoners is also sponsored by a group of Alabamians under the leadership of Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Birmingham. Among the noted Alabamians who have worked with him are Donald Comer, Birmingham industrialist; Forney Johnston, Birmingham attorney; former Gov. Thomas E. Kilby, of Anniston, and Dr. Guy E. Snavely, former president of Birmingham-Southern, and numerous others.

Plea For Paroles In Scottsboro Case Are Filed In Order

Inadequate Evidence For Convictions Claimed In Appeals

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Parole applications of five "Scottsboro rape case" convicts were placed "in regular order" today in the files of the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles.

The petitions were filed yesterday by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York minister, and contended the Negroes were convicted on inadequate evidence and had been punished sufficiently.

Of nine original defendants in the case, growing out of the alleged mass rape of two white women aboard a freight train near Paint Rock, Ala., in March, 1931, these remain in prison:

Clarence Norris, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by former Gov. Bibb Graves; Andrew Knight, 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charles Weems, 75 years, and Ozzie Powell, 20 years on a charge of assault to murder in connection with the wounding of a deputy sheriff in an escape attempt.

Rape charges against Powell and four others originally indicted were dropped in 1937 after they had spent six years in jail while the case was fought through 11 trials. Twice the United States Supreme Court set aside death sentences.

The pardon and parole board, a new agency set up under a constitutional amendment as successor to a board composed of elected state officials, said the applications would be taken up along with approximately 250 other "routine cases" at its Feb. 13 hearing.

State Pardon Board To Hear Scottsboro Negroes' Pleas Today

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Alabama's nine - year - old "Scottsboro rape case" bobbed up again today as the State Board of Pardons and Paroles scheduled a hearing at 2:30 p.m., on freedom applications from five defendants still in prison.

Four of the nine original Negro defendants, accused of mass assault on two women aboard a freight train near Paint Rock, in March, 1931, were released in 1937 when rape charges were dropped after the men spent six years in jail.

The case went through 11 trials and twice the United States Supreme Court set aside death sentences.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York minister, presented the applications for parole, contending the five Negroes were convicted upon insufficient evidence and had been sufficiently punished.

The five remaining in prison are: Clarence Norris, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by former Gov. Graves; Andrew Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charles Weems, 75 years, and Ozzie Powell, 20 years.

Powell was convicted of assault to murder in the slashing of a deputy sheriff during an escape attempt. Rape charges against him were dropped at the time the four defendants were released.

The Board of Pardons and Paroles, in announcing receipt of the applications Jan. 5, said they would be handled "in regular order," but special hearings were set later.

Atty. Gen. Thomas S. Lawson announced intention of opposing freedom, "certainly at this time."

Former Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who opposed clemency for the men before former Gov. Graves when the executive denied freedom, has indicated he would appear to protest again.

From Dave Birmingham, former chief clerk in the Department of Corrections and Institutions, came a letter declaring the board would become "the most despised arm of the present government" if it paroled the convicts.

Scottsboro Negroes' Pleas Are Put Before State Pardon Board

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Pleas and protests of freedom for five Negroes serving long-term sentences in the nine-year-old "Scottsboro case" were placed today before Alabama's new three-member Board of Pardons and Paroles.

Four of the nine original Negro defendants, accused of the mass assault on two white women aboard a freight train near Paint Rock, Ala., in 1931, were released in 1937 after they had spent six years in jail, gone through 11 trials and twice won reversals of death sentences before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, appeared to support the parole applications, filed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York minister, who claimed the Negroes were convicted upon insufficient evidence and had been sufficiently punished. Tuskegee is the world's largest institution of higher learning for Negroes.

A. D. Kirby, former Jackson (Scottsboro) County legislator and probate judge, told the board at a morning conference citizens in his section "believe the Negroes guilty and think they should not be paroled."

Dr. H. M. Edmonds, Birmingham minister and chairman of an Alabama Scottsboro committee, wrote he did not believe a personal appearance on his part would serve any public interest.

Parole Board Studies Scottsboro Negroes' Pleas For Freedom

Only Small Crowd Is Present For Hearing Held In Montgomery

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Voluminous files of Alabama's notorious "Scottsboro case" were before the State Pardon and Parole Board today for study after a hearing yesterday on applications of five Negro convicts for freedom.

Alex Smith, chairman, said after the sparsely-attended special session, the board was interested "only in seeing that justice is done" and told advocates and opponents of parole for the Negroes the case would be given "careful consideration."

Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who read court testimony, then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five Negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged mass rape of two women in 1931.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, told the board that "thinking Negroes are inclined to have little sympathy" with the convicts, and based his plea on the "apparent inconsistency" in the treatment of the defendants.

Four of nine original defendants were freed after six years imprisonment when the state dropped charges against them. Those whose parole applications were heard yesterday were Clarence Norris, whose death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Andy Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

SCOTTSBORO PAROLES OPPOSED BY HEFLIN

Board Will Make Decision Within 30 Days

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 15.—(UP)—J. Thomas Heflin, fiery former senator from Alabama, warned today that lynch law in the South would be encouraged if the State Board of Pardons and Paroles grants clemency for five negroes convicted in the famous Scottsboro case.

The board is considering a petition for parole of the five negroes, who originally were convicted with four others and sentenced to death in 1931.

The negroes were accused of criminally assaulting two white women aboard a freight train near Scottsboro. During intervening years, the case was carried to the Supreme Court three times and each time convictions were reversed.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, pointed out the "apparent inconsistency of keeping the five defendants in prison while four others were allowed to go free, although they were accused of the same crime."

The board said a decision would be made within 30 days.

Birmingham Opposes Further Paroles In Scottsboro Case

Dave Birmingham, State Convict Department clerk in the Graves administration, has written the State Board of Pardons and Paroles that if it paroled the Scottsboro convicts it would forthwith become the "most despised arm of the present government."

In his letter Mr. Birmingham took no cognizance of the fact that former Gov. Graves—to whom Mr. Birmingham yields to no man in devotion and admiration—had once appointed the day, hour and spoke for the release of the famous prisoners.

Col. Graves abandoned his plans abruptly and was attacked with vigor by the champions of the parole cause, chiefly Dr. Allen K. Chalmers, pastor of the Broadway (New York) Tabernacle, for alleged breach of a covenant.

The board will hold a hearing on the parole petitions of the remaining Scottsboro principals today at 2:30 p.m. Some weeks ago former Senator Tom Heflin announced that he would be on hand to oppose clemency.

Atty. Gen. T. S. Lawson, who inherited the prosecution of the men from Thomas E. Knight, has asked the board to give him a ring when it is ready to hear him. Lawson, too, will oppose paroles—"certainly at this time."

Birmingham was to have made a personal appearance, but wrote that he would be out of town and the letter conveyed what he would have said.

Judge Bob Hill, associate member of the board, repeated yesterday that no final action would be taken today. Indeed, he said, a decision probably would not be announced for 30 days.

Birmingham's letter follows:

"The courts of Alabama and the law enforcement department spent approximately $80,000 to convict these subjects. . . .most citizens that I have come in contact with are not in favor of a parole for the subjects.

"In view of the fact that they committed the most hideous of all crimes against a white woman of the South, it is my belief. . . .that they should have to pay the penalty with their lives rather than life confinement in the penitentiary. It has been charged that these women were of questionable character. Grant this is true, the law condemning rape does not take into consideration a woman's virtue, and this point should not be considered in your decision whether it is true or not.

"During the four years that I was connected with the penal institutions their conduct was not such that would warrant a parole under any circumstances. This can be confirmed by Capt. Jack Lindsey, one of your pardon and parole officers, who was over these men in the Kilby Prison and who was with them in the Birmingham jail.

"In conclusion let me say that it would be a joke in the face of justice and law enforcement if these gorillas should be given a parole. I am reliably informed that a gentleman from the East who is connected with one of the largest denominations has said that if these boys were paroled he would take them to New York and educate them, which would mean in my opinion that this gentleman would be putting a prize on rape; and let me say to you that if you don't want to write the death knell to the Parole and Pardon Board and make it the most unpopular and most despised arm of the present government, don't parole these subjects."

Florence, Alabama—Times
February 16, 1940

PLEA OF NEGRO CONVICTS FOR FREEDOM HEARD

Scottsboro Case" Is Now Before New State Pardon And Parole Board

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 16—(AP)—Voluminous files of Alabama's notorious "Scottsboro case" were before the state pardon and parole board today for study following a hearing yesterday on applications of five negro convicts for freedom.

Alex Smith, chairman, said after the sparcely attended special session the board was interested "only in seeing that justice is done" and told advocates and opponents of parole for the negroes that the cases would be given "careful consideration."

Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who read court testimony then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged mass rape of two white women in 1931.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, told the board that "thinking negroes are inclined to have little sympathy" with the convicts, and based his ples on the "apparent inconsistency" in the treatment of the defendants.

Four of nine original defendants were freed after six years imprisonment when the state dropped charges against them. Those whose parole applications were heard yesterday were Clarence Norris, whose death sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment; Andy Wright, serving 99 years; Haywood Patterson, 75 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years, and Ozie Powell, 20 years.

Heflin contended the men were "convicted on their own testimony" and declared that "you'll encourage lynch law in this state" if paroles are granted.

"If you pardon these negroes you will say that the law against rape does not apply to these poor ignorant women (the alleged victims)," he continued. "Such action will damn any administration that will parole them."

He criticized what he described as an act of the former state pardon board in "refusing to hear me in this case" and added: "before this case is through it may be an issue in the next governor's campaign."

The former pardon board, composed of three elected state officers, was supplanted by the present three member group provided for in a constitutional amendment voted last year.

Dr. Patterson, who heads the world's largest negro institution of higher learning, said after expressing "little sympathy" with the convicts:

"My plea for their pardon at this time is on the basis that there is a much bigger issue involved—an issue which has to do with the reputation of this state and its law enforcement body. It has to do with the apparent inconsistency which exists when several of the boys involved are allowed to go free when accused of the identical and self same offense. It has to do with what certainly has been established as reasonable doubt as to the guilt in these cases. x x x"

Dr. H. M. Edmonds, Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Interracial committee, said his group had advised with Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, New York, who filed the parole applications, and did "not believe that the public interest would be served by a formal appearance at the hearing." He expressed the opinion that dismissal of charges against four former defendants "because of admitted doubt of their guilt x x x is not to be reconciled with the election to try the present convicts.

Attorney General T. S. Lawson who has said he would oppose paroles "at this time," announced he would file a formal brief later.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
February 16, 1940

Board Studies Five Appeals

Pardon Group Hears Argument For Parole In Scottsboro Case

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Only five persons, other than reporters, attended the two and one-half hour hearing, most of which was taken up by former U. S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, who read court testimony then pleaded for denial of parole applications of five negroes convicted of charges growing out of the alleged mass attack on two white women in 1931.

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6381

LYNCHING - 1940

CONNECTICUT

LEGAL PUNISMENT FOR RAPE

Sentenced To 10 Years On Negro Girl's Charge

OCT 12 1940

WATERBURY, Conn. — Whitney Price, 27, white, constable of Prospect, was sentenced to a term of 10 to 15 years in state prison by Judge Alfred C. Baldwin in Superior court last week for criminal assault upon a 21-year-old Race woman.

In imposing sentence Judge Baldwin branded Price's act as a "despicable crime."

Price, who is married and has two young children was arrested September 22, when according to state police, he approached a car in an isolated section of Prospect in which a Race couple were sitting.

Displaying a gun, Price ordered the girl out of her car into his own. According to the girl's testimony, on the threat of shooting her, he forced her to submit

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

D.C.

6382

Winston-Salem, N. C. Journal
May 24, 1940

Negro Held For Criminal Assault Here

Johnny Gains, Negro, wanted here on a charge of criminal assault since March 3, 1929, has been arrested in Washington, D. C., local police have been informed.

Gains is accused of assaulting Eurn Frazier, daughter of Louise Frazier, Negro, of 1516 Woodland avenue. The girl was under 12 years of age at the time the alleged assault took place, according to the statement of charges.

Gains has declined to waive extradition for his return here, and requisition papers were being prepared yesterday to be forwarded to Governor Clyde R. Hoey and then on to Washington authorities. Hearing has been set for June 13.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

GEORGIA

6383

Sheriff To Return Negro To Hancock

(Telegraph's Georgia News Service)

SPARTA, Feb. 12.—Since the supreme court of the state of New York has decided that Willie Lee Butts, local Negro, must return to Georgia to pay the penalty for crimes he committed here, Sheriff T. B. Hightower will make the third trip to New York to bring him back soon.

On two previous trips the authorities refused to turn the Negro over to the local sheriff and carried the case through several courts until it reached the supreme court.

He is wanted here for rape and for seriously cutting a Negress.

Young Negro Convicted In Thomas Attack Case

SEP 26 1940

ALBANY, Ga., Sept. 25.—(AP)—Henry Hall, young Negro, today was convicted of attempting to rape a 16-year-old white girl near Ochlocknee, Thomas county, September 14. The conviction was returned at the September term of Dougherty superior court here.

The conviction carries an automatic death penalty, and Judge W. E. Thomas of the southern circuit set October 18 for the Negro's electrocution at Tattnall prison in Reidsville.

Negro Sentenced To Die After Assault Conviction

NOV 9 1940

Special to THE CONSTITUTION.

MARIETTA, Ga., Nov. 8.—Lewis Willcoxon, 17-year-old Negro, late today was found guilty by a Cobb county superior court jury of criminal assault and sentenced to die in the electric chair December 13. Judge E. Harold Hawkins pronounced sentence.

Willcoxon was charged with assaulting a 20-year-old white woman west of here September 22.

LYNCHINGS-1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

KENTUCKY

6384

15-Year-Old Kentucky Boy Goes To Trial Third Time Charged With Crime of Rape

High Court Says Jury Was Prejudiced By Exposure Of Black Boys Nude Person

Dispatch 6/15/40 Lexington Herald

Jury Exclusion Cited By Attorneys

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—(ANP)—The Kentucky court of appeals Friday reversed and set aside the death sentence of the Lexington circuit court imposed upon Eugene Burnam, 15, who was sentenced to death in the electric chair for the alleged rape of Mrs. Hazel Perkins, prominent young Lexington white woman, on the night of April 6, 1939.

The prosecution of the appeal which brought about the reversal of the death sentence was argued by Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, Prentice Thomas and C. Eubanks Tucker, all Louisville attorneys. The grounds of the appeal was that the presiding trial judge, King Swope, made unguarded and inappropriate statements at the second trial when he stated to the jury, which had been deliberating for 14 hours, that "I don't have to leave before Thursday." The attorneys for Burnam argued that this statement, by implication and inference, acted as coercion upon the minds of the jury and resulted in their reaching a verdict of "guilty" within two hours after the statement. The "Thursday" mentioned by Judge Swope was Thanksgiving Day, and counsel for Burnam contended that the remarks of Judge Swope gave the jury the impression that they would be locked up over the Thanksgiving holidays.

The higher court in setting aside the verdict ordered the case to be retried, which means that Burnam will go on trial at the next term of the Fayette circuit court. This will be the third trial of the case. "It is a reversible error," the appellate court said, "for a trial judge indirectly or indirectly, to threaten to keep a jury together to coerce them in returning a verdict." The whole court, except Judge W. H. Rees, who is ill, sat to consider the case, with Commissioner Porter Sims writing the opinion.

In two previous trials, Burnam has been given death by two different juries. At the first trial in May, 1939, the court appointed three young white lawyers to represent the youth, and he was given the death sentence by an all-white jury. In June, 1939, a group of colored citizens employed the Louisville colored attorneys, who immediately entered the case and were successful in setting aside the first death sentence and obtaining a new trial upon the grounds that Judge Swope, the presiding judge, erred in permitting nude photographs of Burnam to be exhibited to the jury to prove that he was capable of committing rape. The lawyers argued that such indecent exposure of the defendant's person was calculated to, and did, inflame the minds of the jury. When Burnam was first arrested, the local newspapers referred to him as a "sex degenerate." Eight policemen took him from his bed about 11 p. m. Two of the officers were given ten days leave for "meritorious action."

At the November trial of the case, the colored attorneys raised the question of the exclusion of Negroes from the grand jury and petit jury and were successful in obtaining, for the first time in the history of Lexington ,the calling of colored men. Burnam was re-indicted by the November grand jury, of which two colored men were members. The next day more than 20 Negro citizens and taxpayers were called for petit jury service, but each was excused for one reason or another before the actual trial of the case began.

Burnam was given the death sentence again, but the jury remained out 17 hours before reaching a verdict of "guilty," whereas, in the first trial they reached a verdict in only 20 minutes.

LYNCHING - 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

MISSISSIPPI

6370

MAN IN ATTACK CASE GETS LIFE SENTENCE

(The Associated Press)

Meridian, Miss., Aug. 15.—A 34-year-old man booked by Sheriff Fred Ross as Henry Hicks pleaded guilty today to a charge of criminally attacking the 12-year-old daughter of a Suqualena community farmer and was sentenced to a life term in the state penitentiary. The sheriff said Hicks had been doing odd jobs about the farmer's home.

LYNCHING - 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

NEW YORK

6385

Another Scottsboro Tragedy Here Prevented By Quick Action On The Part Of Attorney James C. Thomas

New York Age
NOV 16 1940
2

What might have turned out to be another case parallel to the famous Scottsboro Case, was thwarted Thursday through the efforts of Attorney James C. Thomas, prominent Harlemite, former Assistant U. S. Attorney, and member of the board of managers of the Harlem YMCA, and numerous other civic organizations.

Last October 15th, Mrs Phyllis Thompson, hard-working domestic of limited means, was notified that her son, Heyward Thompson, 19-year-old tubercular youth, had been sentenced for a term of not less than ten nor more than twenty years to Sing Sing Prison. She immediately appealed to Attorney Thomas to investigate and the following facts were uncovered:

That Heyward had been indicted by the Bronx Grand Jury for a sex case. That on September 24th, for the first time in his life, he was brought before the Bronx County Court and there, without the aid, assistance or benefit of counsel, he had pleaded guilty, and on October 9th was sentenced to from ten to twenty years in Sing Sing. The court's probation report disclosed that the boy had never before been convicted of a crime, that he was tubercular and eccentric.

Seeing a similarity between the facts in this case and the famous Scottsboro Case, Attorney Thomas made an exhaustive search of the law, prepared a brief based upon the Scottsboro Case, and other famous cases involving similar situations, and called the matter to the attention of the presiding judge, who on the attorney's motion, recalled Thompson from Sing Sing for a rehearing.

New Trial Granted

On November 7th, Mr. Thomas argued his motion to vacate the sentence and permit Thompson to withdraw his plea of guilty. After conclusion of his argument, the court granted Mr. Thomas' motion and set the case down for a new trial.

Commenting upon his victory, Attorney Thomas told The New York Age:

"It is another instance which points out the great responsibility that rests upon a citizen who cherishes the blessings which a free nation has vouchsafed to all, and emphasized the importance of being alert to every act of the men who are conducting the affairs of state, so that he may be ready at all times to challenge every move that tends toward the overthrow of the inalienable right of men.

"This case is an object lesson to the colored people as well as to all minority groups of the vigorous vigilance which we must always maintain if we are to safeguard our elementary constitutional and human rights for which we have so long fought.

Constitutional Guarantee

"The innocence or guilt of this boy is beside the issue. Until he is convicted by a jury of his peers after a fair trial, we have the right to presume him innocent, and the constitution guarantees this until he is convicted.

"I cannot refrain from paying tribute to County Judge Lester Patterson, of the Bronx County Court, for his fearlessness and fairmindedness upon the hearing. Judge Patterson has long been known to be a champion of human rights regardless of race, creed or color or station. So long as we have men like Judge Patterson on the bench, the rights of all minority groups will be fully protected."

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

NEW YORK

6386

New Trial Set For Negro in RapeFrame-Up

Brooklyn 'Scottsboro' Case Ordered Retried by Court

Twenty-two-year-old John Williams, framed for "rape" in a case as sinister and crude in its attack upon the Negro people as that of Alabama's Scottsboro, will appear in Judge P. J. Brancato's court in Kings County, Friday morning to learn whether or not he can go free.

Young Williams was convicted of rape and sentenced to serve 7½ to 15 years as a climax to a Jim-Crow campaign to drive the Negro people from certain areas of Broklyn. On Dec. 20 the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court held that Williams was entitled to a new trial, and the victim of the frame-up was brought from Sing Sing prison to the Raymond St. jail. One Supreme Court Judge held that the evidence against Williams was so flimsy that he should be freed.

The Williams defense was marked by splendid support from Negro and white citizens of Brooklyn, who formed the John Williams Defense Committee and cooperated with the International Labor Defense in the campaign for the youth's freedom.

The I. L. D. has urged that sympathizers attend court Friday morning when the Williams case is heard. The hearing will be held in Part 2, General Sessions, Schermerhorn St. Court, Brooklyn.

Court Prepares to Repeat Wrong in Williams Case

New Trial Ordered Despite Admission Case Is Groundless

The decision handed down by the Appellate Court of Kings County ordering a new trial for John Williams, Negro worker framed on a ridiculous charge of rape, is an important victory for the Negro people and progressive white liberals. It is at the same time a repetition of the two-year-old court case which has been going on for too long a time.

The International Labor Defense, Samuel Neuberger and Samuel Shapiro, ILD attorneys defended Williams.

Neuberger and Shapiro have worked for more than two years diligently in trying to win justice for Williams who was falsely charged with ravishing Irene Richard, a white Brooklyn domestic.

From the very start of this tragic comedy, the trial judges have made no attempt to hide their contempt for the Negro people.

MAKES LYNCH SPEECH

At the last trial before the Negro hating Judge Peter J. Brancato in February, the court went out of its way to stir up lynch sentiment against the defendant. Flouting the law and giving vent to his hatred and prejudice for the defendant, Brancato, after having sentenced Williams to from five to ten years on the first count, ordered the defendant before him again where a second sentence of two and a half to five years was meted out on the charge of "assault with intent to commit rape."

When challenged by defense attorney Neuberger for the harshness of the court, Brancato in typical lynch style, thundered indignantly:

"I will give him life if I could. I would give him more if I could."

Mr. Neuberger took exception to the Judge's vicious ruling, whereupon he continued:

"Let it appear on the record; that the court said, in view of the facts in this case, on the record, I am sorry that I cannot give him twenty years instead of five. . . . It was a white girl. . . . Put that down too."

The accepted theory of law that a man is presumed innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt was thus amply proved to be a hoax.

The first decision of the Appellate Court in 1939, reversing the judgment of the trial court, confirmed the innocence of Williams and even went so far as to suggest that this farce should not be repeated again. Said the Appellate Court at that time:

"The charge as a whole was not sufficient or adequate, but on a second trial the error in this respect probably will not be repeated."

ORDER NEW TRIAL

The whole trial was so ludicrous that Judge J. Carswell dissented and voted for complete dismissal of the indictment.

But the "error" was repeated again. And again on Monday the Appellate Court ruled that the "judgment of the conviction is against the weight of the credible evidence," which is another way of saying that there is no evidence upon which a conviction could possibly be sustained.

The Appellate Court further ruled: **Judgment reversed on the law and the facts and a new trial ordered."**

The curious thing about this part of the ruling is that the conviction is set aside **"on the law and the facts"** and yet a new trial is ordered on the basis of "facts" that do not exist and would not be "credible" even if the law could be applied to such non-existant "facts."

Since there is no "credible" evidence to warrant the continued imprisonment of John Williams who has already been persecuted and tortured by the shadow of prison bars for more than two years, why is it then that District Attorney O'Dwyer and the courts persist in further torturing the life out of this youthful Negro worker?

The reason is obvious. They are determined to make of this Brooklyn "Scottsboro case" a challenge and a threat to the rights of the Negro people of that vicinity.

Attorneys Samuel Neuberger and Samuel P. Shapiro declared yesterday that it is inconceivable, even according to the new ruling of the Apellate Court, how a new trial can be held without new and additional evidence.

"That there is no such evidence," they said in a joint statement, "is obvious in the skeletonized presentation upon the second trial. It therefore seems to us that the District Attorney of Kings County will now consent to a dismissal of the charges in the absence of "credible evidence."

He can be made to consent to dismiss the charges against Williams if the people of New York will flood his offices with protests. The John Williams Defense Committee, the ILD and the Brooklyn Council of the National Negro Congress, announced yesterday that delegations of prominent Negro and white citizens will be organized to demand of O'Dwyer the immediate and unconditional release of Williams.

B'klyn Negro Youth, Framed for 'Rape,' Gets New Trial

23-Year-Old Youth Freed After 18 Months in Prison; International Labor Defense Led Fight Against Conviction

John Williams, 25-year-old Brooklyn Negro youth, whose framed conviction on a rape charge 18 months ago was twice reversed by the Appellate Division, was set free yesterday afternoon on his own recognizance.

Williams, who came to New York from North Carolina years old.

Attorney Samuel A. Neuburger and his associate Samuel P. Shapiro counsel for Williams, declared that they were convinced that upon review of the records by the assistant of District Attorney O'Dwyer there will be "no alternative but to dismiss the indictment and thereby finally vindicate Williams of the charge."

Williams, since he was arrested on December 28, 1938 has been held in prison. On his first trial which resulted in a conviction by an all-white jury he was sentenced to from seven and a half to fifteen years in Sing Sing prison.

That was reversed by unanimous vote of the Appellate Division, on the basis of the law and the facts. At a second trial held January 1940 with the charge changed to "attempted rape" and "assault with intent to rape" a jury again found him guilty and he was sentenced to from five to ten years.

THREATENED LIFE

It was at that time that the labor-hating Judge Brancato said that if he could he would have given Williams life imprisonment. It was after the second reversal that Attorney District Attorney William O'Dwyer assigned Clarence Wilson, his assistant, to investigate the case and the result was his release yesterday.

Formal dismissal of the charge, Wilson said, must await his further study of the records. The Williams release is a great victory for the International Labor Defense and the mass movement it arouse in behalf of this innocent youth.

The charge of rape was made against Williams by Rebecca Roth of Bensonhurst 23 days after the crime was alleged to have been committed. Williams was an assistant janitor and did occasional errands for the Roth Tailoring. It subsequently developed that Williams had earlier become involved in a dispute with Mr. Roth, refusing to work for him without pay.

During the trial many neighbors testified as character witnesses for Williams, to his good behavior and conduct. The Williams Defense Committee, which the I. L. D. formed, included many neighbors of Williams, organizations of Brooklyn and prominent Negro leaders.

GREETED ON FREEDOM

Shortly after his release at 4:10 yesterday afternoon Williams was met by many of the active leaders who fought in his behalf at 284 Quincy St., home of Malcom Martin, chairman of Brooklyn Division of the National Negro Congress.

Williams was the happiest youth on earth and could hardly find words to express his joy. All he could say was that when he was jailed he didn't know to whom he could turn as he has no parents. But somehow the I. L. D. discovered his case and soon he had thousands of friends.



GREETED: Max Bedacht (left), General Secretary of the International Workers Order, and Louise Thompson, newly elected Vice-President of the IWO, congratulate John Williams (center) on his release.

Negro Frame-Up Victim Praises IWO for Aid

John Williams Tells Bedacht 'Splendid Support Brought His Freedom in Brooklyn's Scottsboro Case; Visits Offices

John Williams, young Brooklyn Negro who was recently released from a frame-up rape charge, visited the headquarters of the International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Avenue, yesterday and thanked the organization for the help it had rendered his defense.

Mr. Williams spent 18 months in prison before the rape frame-up ended in his release. Among the people and organizations who figured in the defense, organizing a William Defense Committee in the neighborhood of Brooklyn, the I. W. O. took an active part. Particularly prominent were IWO Lodges 817, 635, and 795.

Mr. Williams yesterday visited Max Bedacht, General Secretary of the Order, Louise Thompson, newly elected Vice-President, and other Order officials, thanking the I.W.O. for "the splendid support which the membership gave to my defense, and for the real mutual fraternal spirit which prevailed throughout their help-giving."

Helping old man Roth was ruining my real job."

"When I told him that I could not help him any more, he told me that if I didn't work for him, I couldn't work for anybody else and that he was going to 'fix' me."

We asked him in what way had Mr. Roth intended to "fix him?"

"I dunno," he answered, at least I didn't know at that time. But you see, I delivered milk to his home every morning and three and four times a week I went to pick up the empty bottles . . ."

This time we reminded him that it was charged that he attacked the maid in the living room while he was collecting bottles . . .

"I did not attack her," he answered in a definite tone. "All during the 26 days following the supposed-to-be attack, I still delivered milk to the home and picked up bottles. I was surprised when a detective came to my room and arrested me."

"I never touched the maid."

He also related how he was a pupil in a Sing Sing class taught by the famous George Whitney, and that he learned a lot there about reading, writing and arithmetic. In fact, he has already made application to attend school this summer.

Williams has high hopes of obtaining a position in a bakery. The Brooklyn Council of the National Negro Congress is attempting to secure the job.

John smiled again . . . for he really was happy to be free!

Brooklyn 'Scottsboro Boy' Gives Exclusive Interview

(Editor's note: John Williams, principal in Brooklyn's famous "Scottsboro Case" in an exclusive interview with Tommy Watkins, gives angles that have never before been told concerning the case, as well as a brief sketch of his hectic life.)

By TOMMY WATKINS

John Henry Williams sat comfortably in an easy armchair. A smile lit his face . . . He felt that life was really worth living again . . .

And he had an excellent reason to feel that way for he had just been released on his own recognizance after spending 18 long, dreary months behind the thick prison walls of Sing Sing where he had been sent after being twice convicted of an alleged assault on Irene Richards, white Brooklyn domestic. He was happy, too, because twice he had seen the Appellate Division reverse the decisions of the County Court in regard to the case.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

NORTH CAROLINA

6387

BUT ONLY 45 WHITES HAVE PAID PENALTY

RALEIGH, N. C., April 11.—Convicted of raping a white woman, although he denied the charge at his trial, Zeb Page, 29-year-old native of Johnson County, was put to death by gas Thursday in the State execution chamber here.

Page entered the death chamber at 9:59 a.m., and was pronounced dead 11 minutes and 27 seconds after the lethal gas had been turned on. The man was accused of raping Mrs. Elizabeth Stancil, white, in Johnston County.

Arrested a few hours after the alleged assault, Page denied he had raped the woman. He continued his denials through his trial, but was convicted under the law which carries the supreme penalty for that crime. Sheriff K. L. Rose and Deputy W. M. Naron, who made the arrest, witnessed Thursday's execution.

Page was the 190th Negro executed in North Carolina. Only 45 white men have been legally put to death during the life of the State. Sixty-three of the 190 Negroes have been executed in the gas chamber.

L. A. Watts, white prison chaplain, said Page confessed his crime just a short time before he was executed. His mother claimed his body.

Asheville, N. C., Times
May 24, 1940

EXECUTE NEGRO FOR CRIME AT STATE PRISON

Dies By Gas For Attack Upon White Woman In New Hanover.

RALEIGH, May 24.—(AP)—The state executed Simon (Coochie) Gibson, 23-year-old negro, today for the rape of a white woman in New Hanover county.

Gibson contended he was convicted through mistaken identity. Chaplain L. A. Watts said the negro's last statement was: "I did not commit the crime and I could not say that I did it because I didn't."

Police Chief J. C. Rourk, of Wilmington, a witness, said Gibson had a long police record for petty offenses. He said the negro was sought for 30 days after the criminal attack before he was arrested.

Gibson entered the death chamber at 10 o'clock, gas was started a minute and a half later, and he was dead after 13 minutes. He was the 326th person executed here the 42nd for rape, the 191st negro and the 64th put to death by gas.

New Hanover witnesses in addition to the police chief were Sheriff C. David Jones, Deputy Sheriff Porter Davis, Police Sergeant W. Dewey Thompson and Detective Shelby Russ.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
August 21, 1940

To Protect Our Children

In City Court on Monday Nevia Naylor, 38-year-old white man, was properly sentenced to two years on the roads for an attempted assault on a three-year-old Negro girl. The case attracted little attention. But how high would have been the feeling if in this depraved attempt at assault the child had been white and the man Negro? The question answers itself.

As in some other cases, however, the danger in such a creature is in no sense racial. A mature white man who would attempt an attack on a three-year-old Negro child is a menace to every child in the community in which he exists. Obviously such a man is not an ordinary law-breaker but a fiend whose liberty even after two years should disturb the parents of all children.

Our laws seem sometimes more than adequate in establishing insanity as a defense for criminals. There is need also of laws which will protect society from the acts of proved perverts. Punishment for crime in such cases should not alone be considered, but the permanent protection of children should be contemplated also. A man may be successfully punished for a crime but, obviously, punishment cannot be a cure for a mental condition which is a menace to little children of both races.

An insane person whose violence threatens the security of the community is naturally and properly confined in an institution until it is certain that his insanity is cured. Some similar rule should be made the law in the case of sex perverts. It is just as necessary to protect little children from the menace of such men as it is to protect adults from the danger of maniacs. Such creatures should not be punished for a term but put away for the whole of their lives if necessary rather than permit them in freedom to threaten children with the most horrid of crimes.

6387

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

OHIO

6388

White Jury $1,000 In

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Justice from an all-white jury was a reality in Cleveland courts last week when 12 jurors in Judge Samuel Kramer's Court of Common Pleas, awarded a judgment of $1,000 to a 10-year-old girl whose identity the police and courts failed to reveal for various reasons.

She was the victim of attempted rape October 11, 1938 at the hands of an Italian grocer by the name of George Pungi. The young girl, only eight years of age at the time of the attack, had been sent to the store by her mother and was lured into the rear of the grocery by the owner, the testimony showed, who promised to give her some candy.

Pungi gave her the candy, then pushed her into the rear of his store. After locking the door behid him, he allegedly pulled off the girl's clothing and attempted to rape her.

Ralph Fowler, a boy living in the neighborhood, unwittingly came to the rescue of the child. Finding the store empty, the youngster proceeded to knock on the rear door with such vigor that Pungi was forced to open it. Seizing the opportunity, the girl, screaming and frightened, dashed by Pungi and Fowler into the street.

Fearful of what her parents might think, the little girl wandered about the neighborhood, but told some playmates what had happened. These playmates rushed to her parents to give them the news of what had happened.

When parents learned of the incident, an impromptu vigilante committee was formed and talk of lynching filled the air. Gathering new followers at the news of the affair spread, a group of irate parents gathered in front of the store.

Pungi, alarmed, was then reported to have gone into the back of the store, where it is said, he secured a revolver. He then covered [illegible] with a gun, it was shown in the testimony offered. He threatened to shoot if any attempt was made to harm him.

The crowd, covered by Pungi's pistol, retreated across the street, from which vantage point they rained a shower of bricks upon the store, breaking glass windows before the police arrived. Following the attack, police discovered that Pungi enjoyed an unsavory reputation in the community.

It was alleged that four other girls had been attacked or approached by the grocer. Pungi who is serving a sentence of one to 20 years in the Ohio penitentiary on a statuatory offense, was not in court but was represented by counsel. State Representative Chester K. Gillespie represented the girl and her parents.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

OHIO

6389

Clevelander Freed In 'Negro-Did-It' Case

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—(FNS)—Arrested here last week and charged with criminally attacking a white woman, William Purcell, 33, is a free man today because Cleveland police officials refused to believe the story of the "victim" who declared the man beat her into unconsciousness, committed the attack and left her lying on a snow-covered embankment.

Mrs. Katherine Price, widow white and 27, appeared in police court before Judge Bell and told a fairly straight story of how she had been molested on several occasions by a Negro man as she left her employment at Thompson's Products, Inc. She "positively" identified William Purcell, 33, of 2037 E. 88th St., as her attacker.

Not entirely convinced of the woman's charge of assault, but convinced that the woman had probably been annoyed by the defendant, Judge Bell compromised by sentencing Purcell to a 60-day workhouse term.

Detectives in the case freely confessed after the trial that they took little stock in the woman's story and while they were making an additional investigation, held the prisoner at the municipal jail, although he was scheduled to begin his workhouse sentence.

On Wednesday morning, Mrs. Price again figured in a sensational news item carried by daily newspapers which reported that the widow had been struck from behind as she walked under the Pennsylvania Railroad Tracks on Carnegie Avenue, near E. 55th Street, dragged up an embankment, robbed, criminally assaulted and left naked and unconscious for more than an hour, beside the tracks. Stripped of everything but her stockings, the news item related, she had lain in the snow from 11:15 p.m. Tuesday night until 12:20 Wednesday morning.

She told detectives that she had been struck by a burley middle-aged man, and when she awoke from unconsciousness, had found her clothing ripped to shreds and scattered in the snow.

She related how she had found her coat and walked to a gasoline station to call police.

But—police on beginning their investigation, noticed that she was the same woman who had accused Purcell of attacking her. Their suspicions that the woman's story was an invention of a deranged mind were strengthened when further investigation produced glaring discrepancies in the woman's story. Finally she admitted that the whole thing was "made up."

The woman revealed that she had walked along Carnegie Avenue, gone behind a signboard, pulled off her clothing, scratched her flesh with a pin, then called police. She is being examined by Police Department psychiatrists to determine whether or not she is demented.

Purcell, languishing in a jail cell, was brought out and freed of the assault charge, and the entry recording his conviction stricken from the court records, by Judge Bell. The woman was being held Wednesday noon at police headquarters to answer charges of filing a false police report.

6390

LYNCHING - 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE

SOUTH CAROLINA

Jury Convicts Men In Seven Minutes

Must Die November 29 For Alleged Attack On White Woman

NOV 9 1940

MONCKS CORNER, S. C.—(ANP)—Alpheus "Pompey" Grant and Cyrus Pinckney of Liberty Hill in Charleston county, were sentenced to die in the electric chair here Friday for allegedly assaulting a young white woman near Yeaman's hall just over the Berkeley county line. The jury debated less than seven minutes.

The case dates back to July of this year when the two are alleged to have interrupted a midnight spooning party of two white couples and attempted to assault the girl whom authorities say is 15 years old but who appears much older. Residents of the section in which all principal characters live swore to investigators that the two men had been "going" with the women and when they were caught together that night by the white boy friends the usual cry of "rape" was made. Edward Chisolm, a brother of Pompey, was arrested after a posse of several hundred whites combed the section. He was released later when it was revealed that his brother had used his car but he, himself, was in no manner involved in the case. Pinckney was taken into custody after being involved by Pompey Grant.

A lynching of the pair was averted when a mob of 500 whites broke into the county jail here after the two were arrested. The men had been taken elsewhere.

The trial itself was more or less perfunctory. Court appointed counsel for the defendants offered no testimony and did not cross-examine the principal witness against the men, stating to her, "You have been through enough already." A small court audience witnessed the trial and perfect order prevailed while the "blitzkrieg" of what is known as southern justice was administered. The men were sentenced to die Nov. 29 in the electric chair.

Two days preceding this case, Eddie Wright, another Negro, was sentenced to serve from 5 to 40 years for allegedly assaulting a white woman. He had been held in jail since August without the privilege of communicating with either relatives or a lawyer.

Two Men Get Chair For Alleged Assault On S.C. White Woman

NOV 9 1940

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Speedy Injustice

NOV 17 1940

ONLY seventeen minutes were necessary to conduct the trial and sentence to the electric chair two Negroes at Moncks Corner, S. C., for alleged assaults upon a white woman.

The trial, at most, was a mockery and a travesty on justice. The Constitution guarantees to every person accused of crime a speedy, fair and impartial trial. These men did not get a fair or an impartial trial. It is unreasonable to think that a jury trail of two men for capital offense can be terminated within the time taken to convict the men in South Carolina if the accused are given a fair trial and their rights are protected. It requires a longer time than seventeen minutes to select a jury.

After the alleged crime was committed by the men a mob had tried to lynch them and broke into a jail, some 500 strong, and discovered that they had been spirited away. The court and jury did "legally" what the mob could not accomplish by force.

This kind of a trial shows clearly how southerners may be able to "get around" the provisions of an anti-lynch law if and when it is passed. It shows the type of legal lynching that the South utilizes in its anti-Negro tactics for the purpose of torturing colored people and at the same time make it appear that the regular procedure for giving prisoners an opportunity to defend their rights in courts is always accorded them. Many times the people who make up the jury are some of the same persons who previously made up the mob to lynch Negroes. Obviously their verdict will be controlled more by their formed convictions than by the evidence submitted at the trial.

Trials by all-white juries in the South are usually perfunctory and biased when the accused has allegedly committed a crime against a white person.

It is reasonable to say that the men on such juries do not constitute the peers of the accused. For they live in different environments and under a different atmosphere. The jurors have preconceived ideas concerning the guilt of the accused before one bit of evidence is submitted to them. The Scottsboro trials clearly showed this.

If our federal government is to guarantee to its citizens a republican form of government it might be advisable for Congress to appoint a committee to investigate southern justice as it is accorded our people and to make recommendations for preventing the fiasco of the South Carolina court.

Aiken County Youth Meted Death Sentence For Attack

DEC 20 1940

AIKEN, S. C.—Josiah Woodward, 19-year-old Negro youth of the Kathwood section of Aiken county, was sentenced to die in the electric chair, January 31, after being convicted Friday at a special term of criminal court on a charge of criminal assault on a young white woman of the same of the county. The case consumed the entire day.

The young woman testified that the youth stopped her as she was en route to work Oct. 9, choked her and when she screamed, dragged

Trial Consumes Entire Day At Aiken, S. C.

her about 85 yards from the road into a field of broom sage and threatened to kill her. Her clothes were badly torn and she was bruised about her knees, limbs and neck. The physician who examined the young woman at the time of the attack testified to the condition of her body, saying that she was badly bruised.

Sheriff Howard testified that the youth confessed to him that he had attacked the girl with intent to ravish.

The youth had served three years of a six-year sentence in another county for attack on a colored girl. At the time he was arrested in Aiken county he was wanted in Columbia for murder.

Supreme Court Rejects Death Verdict on Negro

WASHINGTON, March 25 (UP).—The Supreme Court today set aside the death sentence conviction of Bob White, Polk county, Texas, Negro, on rape charges.

White's was the third case in three months in which the tribunal overruled state courts to free Negroes who contended they were subjected to inhuman treatment to force confessions from them.

High Court Re-Affirms Death Stay

NEW YORK—Reaffirming its decision of March 25, in which it reversed the Texas Supreme court's death verdict against Bob White of Polk county who was charged with rape in 1937, the United States Supreme court granted a new trial in an opinion read by Associate Justice Hugo Black, Monday, May 27.

Justice Black, quoting a sentence from his Lincoln day opinion, in which the court decided unanimously that four Florida Negroes had been sentenced to death by reason of forced confessions, said: "Due process of law, preserved for all by our Constitution, commands that no such practice as that disclosed by this record shall send any accused to his death."

The case was argued before the high court by F. S. K. Whitaker, representing the Houston, Texas, branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

SUPREME COURT DENIES MOTION FOR REHEARING

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6—Bob White, illiterate Texas farmhand, who was convicted of rape and sentenced to death, must be given a new trial in the courts of Texas.

The United States Supreme Court last Monday denied the motion of the State of Texas for a rehearing of the judgment of that tribunal granting his petition for certiorari and summarily reversing his conviction and death sentence.

White's original petition for a review of his case was denied by the Supreme Court on November 13. After the decision of the Supreme Court in the Chambers case, in which the convictions and sentences of death of four ignorant young colored tenant farmers were reversed, White filed a petition for rehearing of his original petition.

In his petition for a hearing he assigned the additional grounds that his conviction and sentence resulted from proceedings in which the State of Texas had used a confession obtained by coercion and intimidation in violation of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court on March 25 granted certiorari and reversed the judgment of the state court upon authority of Chambers v. Florida, decided by the Supreme Court on February 12.

NEGRO SET FREE UNDER RULING OF SUPREME COURT

Barring of His Race from Juries Found to Violate Constitution

NOV 26 1940

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Nov. 25.—The conviction of a Houston, Tex., Negro for assaulting a white woman was reversed by the supreme court today on a finding that Negroes had been barred from grand juries in the county where he was indicted.

"It is part of the established tradition in the use of juries as instruments of public justice that the jury be a body truly representative of the community," said the unanimous decision, delivered by Justice Black.

The court found that although Negroes constitute more than one-fifth of the population of Harris county, Texas, and "a minimum of from 3000 to 6000 of them measure up" to statutory qualifications, only five had served on grand juries from 1931 through 1938, when the defendant was indicted, and none had served in 1937 or 1938.

Defendant to Go Free

The defendant, Edgar Smith, 18 years old, had been sentenced to life imprisonment. The decision apparently had the effect of freeing him completely for George W. Barcus, assistant state attorney-general, told the court that the time limit for obtaining a new indictment had expired and thus he could not be retried.

Black, in an opinion last Lincoln's birthday upset the conviction of a Florida Negro who was subjected to a "third degree." In today's opinion he said that Smith's conviction could not stand if there had been discrimination, however it was accomplished.

"For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups not only violates our constitution and the laws enacted under it but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government," he wrote.

Two other decisions today, in which the court split six to three, represented victories for the government in income tax cases. Justice McReynolds wrote dissenting opinions in which Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts joined. The majority opinions were by Justice Stone.

The first held that Paul R. G. Horst of Brooklyn, N. Y., was liable for a tax on the income from interest coupons which he had detached from his bonds and transferred to his son as a gift. The son collected the $50,677 interest and included it in his own tax return.

Agent Held Liable

The second found that a life insurance agent, Gerald A. Eubank of New York, was liable for a tax on $15,612 of renewal commissions on policies sold although he had assigned the commissions to a corporate trustee.

The government contended that a transaction like Horst's would afford taxpayers "a ready means by which to escape" high surtax rates and that if Eubank's position were sustained, "the opportunity for tax avoidance would be alarming."

"The import of the statute is that the fruit is not to be attributed to a different tree from that on which it grew," Stone's opinion concluded.

It asserted that a taxpayer receives the benefit of income even though he may not receive the actual money. He can make "such use or disposition of his power to receive or control the income as to procure in its place other satisfactions which are of economic worth."

The income actually is "realized" by the assignor in such cases, the opinion continued, "because he who owns or controls the source of the income also controls the disposition of that which he could have received himself and diverts the payment from himself to others as the means of procuring the satisfaction of his wants."

Dissenting Opinions

The dissenting opinions declared in both cases that the transferred income was placed completely beyond the donor's control.

The court refused to review a Georgia supreme court decision which state officials asserted would "seriously endanger" the administration of unemployment compensation programs of 33 states. The decision barred the state from lumping concerns under the same ownership into a single unit to determine whether there were enough employes to warrant the collection of assessments under the unemployment compensation statute.

A 1937 Georgia law permitted assessments against such concerns if, together, they employed eight or more persons.

The court also declined to review a Maine federal court ruling that brokers are liable for misrepresentation under the 1933 "truth in securities" act even when the securities they sell are owned by others.

Doomed Man Stakes Life On Alibi Witnesses

Governor Asked To Commute Death Sentence

RICHMOND, Va.—Is the Clarence Howard case one of mistaken identity? Was he, or was he not, in Farmville, Va., on December 7, 1938, when it is alleged a 40-year-old white woman was raped?

Howard, who is now in death row at state penitentiary sentenced to be electrocuted on February 9, steadfastly denies that he was ever in Farmville. Instead, he maintains that he was in Kentucky at the time the crime occurred and that he has witnesses to substantiate his statement.

Howard, who is 32 years old, was arrested in West Virginia and convicted by a Prince Edward County jury last spring; the conviction was upheld by a 4-to-3 decision of the State Supreme Court of Appeals when the doomed man's lawyers made an attempt to have the decision of the lower court reversed. In an effort to secure enough time to bring Howard's witnesses from Kentucky, his lawyers were instrumental in having Governor Price grant him three reprieves.

As a last move to have time to introduce new evidence, A. L. Pitts, Jr., court-appointed defense counsel, applied to Governor Price for commutation of sentence.

One of Howard's witnesses, J. E. Frazier, who is employed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway came to the city a few days ago at his own expense. When Mr. Frazier went to "death row" to see Howard they identified each other. Within a few days two other witnesses will be brought here from Kentucky by Lawyer Pitts.

State Supreme Court Upheld Conviction

WITNESS DIFFER

The mystery of the Howard case is that while eight persons identified him as a stranger who has lived for a time in Farmville just prior to the crime there, and the white woman "positively" identified him as her assailant, others are just as positive that Howard was in Kentucky at the time the crime was committed.

The Commonwealth claimed that a pair of shoes which Howard had on when arrested were stolen in Farmville. Mr. Frazier says, however, that he gave Howard the shoes in Kentucky.

Ed Jones, one of the other two witnesses who will come here to testify in Howard's behalf, said he slept with the convicted man at the time the crime was committed. Jeff White is the third witness who is being brought here to testify in the case. Both Jones and White are from Ashland, Ky.

In his petition to the Supreme Court of Appeals, Howard contended that he could have proved his alibi had he had money to bring his witnesses from Kentucky. The petition also held that the court erred in not giving his attorney sufficient time to prepare a defense and to bring his witnesses from Kentucky.

A minority opinion was written by Justice Spratley and was concurred in by Justices Browning and Holt as follows:

TEXT OF OPINION

"The evidence in this case amply supports a verdict of guilt. But does the record contain all the evidence the accused might have offered if given full opportunity?

"Howard is a pennyless, friendless, uneducated Negro. It was necessary for the trial court to appoint counsel to represent him. His counsel, though diligent and industrious, was unsuccessful in his effort to secure financial aid necessary for making an investigation of the existence of certain evidence suggested by the accused, which evidence, if it existed, was of such a favorable nature to the accused as to justify consideration of the jury.

"While the production of this evidence could not be guaranteed, counsel gave every indication of his earnest desire to ascertain its existence and worth, with a promise to produce it if possible.

"A short postponement of the day of the trial might have provided this opportunity or satisfied everyone that it could not be produced. As it is, there remains at least a possibility that the accused has been deprived of presenting evidence in his favor, and so long as this possibility remains, there is a doubt that he has been afforded a fair opportunity to make his complete defense.

NO REASONABLE DOUBT

"In criminal convictions there should be no reasonable doubt of guilt, nor any reasonable doubt that the accused has had a fair opportunity to present all the evidence in his favor. Here a death sentence has been imposed. The question before us could not have arisen if the trial had been delayed one or two weeks.

"If there was a mistake in indentification, it could have been corrected in the lifetime of the accused; it will be too late to correct it after his death. It is better that justice be delayed rather than that its administration be hurried with an attendance of doubt upon its fairness.

"I am of the opinion that the judgment of the trial court should be reversed, and the case remanded for a new trial, with an opportunity afforded the accused to present the evidence in question."

The majority opinion written by Justice Hudgins and concurred in by Justices Gregory, and Eggleston and Chief Justice Campbell, reviewed the circumstances of the crime and pointed out that counsel had had thirty-nine days to prepare the case.

The citizens of Farmville at first manifested an interest in the case, but later gave way to the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP which has provided counsel to assist Lawyer Pitts in handling the case.

The Governor granted reprieves as follows: from June 2 to September 1, to December 2, and to February 9.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
September 20, 1940

Fairness to the Negro

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—I read your editorials each day, and have always admired your fairness to the Negro race.

In your editorial entitled "A Fair Trial, of Course," you say: "If they are guilty of this horrible and revolting crime, they deserve, of course, to suffer the ultimate penalty—death in the electric chair."

If four white boys had been involved instead of the four Negro boys, would you have made this statement?

Similar cases have happend here in Virginia where a white man committed rape on a Negro girl, and I have never known a case where the ultimate penalty was meted out. If you can cite one instance, please do so through your columns.

These boys, of course, deserve to be punished, but they deserve the same punishment a white man would receive, had he raped a Negro girl.

I am a Southern white woman, and a teacher in our Southern schools, and as such, I have made an intense study of our treatment of the Negro race.

It is up to the white women of the South to demand that the Negro be given fair and impartial trials in our courts. Our white men should be as just in dealing with the Negro as they demand him to be in their dealings with the white women. A READER.

Columbia.

—

[The Times-Dispatch feels that the crime of rape admits of no racial distinctions, and that punishment for its commission should be as severe upon a member of one race as upon another—Editor.]

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
November 14, 1940

Negroes Given 10 Years Each For Assault

Case May Reach Court of Appeals

Four Negroes, convicted of the rape of a 26-year-old white woman, were each sentenced to 10 years in the State Penitentiary by Judge John L. Ingram in Hustings Court yesterday, before whom they were tried without a jury.

A motion to set aside the court's verdict as contrary to the law and evidence was overruled by Judge Ingram, who granted lawyers for the defense 60 days in which to file a bill of exceptions, indicating that the case might be carried to Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

The convicted Negroes are: Ernest McCray, 25, 400 block West Duval Street; William C. Fox, 25, 1100 block North Harrison Street; Ralph Minor, 24, 900 block West Clay Street, and Louis J. Johnson, 20, 1200 block Boyd Street.

They were found guilty of criminally assaulting the woman, who had been employed as a waitress by a West End tavern, on September 12 near Terrace Springs, off the Second Street Road.

After listening to evidence in a cleared court room all day Tuesday, Judge Ingram yesterday morning visited the scene of the alleged crime during a drizzling rain. Detective Sergeant W. J. Anthony showed him where he and other officers had found evidence of the crime, and additional testimony was given by the accused men.

Accompanied by the attorneys in the case, police and the defendants, Judge Ingram returned to his bench and listened to argument by counsel. He pronounced the prisoners guilty and sentenced them to terms of 10 years without comment.

The defendants were represented by Negro lawyers, Leon A. Ransom, acting-dean of Howard University Law School, Washington, and Oliver W. Hill, Richmond attorney.

Ousted From Home

The prosecution was conducted by Commonwealth's Attorney T. Gray Haddon, Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney Charles T. Tinsley and Beecher E. Stallard. The complaining witness against the four men last night was back in the matron's quarters of the Second Police Station, where she has been since the day after the attack was made upon her.

Because of the notoriety of the case, she was discharged from her job as a waitness and ordered out of her rooming house. Since that time she has been furnished living accommodations at the police station, where a few generous-spirited Richmonders have sent small cash contributions to relieve her penniless condition.

The woman is a comparative stranger in Richmond, according to the police, who say that she left a rural section of Virginia to find employment in Richmond.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
November 14, 1940

Will the Court Explain?

WE have high respect for JUDGE JOHN L. INGRAM, but would it not have been wiser if he had issued a statement yesterday, giving his reasons for sentencing four Negroes convicted of mass rape, to only 10 years each?

Here is a case where a white woman, left on the road at night by a white man, imprudently flagged a car occupied by four Negroes, in search of a ride downtown, and was taken by the Negroes to a lonely spot on the Northside, and criminally attacked. That much seems to be admitted by everybody, and the court found all four defendants guilty of rape. Yet these men will serve only five years in the penitentiary, if their behavior is good.

Since the testimony in the case was not made public, it is impossible for the citizens of Richmond accurately to appraise the factors involved. The court made no explanatory statement in pronouncing sentence, although the accused were all found guilty of a crime for which the death penalty could have been imposed.

The community has a definite interest in the disposition of so serious a case, for when convicted criminals are given what seems to uninformed observers to be a light sentence, it is apt to encourage other criminals to take a chance on getting similar leniency. A man of JUDGE INGRAM'S character and judicial temperament is not in the habit of acting hastily in these matters, and he doubtless has reasons for his decision, in the case under discussion. Since that is true, the wisdom of his sharing those reasons with the public, in so far as he may find such a course proper, impresses us as obvious.

Colored Boy, 15, Sentenced To Die In Va. Assault

Washington Post
Washington, D.C.
DEC 20 1940

Staunton, Va., Dec. 19 (AP).—Joseph R Mickens, 15, colored, charged with criminally assaulting a young white woman on a Waynesboro street the night of Nov. 24, was found guilty by Judge Floridus S. Crosby today in Augusta Circuit Court and sentenced to die in the electric chair Feb. 21.

Mickens, pleading innocent waived trial by jury.

With the public barred from the courtroom, Judge Crosby heard testimony of a dozen witnesses, including the complaining witness, the defendant and officers who investigated the case.

Mickens' birth certificate showed his age to be 15 years and seven months.

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Parole Pleas In Scottsboro Case Denied

Board Says Principals Haven't Right Attitude To Be Rehabilitated

Verdict Unanimous

Hill Declares Applications Should Not Be Received Again For Four Years

The State Board of Pardons and Paroles yesterday unanimously denied paroles for the five remaining Scottsboro case principals.

The board, however, burned no bridges behind itself—a formal statement said their parole applications would receive "reconsideration" if developments warranted.

But it was not without emphasis that Judge Bob Hill, associate member of the board, expressed the conviction that he and his colleagues should not reconsider the case for at least four years.

The prime reason why the board did not see fit to free them is because the board believes that the negroes' hour upon the stage as martyrs of Alabama judicial practice and the attendant international personal publicity has warped their personalities to the extent that they would not prove good parole risks.

The board's preoccupation was more with alleged personality distortion of the prisoners than with the question of whether they had spent long enough in prison or with the gravity of their offense.

Judge Alex Smith, chairman of the board, issued this general statement in behalf of the board:

Individual Decisions

"Each member of this board has reached a conclusion in these cases without intereference or suggestions from either of the other two members. All three reached the same conclusion, and that is to deny the applications at this time.

"A full and most careful study has been made of each and every phase of the cases having been considered.

"Every proponent and every opponent has been most courteous towards both us and the applic ts.

"Today we are making public the separate opinions reached and expressed by each member of the board.

"Consideration was given to each one of these applicants as an individual, although our announcement refers to them as a group . . . They will be dealt with as individuals, each one being considered on his own merits.

"A day for reconsideration in each case will be set in accordance without judgment as to the response of the individual to institutional treatment."

In addition to this general statement each member of the board wrote an "opinion" in the case.

So far as is known, board members did not interview the applicants personally.

It was the second time the five, all once under death sentence on conviction of assaulting two white women aboard a freight train in 1931, had lost clemency pleas. Former Governor Bibb Graves denied parole in 1938.

Four Freed In 1937

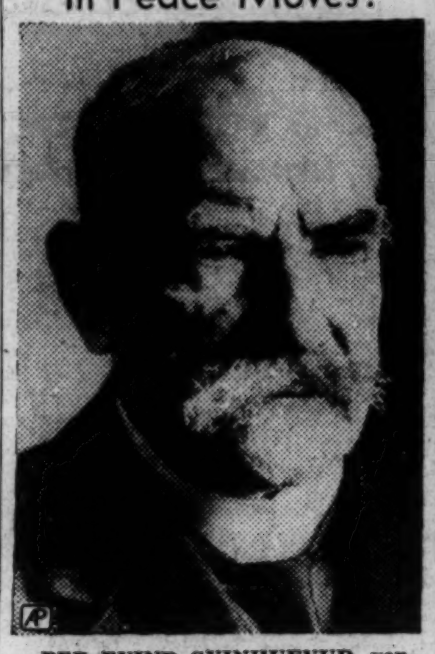
Originally there were nine defendants, but the State dropped prosecution of four in 1937, after they had spent more than six years in jail. The case went through many trials.

Those denied parole were: Clarence Norris, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by Graves; Heywood Patterson, 75 years; Andy Wright, 99 years; Charlie Weems, 75 years; and Ozie Powell, 20 years. The latter pleaded guilty to assault with intent to murder in an attempted escape and rape charges against him were removed.

Twice the United States Supmere Court overturned death sentences in

(Turn to Page 2, Col. 2)

In Peace Moves?



PER EVIND SVINHUFVUD, venerable former president of Finland, is a prominent figure in rumors of Finnish-Russian peace parleys. He appeared in Berlin, said to be en route to a vacation in Italy. His visit, however, was linked with a mysterious trip to Rome by German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. It was Svinhufvud who, in the midst of Finland's bitter civil war of 1917-1918 between "Reds" and "Whites," successfully pleaded with the German Kaiser for military aid which drove the Bolshevists back across the Russian border.

Buying Power Cited As Dixie Need By Dixon

Tells Mayors' Meeting South's Plight Snags U.S. Economic Progress

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., March 8.—(AP)—Restoration of the purchasing power of the South was offered as a solution to national economic ills today by Gov. Frank M. Dixon of Alabama, speaking before the Southern regional meeting of the U. S. Conference of Mayors.

The Alabama Governor said the nation's economy is "out of balance" because of the South's inability to purchase the things it needs.

"We can't have a balanced, healthy nation unless the Southern States have their proper place in the sun," Dixon decired. "There is no room in America for a colonial economy, no room for an 'India'."

Dixon discussed reasons for the South's low per capita income, citing the lack of capital at the end of the War Between the States, farm tenancy and the one-crop system, and such 'Colonial' devices as artificial freight barriers as contributing factors.

He also discussed the South's governmental problems, especially as regards school expenditures, and their relations to the nation.

School Problem Cited

"The people of Alabama," he said, "are being taxed more for schools in relation to their per capita wealth than any others in the United States, but you must realize we have half the national average in per capita income and one-third more children than the national average.

"When you consider that thousands from the South, 3,800,000 in the last 30 years, have gone to other sections to live, you must realize that our problem is not one for any section, but one for the nation."

Dixon said the South needed "partial industrialization" but only from corncerns willing to recognize their responsibility to the community in which they make their living.

Dr. J. N. Baker, Alabama health officer, urged "removal of official health departments from a political atmosphere," in his address on public health administration.

He outlined the Alabama public health system, which provides for

(Turn to Page 2, Col. 5)

Injured Bridge Worker In Serious Condition

SELMA, ALA., March 8.—The condition of Alfred M. Womble, wrecking foreman on the Edmond Winston Pettus bridge, who suffered a fractured skull, a fractured right leg and other injuries in a 45-foot fall Thursday afternoon, was reported still critical Friday at the Selma Baptist Hospital, where he is a patient.

The construction worker came to Selma with the T. A. Loving Construction Company from North Carolina, his home. He has worked continuously since the bridge's beginning. Mr. Womble, supervising workmen on top of Span No. 5, fell many feet to the ground about 2 p.m.

He has a wife and two children of this city.

Slander Suit Filed Against Churchill

NEW YORK, March 8.—(AP)—The Appellate division of the State Supreme Court in a unanimous decision today gave Winston Churchill, first lord of the British Admiralty, 20 days to answer a $1,000,000 slander suit filed against him by William Griffin, owner and publisher of The New York Enquirer, a Sunday newspaper.

The action by Griffin was based upon an alleged denial by Churchill of an interview with Griffin in 1936, during which Churchill was asserted to have said: "It was all a mistake for you (the United States) to enter the World War."

French Leaders Tell Welles 'Pan-European Union' Is Aim

By ROY P. PORTER

PARIS, March 8.—(AP)—Extension of the French-British alliance into a "pan-European union" after the war, French Foreign Office sources said tonight, is one of the key ideas which French leaders have given Sumner Welles in the first two days of his three-day visit in Paris.

President Roosevelt's emissary is scheduled to conclude his fact finding mission in France tomorrow with a conversation with Finance Minister Paul Reynaud and a visit to the Polish emigre government at Angers. Welles will leave Sunday for London, where Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy is making arrangements for his talks with Britain's wartime leaders.

French Foreign Office sources said the conversations with Welles hinged more on what course the Allies would take after the war than on how the fighting is progressing.

Welles was told that France is strongly united and in a prime state of political and financial health to achieve the Allied war aim—victory

Welles also has learned that France and Britain are linked solidly in combat and intend continuing their political and economic cooperation once the fighting ceases.

Among the ideas advanced to Welles, therefore, were the ways and means of forming around the Franco-British nucleus a cooperative international organization, perhaps based on the Pan-American Union scheme.

What part the United States might play in Europe's economic reconstruction also was said to have been canvassed in the conversations with Welles.

In rapid succession Welles today conferred with Jules Jeanney, president of the Senate; Edouard Herriot president of the Chamber of Deputies; Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist party; Andre de Laboulaye, former ambassador to Washington; Vice-Premier Chautemps and Minister of Justice Georges Bonnet.

Yesterday he was received by President Albert Lebrun and Premier Edouard Daladier. Daladier expressed himself as "entirely satisfied with my talk."

Welles has maintained consistently that the results of his tour are President Roosevelt's confidential property.

Parole Pleas In Scottsboro Case Denied

(Continued From Page 1)

the case. It, however, refused later to review Patterson's last conviction.

In its first reversal the Federal tribunal held the negroes were without adequate counsel at their original trials at Scottsboro, from which the case drew its name. Its second decision held negroes were "systematically excluded" from juries. This resulted in the re-writing of jury statutes in several Southern States, including Alabama.

Excerpts from the opinions of the three members follow:

ALEX SMITH
Chairman of the Board

In order to reach a proper conclusion in any case the first question is, "Is there ground for doubt as to the guilt of the applicant?" A careful review of the evidence and all the proceedings of the courts including the Circuit and Supreme Courts of this State and the Supreme Court of the United States, answers that there is no room for such doubt in these cases.

The second question is, "Was the crime of a highly serious nature?" The answer is in the affirmative as to each of these five, four of them each being guilty of rape and the other being guilty of premeditated and vicious attempt to commit murder.

These two questions being settled, the third asks whether sufficient punishment has been administered to serve notice upon possible future offenders that if they commit like offenses they must pay highly for such needs. The answer is that these have not so served.

The fourth question inquires whether the applicant is properly repentant for the wrong done. This may be determined with a reasonable degree of accuracy from the attitude and general demeanor of the applicant. A careful scrutiny of all material available covering the entire period of time during which these applicants have been known to the authorities of this State, and what we have been able to obtain with reference to them prior to their coming into this State, answers unmistakably that the proper feeling of regret does not exist. It has been suggested that the attitude of belligerence and hostility toward organized society on the part of these applicants is due to the unusual amount of publicity they have received.....

Are there definitely good prospects of rehabilitation? Not in these cases until further service under wise and humane discipline....

It has been suggested that these are entitled to freedom by reason of the fact that four who were originally charged along with these were not prosecuted. Knowing the persons in charge of prosecution in these cases, we cannot other than assume that they had good and sufficient reason for any procedure indulged in, and we leave the matter of the other four at that. We are dealing now with only the five who were sentenced.

Persons inside and outside of our State have asked for the freedom of these prisoners. We are sure that at least a large number of them have sincere and good intentions. However, we believe that any good citizen would decline to recommend the release of these prisoners now if such citizen had the full facts before him or her. Apparently the difference between us and other good citizens—who are urging release—is that we have made a careful appraisal of the facts and of the prisoners. We are bound by good conscience to decline to release these men at this time.

BOB HILL
Associate Member

....No person should be released on parole unless the releasing power is convinced the subject is anxious, willing, capable, and determined to rehabilitate himself as a good, law abiding citizen, one who has the proper attitude and concepts as regards his place in society, and one who will assume and is capable of assuming a position of usefulness in society.

All these factors must have application in any case, their objects must be served. Applying the same tests to these cases as are applied to all cases, we feel parole is in no manner justified or desirable.

It might be said the inordinate amount of publicity given these cases and the charges and counter charges which have attended them have contributed to the defendants' abnormalities in attitude and behavior through no fault of their own. This may be true but it is no fault of Alabama, or any of its citizens or officials. Such may be the reason; it certainly cannot be any justification or legitimate excuse.

These are the reasons why the applications for parole are denied. The decision will not be received favorably perhaps by many who have formulated a definite and positive opinion that these men are innocent and have been grossly mistreated. The expressions in this regard of many prominent men and women of the nation bear evidence on their face of a lack of accurate knowledge.....

The defendants were fairly and justly proven guilty by several witnesses and this was substantiated by the physical facts. Indeed, some of the defendants testified from the witness stand to the guilt of all the others except themselves. At none of the trials was there any testimony that this evidence of the defendants themselves was elicited by third degree or other improper methods.

Mob action did not prevail. No evidence has ever been produced that any attempt at lynching was made. If the citizens of Scottsboro and Jackson County had been bent upon lynching it would have occurred the night the men were arrested. They pursued a sane and reasonable course and left the matter for the law to handle. But yet they have seen themselves libelled and criticized by some citizens without first informing themselves of the facts and the record. . . .

This board has granted five hundred paroles in the past five months of the 1,800 parole applications considered. More than half of those paroled have been of the colored race. Those parolees are making good citizens. The interests of the colored race has been and will be safeguarded. The colored race in Alabama realizes this.

It is the writer's opinion that further applications in these cases should not be considered for a minimum period of four years. This opinion, and only this opinion, expresses my whole views. The preliminary majority statement of the board does not express my views as to the time and manner in which the cases should be reconsidered in the indefinite future.

MRS. EDWINA MITCHELL
Associate Member

. . . .An age-old recognition of the importance of these factors in every effective penal system resulted in the creation of an authority to review and pardon in cases of a miscarriage of justice, and parole in cases in which the offender is considered a fit subject for parole.

The presumption of innocence that the defendant carries with him into the trial court does not follow him on his application to the pardon and parole authority. On the contrary, the presumption is against him.

In entering, however, upon the study of the applications now before us, I did so with no preconceived idea of their guilt or innocence or their fitness for parole.

After a careful and thorough study of all the testimony submitted to thirteen Alabama juries over a period of six years, I am convinced that the offense was committed but I am unable to form a judgment as to which ones of the applicants committed that offense.

The unreliability of the testimony, because of the character of most of the material witnesses both for the State and the defense, presented the juries a difficult duty. The defendants were given a fair and impartial trial. The most convincing evidence, in my opinion, against the defendants was the admission by three of them on the witness stand in the first two trials that they saw the others commit the offense and the physical facts as testified to by the examining physician, whose testimony indicates an unbiased attitude. A knowledge of the characters of the individuals would be revealing and the probability would be that the accepted leaders of the gang were the guilty ones. But we cannot act on probabilities. The presumption of guilt, in the absence of a firm conviction of innocence, must prevail. Time may yet furnish a solution.

The offense charged is punishable in this State by death except when attended by extenuating circumstances. In my opinion, there were mitigating circumstances and the sentences properly reflect them. . . .

We come then to the question of whether or not these applicants are fit subjects of parole. In determining this question, they must be treated separately. The behavior of one cannot be credited or charged to another or to a group. We find, however, that while there is a wide difference in personalities and some are showing much better responses than others, they have all suffered the evil results of too much acclaim and publicity. The conduct of some of them during incarceration indicates depravity. I quote from a statement of one of the sponsors of these applicants: "We recognize 'the fact that the boys are cocky, have caused trouble, some of them have developed homosexual characteristics during the prison experience and that in general they are not in an ideal mood for release. . . .'"

I close this statement with an earnest appeal for the subjects. If the well-meaning people of the country who are interested in their welfare will refrain from publicizing them and let their personalities recover from the unfortunate excitements that have distorted them, Alabama may be able to restore them to normal, law-abiding lives.

Lockhart Plant Retains 100 Men

LOCKHART, ALA., March 8.—(AP)—Supported by other Covington County municipalities as well as county officials, this community of 1,500 is bending every effort to find employment for hundreds to be left jobless when the principal industry closes.

The Jackson Lumber Company, which has operated here since 1902 and employs approximately 600, will close its main plant March 29, due to depleted timber resources. The

eldge available for those who will tak it and use it. In this way science ha been applied to agriculture and muc of the uncertainty, except weathe removed."

Mr. Davis insisted that rural prog ress should be on a community basi with a majority in each communit participating. This calls for commu nity leaders who understand the prob lems of their community and can in spire and lead their neighbors into ac tion for solving these problems, h added.

"We need now more people wh want to do something for themselve rather than look to another or t Uncle Sam for a gift to supply th necessities of life," the speaker con tinued. "We can do much more fo ourselves than we are now doing if w think, look, and then act upon wha we know and see. Opportunities ar here; it is up to us to see them an take advantage of them."

In 4-H club work Alabama is th leading State with more than 100,00 boys and girls between 10 and 20 year of age enrolled. It is the junior di vision of the Extension Service which functions through county farm an home agents in each county; and i is the biggest organization of rura youth in the world.

If Four Are Not Guilty, All Nine Should Be Given Freedom

Call 3-15-40 Kansas City Mo.

THE CALL believes that the five Scottsboro boys who remain in prison on a charge which never has been proved against them SHOULD BE FREED AT ONCE.

When the state of Alabama freed four of the original nine Scottsboro boys in July, 1937, it broadcast to the nation by that action that all nine of the boys were innocent. All nine were arrested at the same time on the same charge, all nine either were innocent or they were guilty. Since Alabama freed four of them, it admitted that ALL are INNOCENT.

But although four have been freed, Alabama still holds five innocent boys behind the bars at the state penitentiary. The Alabama state pardon board last week rejected parole applications for:

Heywood Patterson, serving a 75-year sentence.

Clarence Norris, life imprisonment.

Charlie Weems, 75 years.

Andy Wright, 99 years.

Ozie Powell, 20 years.

These boys are no more guilty than were Eugene Williams, Olen Montgomery, William Robertson and Roy Wright who were freed two years ago and now are in school trying to make up for the years of youth they spent behind the bars. The charge has never been proved. The boys have been tried 11 times. They have been kept in prison for nine years. Three times, the U. S. Supreme Court has reversed the death sentence passed on the boys by Alabama courts.

We believe that if thousands upon thousands of persons send petitions to the governor of Alabama and to the state pardon board that these Alabama state officials will reconsider their action and free the Scottsboro boys.

Citizens, black and white, who believe in giving justice to the boys, are urged to sign petitions, to get petitions signed and to send them to THE CALL.

Send for extra petitions and get your neighbors, your business men, your city officials, to sign them.

After you have filled in this petition, send to THE CALL for more petitions. As soon as they are filled in send the completed petitions to THE CALL, Box 77, Kansas City, Mo. We want a round million signatures to send to Governor Dixon and the Alabama pardon board.

FREE THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS!

TO GOVERNOR FRANK M. DIXON
and
ALABAMA PARDON BOARD

The undersigned citizens of the United States respectfully request in the name of JUSTICE that you release from prison immediately

HEYWOOD PATTERSON, CHARLIE WEEMS
CLARENCE NORRIS ANDY WRIGHT
OZIE POWELL

These five boys have been held prisoners for NINE years while four other youths, arrested with them in 1931 on the same charge, have been freed because they were not guilty. If four of the original Scottsboro boys were NOT GUILTY and were FREED we believe that the other five are INNOCENT and should be freed AT ONCE.
We urge you to free these boys and take the blot of injustice and intolerance from the name of Alabama.

The names on this petition were gathered by .....

..... ***in the town of*** .....

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The above list contains the names of .....***business and professional men,***
.....***public officials, and*** ..... ***other citizens.***

NEWS CLIPPINGS FILE
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE ARCHIVES

State Again Admits 'Not Ready' To Arraign Spell, Negro Chauffeur

Second Stall Indicates 'Hitch' in Case of Man Accused by Rich Boss

DEC 17 1940

By Ernest Moorer

(Daily Worker Staff Correspondent)

GREENWICH, Conn., Dec. 16.—For the second time in three days the prosecution in the case of Joseph Spell, 31-year-old Negro chauffeur held since last Wednesday on a "criminal assault" charge, admitted today that it was not ready to formally present the charge in court and asked for a second postponement of the arraignment.

The strange procedure of last Saturday's scheduled arraignment was repeated in Greenwich Town Court today when Assistant Prosecutor Archiald H. Tunick again informed Judge Lewis E. Sisson that he was "not ready" to proceed and the arraignment was set over until next Tuesday at 10 A. M.

This second delay in the mere formality of arraignment seemed all the more unusual when viewed in the light of the wild story told y Spell's accuser, his social registerite employer, Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr.—especially since Prosecutor Tunick claims he has a statement signed by Spell after 15 hours of grilling last Wednesday and Thursday, a statement which he has described as a "confessional."

Again today, as was the case Saturday, neither Mrs. Strubing nor her husband, an advertising corporation executive, appeared in court. At St. Agnes Hospital, where Mrs. Strubing has been staying, it was asserted last Thursday that she was "resting" and that her condition was "good," but since then they have made no statement as to her condition, only asserting that she was still there.

Mr. Strubing, her husband, has been equally silent. He flew home from Cincinnati Wednesday when police arrested Spell, but has made no comment on the case since. He has not been seen in court at either of the scheduled arraignments.

"CONFESSION" DENIED

Defense attorneys Thurgood Marshall and Samuel E. Friedman, retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have categorically denied Spell has signed any "confession." They both interviewed Spell at length Saturday morning and announced that they were entering the case because they were confident that Spell was innocent.

Friedman said that it was true that Spell had signed a statement at the end of the 15-hour grilling, but declared it was "nothing in the way of a confession," and furthermore denied emphatically that the statement "checked" in any respect with the story told by Mrs. Strubing—a claim which was made by the prosecutor.

DEC 17 1940

Spell was ordered transferred yesterday by Judge Sisson to the County Jail at Bridgeport to be brought back here Tuesday, Christmas Eve, for the third scheduled arraignment. He did not appear in court today during the half-minute proceeding, but his wife, Mrs. Virgus Clark Spell, who was employed with him at the Strubing home and who has resolutely declared her belief in his innocence, sat patiently in the court room waiting for him to appear.

Defense attorneys indicated yesterday that they intend to take positive action if the state and Mrs. Strubing do not act to back up their charge against Spell by next Tuesday.

STRANGE CONTRAST

Entirely aside from the many incongruities of Mrs. Strubing's charge against Spell pointed out in the Sunday Worker of this week, there was another paradox in the Spell case that lies in the strange contrast between it and another case which happened last July.

Only 12 miles from here, two stations away on the suburban railway, is Harrison, New York, wealthy commuters' town where the son of a rich and socially prominent family was accused of the same crime as Spell was last Wednesday, but that time the accused was never even arrested and the "affair" was hushed up in a few days—in spite of the fact that the girl, a poor stone mason's daughter, suffered a fractured skull when she was thrown out of the car by the wealthy young man.

The case was that of Mollie Capiola, the stone mason's daughter, and William Alexander Stewart, son of a man who made a sizeable fortune in Florida real estate and whose widow and friends in Harrison wield influence commensurate with his wealth. Young Stewart was never arrested although the girl high school student who charged him with assault has never fully recovered from the fractured skull she received when young Stewart allegedly threw her from his car.

Thus, in many of his external characteristics these two cases are the opposite of each other. In Spell's a rich and socially prominent woman has made a wild and incoherent charge and a man who never sought to flee was arrested and has been held six days, booked for "criminal assault" but never arraigned.

As the accused was rich in the Capiola-Stewart case, so is the accuser in the Spell-Strubing case.

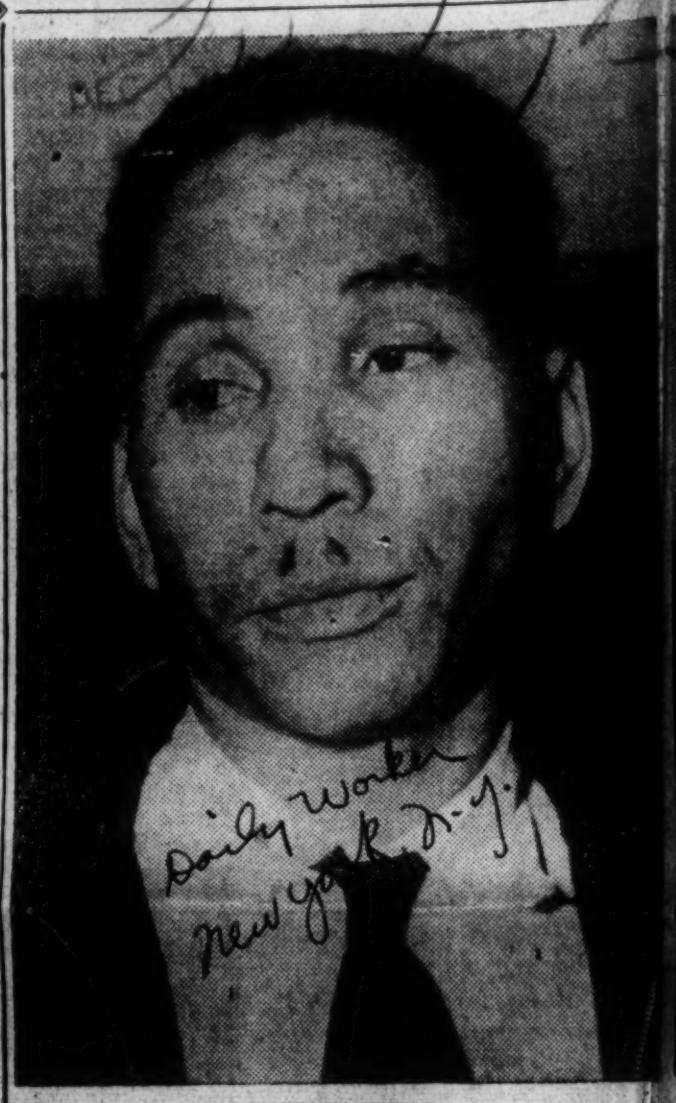
Mrs. Strubing, who is described as a society sportswoman, makes trapshooting her hobby. She is 33 years old and is a member of the Junior League. She is the daughter of Clyde Lane Paul of Philadelphia, of the famous Philadelphia banking family.

Strubing is the son of the late John K. Strubing, an investment broker. He grew up in the millionaire Chestnut Hill section of Philadelphia and was sent to Princeton. He distinguished himself playing football.

Strubing is listed in the Social Register as a member of the ultra-exclusive Racquet Club of New York and the Society of the Cincinnati.

At present Mr. Strubing is a vice-president of Compton Advertising, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York.

But to be accused by the Strubings, no matter how many senseless gaps there are in the story of the accuser, is to be held in jail incommunicado and placed in jeopardy of a serious charge; while the same accusation by a poor stone mason's daughter did not even merit an honest investigation.



JOSEPH SPELL



ATTORNEYS SAMUEL FRIEDMAN AND THURGOOD MARSHALL

State Stalls: Another postponement in the arraignment of Joseph Spell, left above, who was accused of "rape" by his millionaire employer, Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr., was asked for yesterday by the Prosecutor in Greenwich, Conn. At right above are the two lawyers who are defending the 31-year-old Negro chauffeur. Below is Mrs. Virgus Clark Spell, wife of the accused man who has stuck by him ever since his arrest and firmly declared her belief in his innocence. Without any plausible reason she was held and grilled by police nearly as long as was her husband. She was subjected to a gruelling quiz by detectives who would not give her food for more than 12 hours and who would not allow her to be aided by a woman attendant at the jail, even though she was ill.

—Daily Worker Photos



MRS. VIRGUS CLARK SPELL

Let Scottsboro Boys Go! Cry Citizens of Nation

The Innocent Should Go Free!

Nine innocent boys were arrested near Scottsboro, Ala., on March 25, 1931, on a charge of attacking two white girl hoboes on a freight train.

At the first trial, both girls said that the boys were guilty.

At another trial, one of the girls, Ruby Bates, confessed that she and her companion, Victoria Price, had framed the boys to save their own "honor" and that in reality the boys had not touched them. Her testimony was corroborated by a white boy who was on the freight train with Ruby Bates and Victoria Price.

Despite Ruby Bates' testimony, the Scottsboro boys were sentenced to die.

Twice they were saved from death by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Two years ago, four of the nine boys were freed by the state of Alabama by which act, the state of Alabama recognized the innocence of the boys.

But the five other boys were kept in prison.

They should be freed because they are innocent. If four are innocent, then all nine must be innocent.

Sign the petition below and help free the five innocent lads who already have spent nine years behind prison bars for a crime they did not commit.

FREE THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS!

TO GOVERNOR FRANK M. DIXON
and
ALABAMA PARDON BOARD

The undersigned citizens of the United States respectfully request in the name of JUSTICE that you release from prison immediately

HEYWOOD PATTERSON, CHARLIE WEEMS
CLARENCE NORRIS ANDY WRIGHT
OZIE POWELL

These five boys have been held prisoners for NINE years while four other youths, arrested with them in 1931 on the same charge, have been freed because they were not guilty. If four of the original Scottsboro boys were NOT GUILTY and were FREED we believe that the other five are INNOCENT and should be freed AT ONCE.
We urge you to free these boys and take the blot of injustice and intolerance from the name of Alabama.

he names on this petition were gathered by.....

....., *in the town of* .....

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The above list contains the names of .....business and professional men .....public officials, and ..... other citizens.

PETITIONS FROM EVERYWHERE ASK ALABAMA TO FREE THEM

From Boley, Okla., and Memphis, Tenn., from Dallas, Texas, and from Mantee, Miss., and from scattered points all over the United States petitions have come to The Call office demanding the freedom of the five Scottsboro boys who still remain behind prison bars in Kilby prison, Montgomery, Ala.

Three times a day when The Call's mail is delivered, petitions are received and with some of them come letters commending this newspaper for sponsoring the nationwide movement to persuade Alabama officials to "let the Scottsboro boys go."

"I wish to commend you and your publication," read the letter from H. B. Brady of Galveston, Texas, "on the stand you have taken regarding the Scottsboro boys who were denied paroles recently. I think it is a very timely thing to do by using your great paper to awaken the interest of the American people in behalf of those five innocent Scottsboro boys.

"I am of the opinion that if four boys were not guilty, all nine should be given their freedom. While in Chicago, a few years ago, I attended the Savoy ballroom on South Parkway where the girl, Ruby Bates, and one of the white boys who accompanied her told a very large white and colored audience that the Negro boys did not commit assault upon her or the other girl.

"When the state of Alabama freed four of the original nine Scottsboro boys in July, 1937, it broadcast to the nation by that action that all nine of the boys were innocent. All nine were arrested at the same time on the same charge, all nine either were innocent or they were guilty."

The record for sending in the largest number of petitions so far goes to Mrs. Georgia Craft, 1324 E. 14th St., Kansas City, Mo., who sent in 10 petitions bearing the signatures of 250 persons. This is a commendable piece of work on the part of a single individual.

A partial list of persons who have sent in petitions so far (up to Saturday, March 23) follows:

Maxzine Lowe, Boley, Okla.
David O. Douglas, Dallas, Texas.
Frank Davis, Memphis, Tenn.
S. S. Gaston, Mantee, Miss.
Albert Walker, St. Joseph, Mo.
Rev. T. W. Walker, Salina, Kas.
H. B. Brady, Galveston, Texas.
Nathan Taylor, Kansas City, Kas.
Mrs. W. M. Bridges, Kansas City, Mo.
Corinne Cooper, Kansas City, Kas.
Rosalie E. Patterson, 1411 E. 18th St., Kansas City, Mo.
Rev. William Cook, Sunrise Baptist church, Kansas City, Mo.
Bernice Hughes, Kansas City, Mo.
John Frost, Kansas City, Kas.
Les Belles Lettre Study club, Wichita Falls, Texas.
Mr. and Mrs. Duvall, Kansas City, Kas.
Hattie Herd, Kansas City, Mo.
G. R. Hamilton, Hobbs, N. Mexico.
Mrs. Laura Posten, Manhattan, Kas.
Rev. W. M. Bell, Mayview, Mo.
Nettie Milligan, Kansas City, Mo.
Essie L. Tolliver, Laramie, Wyoming.
Chester Perry, Kansas City, Mo.
R. S. Jackboson, Oklahoma City, Okla.
William R. Ferguson, Kansas City, Mo.

ALABAMA TEACHERS TO FINANCE EQUAL SALARY CAMPAIGN

BIRMINGHAM. — (ANP) — The Alabama State Teachers association was in session here March 13 to 16 at Parker high school with approximately 1,000 out-of-Birmingham delegates in attendance. Approximately 3,000 teachers belong to this voluntary organization. Theme for the 1940 convention was "Education For Living in a Democracy."

Observed was a surging militant spirit for equalization of teachers' salary. Taken from the ASTA treasury was half of the net membership fees which came to a figure of about $700 which was turned over to the education fund.

The conference closed out a four-day session Saturday with a seven-hour long business session at which Dr. J. H. Nicholson, of Talladega college, was elected president.

Described as the best and largest business meeting in the long history of the ASTA, they performed the herculean job of modernizing their association by adopting a new constitution, provided a plan for financing their salary-suffrage program adopted a set of vital resolutions and lauded Miss Selia V. Stephens and her administration.

Make up of the new administration is unusual, there being only men in it. From nominating speeches offering the elected administration, it must be taken as "militant" and "action-minded."

Other new officers are: I. A Hudson, vice-president-at-large, Birmingham; Felix L. Paul, Birmingham, executive secretary; H. Council Trenholm, Montgomery, research secretary; William Shield, Tuskegee, treasurer; Dr. I. A. Derbigny, Tuskegee; Dr. Theodore Speigner, Tuscaloosa; William Bolden, Birmingham, 3-2-1 year members at large of the executive board.

Hubert T. Delaney Will Lead Y.M.C.A. Expansion Drive

NEW YORK. (ANP).—Hubert Delaney, member of the tax commission of this city, last week accepted the presidency of the newly-organized Y.M.C.A. organization, the National Century club, which proposed to raise $10,000 by July 1 to set up an enlarged program of service for the 'Y' in 1940-41.

Planning a membership of 100 persons who will agree to raise or give $100 each by July 1 to aid the Y.M.C.A.'s expansion fund, the club will be represented in every section of the country.

A national rally celebrating the semi-centennial of the Young Men's Christian association, will bring the 100 National Century club's members together in July, according to 'Y' headquarters, and a report of the campaign will be made at that time.

Father of Leonard 'Kip' Rhinelander Is Dead

LONG BEACH, N. Y.— (ANP)— Commodore Philip Rhinelander, father of Leonard Kip Rhinelander, whose marriage to Alice Jones Rhinelander, colored, created a sensation 15 years ago, died last week at Long Beach hospital here after an operation.

Commodore Rhinelander, 80, the patriarch of one of New York's oldest families, was one of 13 Rhinelanders listed in the social register. Since Kip's death in 1936, he had lived here in his sumptuous beach home. The defendant in a $500,000 alienation of affections suit brought by Alice at the time sought an annulment of his marriage to her, the elder Rhinelander settled the case out of court, but refused to recognize his son's wife.

Later, after a White Plains, N. Y., jury refused to annul the marriage, Kip obtained a Reno divorce, giving his wife a reported settlement of $300 a month for life. When the younger Rhinelander died, Alice declared that she had "always loved Leonard" and accused the commodore of snatching him from her.

Dallas' 'Miss Booker T --- '40'



MISS LOIS CLOTIER BLUITT, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Bluitt, who resides at 3018½ Thomas avenue, was chosen "Miss Booker T. of '40 through a campaign conducted by the athletic department of Booker T. Washington high school at Dallas. Miss Bluitt's victory came through a hard and enthusiastic contest which saw the race crowded with an array of fair and beautiful lasses from the 4A class down through the 1B class. "Miss Booker T." is sweetheart of all varsity sports, football, basketball and track, and the queen of the school at large. She will make her public appearance as a model in the Easter parade at the Y.M.C.A., March 29, and on October 14 at the Washington-Lincoln football game. Her reign terminates December 31, 1940.

GROUP TO FIGHT FOR RIGHTS IN ARKANSAS

By FRANCES SAMPSON

STAMPS, Ark.—(ANP).—In this once-thriving little sawmill town, a fine tribute was paid to W. Harold Flowers, fighting young Pine Bluff lawyer who was born and reared in this community, when more than two hundred Negroes endorsed the militant program of the "Committee on Negro Organization," at a mass meeting held at the Buchanan Baptist church.

Amid wild acclaim the Committee on Negro Organization launched its campaign to organize more than 400,000 Negroes in Arkansas.

Dr. Roscoe C. Lewis, of Hope, chairman of the CNO committee on health and housing; Dr. G. U. Jamison Jr., of Texarkana, chairman of the committee on civil liberties, and Flowers, secretary, participated in a panel discussion on: "The Program of the CNO."

Relief Discriminations

"Negroes are being discriminated against because of their color daily in the administration of the benefits of federal and state relief agencies," Flowers said. "A Negro in the Pine Bluff community was suspended on a WPA project because of 'impudence.' Negroes are having much trouble in getting their AAA subsidy payments, and they have no organization to which they may turn for help. We have some farm organizations manned by persons on the payroll of some public agency, and, of course, they will help only so far as not to jeopardize their job and relationship with their superiors.

"Negro school teachers in some school districts are paying for jobs, and after getting the jobs are paying to keep them, and from reports, we have evidence to believe that they are not always paying money. Yet, these teachers are afraid to ask for the salaries which the white man's law permits them to enjoy. Next week the Negro teachers will meet in annual convention. It will, of course, be a dress parade. Out of their meager salaries they will again go to Pine Bluff where cheap politicians prevent them from discussing equalization of teachers' salaries. To my mind most of the Arkansas teachers are not fit subjects for the classroom, and until the patrons of the schools combine with the action of an aroused populace, we shall continue to have weaklings turned out at commencement time.

Aims of CNO

"We need organization, and the CNO presents a program which is designed to formulate objectives and ideals and to create a new technique in solving the problems which thwart the common progress. We shall not deviate from the agreed principles and objectives, even though we know the reaction of those who sit in positions of power. We have no selfish ambitions. We practice medicine, law, and engage in occupations which permit us to espouse the cause of economic and political freedom. Our income will increase only when you enjoy the human right to work, to vote, and to enjoy the benefits of equal educational opportunities and facilities. We are enlisted for the duration of the struggle, and in the quest for converts we cannot predict any certain time when we may look for the achievement of our objectives. But with God on our side, for we are on the right; we welcome the opportunity given for great service to our people."

Kappa 'Guide Right' Week Inspired by College Survey

TOPEKA, Kas.— (ANP)—Inspired by a survey showing the relatively large number of young Negroes failing in college, the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity will seek to correct some of the caurses of failure, as part of the annual Guide Right Week of the organization, April 7-14.

The survey found that many college men were finding it difficult to bridge the gap between high school and college; that they were failing, sometimes, for having too much money; that others, from small towns, were losing their balance over the beautiful co-eds around them; and most of all, that many failures were due to the poor choice of the major program.

"Most of these ills are not covered in the usual vocational guidance given in high school," Attorney R. J. Reynolds, director of the Guide Right commission, observed, in telling this year's plans. "Too many of the boys have never had either the proper inspiration or stimulation to do high class work, or have ever made an enlightened self-examination of themselves. In similar manner, most of them have never rubbed shoulders with men who are experienced in the same fields that the young men are interested in."

Too this end, during Guide Right Week, the young high school man is going to be brought into contact with the men who have already traveled the road which the student is interested in, and also the high school youngster will be helped to examine his own capacities and capabilities realistically. In addition, guidance counsellor, of both races and all fraternities, will be drafted for the guidance clinics which marked the week for the past 16 years.

Law Scholarships

WASHINGTON. — A generous donation by Samuel B. Horovitz of the Massachusetts bar, in memory of his father, Israel Horovitz, has made possible scholarship aid for one or two deserving students at the Howard university school of

ATTACKER GETS LIFE

RICHMOND _ George Hunt, 38, of the 2000 block of Lewis Street, Fulton, received a sentence of life imprisonmemt in the State Penetentiary on a charge of criminally assaulting and murdering a 45-year old woman last August. The sentence was handed down by Judge John L. Ingram in Hustings Court last Thursday after a Grand Jury found him guilty of the charge.

His alleged victim, Lillian Maynard, is said to have been dragged across a field into the woods after having been beaten by her attacker. She was then criminally assaulted, and died a short while later. Officers called to the scene by an eye-witness arrested Hunt as he attempted to run.

The accused man testified that the woman had been hit by an automobile and thrown to the side of the road.

SOURCE: JOURNAL AND GUIDE
October 26, 1940
Norfolk, Virginia

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT OF LYNCHERS.

ALABAMA

6366

Jail Police Who Lynched Ala. Man

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 2[illegible] —(CNA)—Three police officers and another man, all white, accused of lynching O'Dell Henderson, 24-year-old Negro steel worker in the Fairfield police station here, have been indicted on second degree murder charges, it was stated by Arthur D. Shores, local NAACP attorney.

All the defendants were placed in jail and bond set at $2,500 each.

FLOGGING' DEATH WILL BE PROBED

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn., 26—(AP)—A special session of the Hayward County Grand Jury will investigate the unexplained death of Everett Williams, 33, Negro, Sheriff R. C. Hawkins said today.

Sheriff Hawkins said he had conferred with Circuit Judge W. W. Bond and that legal steps had been started to impanel the jury. He said he did not know exactly when the jury would convene.

At a Memphis interracial relations meeting, a speaker said she had been told a Brownsville Negro had been quietly taken out and flogged to death because of his interest in Negro affairs. The speaker, Mrs. Jesse Daniel Ames, of Atlanta, field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations, referred to the case as a new "style" of lynching which escaped wide notice because of its elimination of a "Roman holiday" atmosphere.

Williams' body was found Sunday in Hatchie River swamps. A coroner's jury said it believed the Negro came to his death "by violence at the hands of unknown parties." He had been missing since Thursday, the sheriff said he had been told.

SCOTTSBORO COUNSEL DIES

NEW YORK, [illegible] 2 (1940)—Walter H. Pollak, white attorney, once active in the Scottsboro case defense, died here on Wednesday at 53.

SCOTTSBORO LAWYER DIES

Walter Pollak Took Defense Before Supreme Court

OCT 12 1940

Walter Heilprin Pollak, attorney, who played a leading part in obtaining the review of the Scottsboro trials by the United States Supreme Court, in 1932 and 1935, died last week, of pneumonia.

Mr. Pollak successfully argued before the Supreme Court that the lower court had taken inadequate measure to insure a fair trial, and the case was returned for trial.

At the second trial, the Supreme Court again ordered a retrial, during which new evidence was produced. Eventually, all nine of the defendants received either prison sentences or death sentences which were commuted to prison terms.

Among the defendants represented by Mr. Pollak, at the second hearing was Heywood Patterson, who along with Clarence Norris, Charles Weems and Andrew Wright, are still in prison with the Scottsboro Defense Committee still negotiating for their freedom.

OCT 12 1940

According to the committee Olen Montgomery and Willie Roberson who were freed are in New York City; Roy Wright is attending school at Bordentown Industrial School, New Jersey and Eugene Williams lives in Brooklyn.

The nine boys were accused of criminal assault on Ruby Bates and Virginia Price, two white girls, in a freight car in 1931 at Scottsboro, Ala. Eight were conducted by the lower court and sentenced to death in 1932, under circumstances of popular agitation and by a jury on which no Negroes sat.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHERS GEORGIA

6367

Convicted Georgia Flogger Is Given Maximum Penalty

ATLANTA, April 25.—(AP)—The State scored today in its first court smash at a night-riding terrorist band when a jury convicted Henry Cawthon as a flogger and a judge swiftly imposed the maximum penalty possible.

Cawthon, one of 17 indicted as Ku Klux Klan whip wielders, was convicted of assault and battery in the beating of P. S. Toney, C. I. O. textile union organizer, and acquitted on eight like counts involving as many more floggings in or near suburban East Point.

Although the State proved its case in only one of the nine misdemeanor charges, Superior Judge Hugh M. Dorsey backed this conviction to the limit by ordering the husky, 33-year-old garageman to pay a $1,000 fine and serve 12 months on the public works, plus six months in prison.

Cawthon's counsel filed motion for a new trial, which Dorsey took under advisement. The court set bond at $5,000 and this was put up promptly by an aunt of the prisoner.

Still outstanding against Cawthon is a felony indictment charging him with kidnaping Toney from Scottdale a few miles from East Point, and taking the C. I. O. adherent to the latter town where he was flogged in August, 1938. This charge carries a possible 4-to-20-year sentence.

The State indicated it would try assault and battery charges against 16 other men before taking up the kidnaping case. These indictments all have been returned in the past six weeks since Isaac Gaston, East Point barber, was killed in lethal climax to a long series of floggings, many of which did not come to light until the Gaston death stirred public indignation. No indictments have been returned in this case.

Next man slated for trial is Dan Gidson, indicted on five assault and battery charges and described by the State as Cawthon's predecessor as the chief of the "wrecking crew" of the East Point klan unit, which had its charter suspended last week by the klan's national leader, Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott.

The Toney case was strongly presented by the State, with the victim positively identifying Cawthon as one of his attackers. Another witness, a Ku Klux member at Scottdale, told of going to an East Point klan meeting to denounce Toney and deliver a tirade against the C. I. O. Two fellow klansmen of the accused testified they went with him on this expedition and saw Toney scourged by a long, heavy leather strap in Cawthon's hands.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGAL PUNISHMENT OF LYNCHERS

GENERAL

6368

Rome Ga. News-Tribune
February 11, 1940

The Punishment Of Lynchers

DR. ARTHUR RAPER, of Atlanta, appearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee in advocacy of the so-called anti-lynch bill related that he investigated over 100 cases of lynching and that in three cases authorities in Alabama, Tennessee and Texas "displayed little interest" when he "submitted evidence" bearing upon the three cases referred to.

The fact that officials in the three states displayed "little interest" is not surprising, officials being instinctively suspicious of outside meddlers, but there is a highly surprising element in the fact that an investigation of "more than 100 cases of lynching" raised doubts as to the vigor of the prosecution in only three instances.

A finding so favorable by one obviously disposed to emphasize the theory of negligence, raises the presumption that Dr. Raper did not include in his inquiry those numerous instances in which the law itself was lynched in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois. Had he "followed through" on lynchings of this nature he would have discovered far greater laxity than he uncovered in the South, granting that he actually discovered any laxity in such matters.

Those persons who lynched the law in the states named, not only escaped punishment in the great majority of instances but were rewarded with back pay for loss of time while engaged in the process of lynching the law. One might infer from this that to lynch the law is a minor offense, but that obviously is a wholly erroneous conclusion. There is no form of lawlessness more dangerous to society than the lynching of the law itself.

As far as the South is concerned, nobody was paid for loss of time when engaging in lynching activities and the record proves quite conclusively that prosecutions were most effective.

The record, as kept by the famous Tuskegee Institute, shows that there were only three lynchings of persons in 1939 while it is probably conservative to say that the law was lynched at least 300 times by the CIO alone.

Yet the scope of the pending measure was deliberately curtailed so that lynchings by CIO mobs would be excluded from its provisions.

All of which proves the purely political nature of the bill and the animus against the South by which it is characterized.

FIND SHERIFF LIABLE IN LA. NEGRO'S DEATH

Award Judgment After Compromise

NEW ORLEANS, June 20—(ANP)—Mrs. Thelma Guichard Smith, widow of Oscar Smith, who was murdered by a deputy sheriff of St. Bernard parish in January of last year, was awarded judgment in a suit against the sheriff, the deputy and their insurers in Judge Bond's Civil District court this week. The judgment was affected by a compromise with the litigants.

Smith was found murdered a short distance from the parish court house after he had been picked up at the St. Cloud Inn, a gambling joint, in the custody of Deputy Sheriff William Standar. Negroes in New Orleans and St. Bernard parish became very much aroused over the murder, and under authorization of the regional conference of Southern NAACP Branches, James B. LaFourche, publicity director of the organization, investigated the killing to determine whether or not to chalk up the first lynching of 1939 against Louisiana and St. Bernard parish.

Newsman Aids in Probe

Through the cooperation of Chief of Police George Reyer and with the aid of Leon Lewis, Associated Negro Press representative, LaFourche manipulated the calling of a grand jury investigation under order of the sheriff and district attorney of that parish. Two of the material witnesses summoned were "missing" from the investigation and a no-true bill was returned by the jury.

Earlier this year Deputy Sheriff Standar was afflicted with a grave illness, rumored to be of a "hoodoo" nature. He never fully recovered from this ailment.

The judgment for $2,500 goes to Mrs. Smith and her two minor children, with $1,500 to her and $500 to each of the children, and is against Sheriff C. F. Rowley, Deputy Standar and their insurers, the Great American Indemnity company. The compromise was effected after Judge Bond made it clear during the trial which was for $15,000 that he was not impressed by the defense to the effect that Smith had a large knife with which he tried to attack Standar even though a knife was found near his body.

7 NEGROES WIN $9,000 FOR JERSEY ASSAULT

Potato Pickers Get Award in Suit Over Attack on Farm

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEWARK, N. J., May 10—A jury before Federal Judge Thomas Glynn Walker today gave awards totaling $9,000 to seven migratory Negro farm hands in the damage suit they brought against nine young white men accused of beating and otherwise mistreating the Negroes in an effort to drive them out of the State.

The Negroes, one a woman, were employed in the potato fields near Cranbury when the alleged assaults occurred last August. According to the complaint, the assailants, none of whom entered a defense in the suit, stripped the Negroes, daubed them with white paint, beat them and fired pistols at some of the laborers.

The jury awarded $2,000 each to Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Preston of Georgia and $1,000 each to William Morton, O. D. Streeter and his brother, Louis Streeter, and James Jordan, all of Florida, and Monroe Holmes of Pennsylvania.

The defendants, whose ages range from 18 to 24, were Howard Wiley, Herman Meyer Jr., Henry Eifert, James Quinn, Raymond McDuffie, Benjamin Gavett, Lawrence E. Ward, Kenneth Applegate and James Strebetsky, all of whom live in Cranbury or its vicinity.

The same group pleaded no defense to charges of assault last September in New Brunswick in connection with the attack and were put on probation.

Seven Negro Migratory Workers In New Jersey Win Civil Suit Against Gang Of Masked Floggers

NEWARK, N. J.—Federal protection for the human rights of migrant workers and a victory for labor's rights generally are seen by the Workers' Defense League in the verdict of a Federal jury Friday May 10, which awarded damages totalling $9,000 to the victims of an attack by a mob in Cranbury, N. J., last August. Jake Preston and his wife, Frances, who were stripped naked, beaten with a rubber hose and covered with white paint, were awarded $2,000 each in personal and punitive damages. The five single men, who were also stripped, and beaten and who made their escape to the accompaniment of a volley of shots, were awarded $1,000 each. David Robinson, Workers Defense League attorney in Newark, appeared for the plaintiffs, Negro migratory workers whose case has been handled by the Workers Defense League since the attack upon them.

"This is a great victory for the Workers Defense League in its objective of protecting the rights of all workers, but especially of Negroes and migrants", David J. Clendenin, national secretary-treasurer of the league, declared Saturday. "The Federal jury is to be congratulated on vindicating the rights of these migratory workers. However, had it not been for the prompt action and support of the Workers Defense League representatives, these migrants might have been frightened off or forced to return South in order to look for jobs as have so many others. Thus another instance would have been added to the many of workers who were assaulted and who found no recourse anywhere in law, even when they appealed to the proper authorities for redress. The Workers Defense League is glad to have been involved in this case from the start, and we are proud of our share in this notable victory".

Defendants Not In Court

The defendant mobsters did not appear in court, and the trial lasted only 45 minutes. Four witnesses appeared—the injured couple and two of the five single men, O. D. Streator and Monroe Holmes—and under Mr. Robinson's questioning, told a harrowing story of the midnight attack upon them. The defense attorney interposed no defense but pleaded the youth of the assailants "in mitigation of damages."

The suit was tried before Judge Glynn Walker and a white jury which included three women and which was out only seven minutes before returning with the verdict. The award was against the mobsters individually and severally and was to cover punitive as well as personal damages.

The Workers Defense League considers the verdict of special significance because it is the official defense agency of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the organizaion of Southern sharecroppers, many of whom are Negroes, and it is felt that victory in this case will help in Southern organization. In the early stages of the case, the active cooperation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People aided in arousing public opinion to the necessity of official action against the mobsters, Mr. Clendenin stated. Since September the Workers Defense League has been paying the expenses of Mr. and Mrs. Preston so that they could remain North for the trial. The other two managed to find work.

Suit Only For Protection

Mr. Robinson called the jury's attention to the fact that the suit was not instituted for base or vindictive motives, but was started and carried through in order to protect not only the workers involved but also all Negro and migratory workers.

"If we on the plaintiff's side had wished to", he stated in his summing up speech, "we could have ruined the lives of the defendants by bringing serious criminal charges against them, for kidnapping, for assault and battery, for breaking and entering and for a number of other crimes. But we weren't anxious to do that. We urge you to award sufficient damages—personal, for the actual harm to the plaintiffs, for the mental and physical injury inflicted; and punitive, so that never again will these men—or men like them—embark upon so un-American an undertaking as the depraved attack upon these workers".

The attack occurred on the night of August 11, but no action was taken by the authorities until the Workers' Defense League had been called in and had insisted that the officials move in the case. Arrests were made subsequent to the formation of a local branch in Cranbury and the posting by the League of a $100 reward for information leading to such arrests.

Mobsters Must Pay Farm Hands $9,000

Potato Pickers Get Awards In Suit Over Attack

NEWARK, N. J. — Seven migratory farm hands last week were awarded damages totalling $9,000 in their suit brought against nine young white men accused of beating and otherwise mistreating them in an effort to drive them out of the state.

The plaintiffs, one a woman, were employed in the potato fields near Cranbury when the alleged assaults occurred last August. The complaint charges that the victims were daubed with white paint, beaten, and pistols fired at them.

The jury awarded $2,000 each to Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Preston, and $1,000 each to William Morton, O. D. Streeter, Louis Streeter, James Jordan, and Monroe Holmes.

PLEADED NO DEFENSE

The defendants, whose ages range from 18 to 24, were Howard Wiley, Herman Meyer, Jr., Henry Eifert, James Quinn, Raymond McDuffie, Benjamin Gavett, Lawrence E. Ward, Kenneth Applegate and James Strebetsky, all of whom live in Cranbury or its vicinity.

The same group pleaded no defense to charges of assault last September in New Brunswick in connection with the attack and were put on probation.

The suit was tried on Friday, May 10 before Judge Glynn Walker and a white jury which included three women and which was out only seven minutes before returning with the verdict. The award was against the mobsters individually and severally and was to cover punitive as well as personal damages.

The attack on the migratory workers, who were brought up in trucks from Georgia by contractors on a promise of work and good wages, took place the night of August 11, 1939.

ATTACK DESCRIBED

The four plaintiffs told in detail of the attack. They were awakened from sleep after a day's work—the seven workers had gone to bed at 9:30, the five single men in the main part of the one room shack, the married couple in a roughly partition cubicle at one end—by shouts and shots and blows bursting thru the single window. Then the door was broken down and the masked and armed mob burst in, according to the testimony.

The seven workers, who were known in the community for their quiet behavior and unassuming manner, were ordered to strip naked, their hands were fastened behind their backs with tape and rope, and they were threatened and beaten with a rubber hose. One man tried to escape, but, frightened by the shots fired after him, returned for further punishment.

As the seven trussed-up migrants started across the field at the behest of their captors, the five single men made a wild dash for liberty and escaped through the brush and brambles. Shots fired after them whistled around and over the fleeing victims.

The man and wife were driven to a swimming pool and were threatened with submersion all night. Finally they were driven to another field two or three miles on the other side of Cranbury. Still naked, they were forced to cross an oat field, jump across a ditch and lie down shivering on the ground, where they were again beaten and theatened with maiming and the woman with rape.

Then the tape was cut from their hands—their fingers and arms being cut in the process—and a bucket of white paint was poured over them—shoulders, bodies and legs. Finally the two were left lying on the ground. Their assailants departed with the injunction "Get out of this state—and stay out!"

The injured couple staggered to a nearby potato field and covered themselves with torn and rotting potato sacks. They found their way through Cranbury and managed to walk the three miles back to their shacks. A hospital refused to treat their injuries and it took them from three to ten days to remove all the paint with turpentine.

Victims of Jersey Mob Win $9,000

NEWARK, N.J. — Damages totaling $9,000 were awarded by a Federal court jury here on Friday to the seven migrant potato pickers who were attacked by a white mob at Cranbury, N.J., last August 11.

The all-white jury of three women and nine men deliberated only seven minutes, following a 45-minute trial before Judge Glynn Walker.

None of the nine defendants was present and their attorney offered no defense against the charges; merely pleading that damages be reduced to a minimum. The suits asked a total of $197,500.

Follows Assault Conviction

The defendants, all 24 or under, were convicted on assault charges, last fall, and given suspended sentences of from two to three years. A tenth member of the mob, a high school pupil found to be under age, was not prosecuted.

Mr. and Mrs. Jake Preston, native Georgians, who were stripped, beaten and covered with white paint by the mobsters, were awarded $2,000 each. O. D. Streator, Monroe Holmes, Louis Streator, James Jordan and William Morton, who escaped under gun fire before the paint episode, won verdicts of $1000 each.

WDL Handled Case

David Robinson, attorney for the Workers' Defense League, handled the plaintiffs' case, based on testimony of four of the victims and results of an investigation conducted by Miss Jean Yatrofski, the league's secretary.

Mr. and Mrs. Preston, whose expenses had been borne by the league since September, to permit them to remain in the State for the trial, recounted their experiences in detail from the witness stand, as did O. D. Streator and Holmes. The latter two had found work here and the other three victims returned to the South.

Testimony of each included quotation of threats made by the masked mob members, which indicated their motive as intimidation against migration of workers from the South.

Intimacy Threatened

Each told how the hoodlums broke into their frail shack at night, forced them from their beds, and drove them in cars to the outskirts of the town for their further harrowing ordeal.

One of the mob, according to Mrs. Preston, proposed intimacy. Another remarked, however, that "We did not come here for that."

Officials Thought Connected

Preston said, after they were thrown into the car and kidnapped, they were made to strip and then forced to run together and jump across a ditch. Later they were painted. The white paint took days to remove.

"They told us not to bother telling the law," Preston testified. "They said the law knew all about it anyhow."

Preston's testimony accorded with Miss Yatrofski's statement that she was convinced unidentified members of the mob were officials of Cranbury.

Nine Took Rap

She indicated the nine penniless identified mobsters were taking the rap for bigger people and intimated the defense league still seeks identity of these other members.

Miss Jean Yatrofski had entered the dangerous Middlesex County area, which includes Cranbury, single handed, and dug up the information which led to both the criminal and civil victories.

She revealed Friday that the defense league is publishing a pamphlet, "Jersey Joads," giving the entire history of the case.

NAACP Dropped Out

It was the Joad family whose bitter fate is so dramatically presented in John Steinbeck's Pulitzer Prize novel, "Grapes of Wrath."

Although the NAACP entered into the original investigation of the case, last year, none of its officials were on hand for the trial.

Roosevelt Gets Names of Mobbists

White Probes Tenn. Vote Terrorism for the NAACP

NEW YORK CITY—The NAACP on Monday placed before President Roosevelt and the Department of Justice a report listing the names of leaders in the mob of sixty whites who drove seven prominent citizens out of Brownsville, Tenn., last week, following the lynching of Elbert Williams on June 22.

The names of the mob leaders included two bank officials, several police officers, a State highway commissioner, and several merchants.

The report was based on a three-day investigation of the lynching by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

Led Vote Drive

Williams, a 33-year-old laundry fireman, "disappeared" after he had helped to organize citizens in a "register-and-vote" drive, preparatory to the Presidential election next November.

His body was fished up from a river near Brownsville on Sunday, June 23. There were two stab or bullet wounds showing in his chest. His head was battered and beaten, his arms and feet tied with rope and his body weighted down by a heavy log tied around his neck.

Victims Named

Victims of the current reign of terror, precipitated by efforts of a few citizens to register, included the Rev. Buster Walker, who was allegedly threatened by a deputy sheriff, and Elisha Davis, filling station operator who was ordered to leave town under pain of death, by a mob whose members demanded that he identify all persons interested in the vote campaign.

J. Emmett Ballard, an attorney who came to Brownsville to defend a man accused of shooting a white man, was escorted out of town by police officials, on June 3, after a mob threatened his life inside the courtroom.

U.S. Probe of Tenn. Lynching Promised

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn., (ANP).—The death of Everett Williams, attributed to an underworld white lynch mob, will be investigated by Federal authorities, it was announced this week by United States District Attorney William McClanahan.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6404

LYNCH BILL FOES WILL BE CHECKED

Senators May Invoke Cloture Rule Against Threatened Filibuster From South

WASHINGTON, March 13 (AP)—Proponents of anti-lynching legislation announced today they would seek to invoke the senate's drastic, seldom-used cloture rule to curtail debate if the legislation encounters a Southern filibuster.

A house-approved bill, imposing criminal penalties on peace officers who fail to use diligence in protecting prisoners and making political subdivisions liable for civil damages where lynchings occur because of officers' negligence, received the approval of a judiciary subcommittee, 5 to 1, during the day.

Chairman Van Nuys (D-Ind.), of the sub-committee forecast favorable action by the full committee within two weeks and asserted that the bill would have the support of at least 65 senators if brought to a vote.

"While I am opposed to cloture as a general proposition," Van Nuys said, "the long legislative history of this bill and the very evident popularity it has among the majority of the people justify use of cloture in this specific instance."

Senator Wagner (D-N.Y.), expressed the opinion that the chances of thwarting a filibuster by that means would be "very good."

Is Effectual Check

Ordinarily any senator may speak as long as he chooses, and minorities frequently are successful in blocking legislation by talking until it is dropped. Under cloture, which the senate usually is reluctant to apply, no senator may speak more than an hour nor more than once. A two-third-vote is required to put it into effect.

When the anti-lynching bill was last before the senate, in January, 1938, a cloture effort was beaten 51 to 37. Republicans voted solidly against the move although many of them favored the bill.

Republican Leader McNary of Oregon said that he would make no effort to obtain a united party stand on the cloture issue this time and predicted that many of his colleagues would support it although he opposed the principle himself.

Senator Connally (D-Tex.), who cast the only sub-committee vote against the legislation, told reporters that Southern members would "resist its passage with all the endurance and fortitude of which they are capable." Asked whether this meant a filibuster, he replied, "you can draw your own conclusions."

Since 1922, similar bills have been before congress four times, each time being killed by filibustering tactics.

N. N. Congress Anti-Lynching Rites Planned

Body To Select A Sunday For Demonstrations In Local Churches

Plans for an anti-lynching and anti-discrimination Sunday, to be held in churches throughout the city, were adopted by the February Delegates Meeting of the National Negro Congress, at the YWCA, 1605 Catharine street, last Thursday.

The plans are concurred in by Dr. W. Harry Greene, president of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP, as a valuable adjunct to getting the anti-lynching bill, now before the Senate, passed.

The Philadelphia Council of the National Negro Congress, of which Dr. Charles A. Lewis, is president, feels that the designation of such a day will stimulate interest in the drive for marshalling delegates and funds for the Third National Negro Congress which convenes in Washington, D. C., April 26, 27, and 28.

National Negro Congress spokesmen said that this convention will serve notice on Congress and the two major political parties that Negroes as a group know their needs and that they are bidding for real consideration in this year's election.

The delegates also approved the resolution of the committee for Racial and Religious Tolerance calling for a Tolerance Week in May, and will have a guest speaker from that group to address the March delegates meeting.

A report on the recent Young Congress was made by the National Negro Congress' official delegates, Miss Mary Lou Tyson. She said that, contrary to newspaper reports, the Congress was orderly run and dignified.

She also said that Mrs. Roosevelt congratulated the Congress on its fine patience and discipline, and that the entire Congress felt that President Roosevelt spoke too much as though they were little children who did not know enough to be even inquisitive about conditions.

Bilbo and Miller Block Hatch Law in Lynching Fight

(The Associated Press)

Washington, March 13.—Southern senators served notice Tuesday that they were preparing to oppose vigorously any attempt to pass anti-lynching legislation at this session of Congress.

Senator Miller, Democrat, Arkansas; Bankhead, Democrat, Alabama, and Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, blocked attempts of Majority Leader Barkley, Democrat, Kentucky, to obtain an agreement that the Senate would vote tomorrow on the pending bill to extend the Hatch "anti-politics" law to thousands of state employes. The Southerners voiced apprehension that some senator might attach the anti-lynching bill to the anti-politics measure.

Earlier in the day a Senate judiciary subcommittee received pleas from governors of nine Southern states for opposition to the anti-lynching bill, which has already passed the House.

The nine governors, representing Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, informed the Senate subcommittee that they were definitely opposed to the anti-lynch bill.

STATE CAN CONTROL LYNCHING--RIVERS

Sees 'No Possible Advantage' in Interference by the U. S.

Georgia is amply able to cope with the lynching situation without assistance of any federal agency, Governor Rivers yesterday wrote the senate anti-lynching bill committee.

In a letter to Senator Kenneth McKellar, the Governor said there was "no possible advantage" to be gained from interference by the federal government in suppressing lynching.

"I am firmly convinced that this question can only be solved successfully by local governmental agencies," the Governor said. "I cannot conceive of any federal agency that could be set up by the federal government which would so successfully cope with the situation as it has been proven that we have in Georgia."

He praised sheriffs and other law enforcement officers for their record in preventing lynchings and cited numerous instances in which the officers dispersed enraged crowds.

Cairo, Ga., Messenger
February 23, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL NOT NEEDED.

The House has again passed the anti-lynching bill, and it is expected to come up for consideration in the Senate soon, at least before Congress adjourns to pave the way for the 1940 political wars. The press indicates that it is almost a foregone conclusion that the bill will again be filibustered to death in the Senate. Let us have such a hope, anyway.

Although House opponents of the measure virtually conceded its passage by the lower branch, they did not neglect to offer much sound and logical argument against it. Quite notable among the speeches of these opponents was that of Cong. E. E. Cox, of our own Second Congressional district, who denounced the bill with characteristic fire and oratorical power.

Cong. Cox dwelt at some length on the many "venomous" provisions of the bill, but among his most appealing arguments is his point that it is not needed, a point which is well borne out by the facts. Since there is no need for it, the repeated efforts to force its adoption in Congress, he declares, are clearly shown to be supported by a "senseless, venomous, ignorant, unreasoning hostility" toward the south—and virtually that alone.

The Georgian declared " . . . every member of this Congress knows the (lynching) problem is practically solved in the south," which places the anti-lynching bill in practically the same category as the court re-organization bill, which was aimed to meet a so-called need that time and Providence cared for in comparatively short order.

But, the anti-lynching bill will likely have to run its course in the Senate, just the same—since it is supported by hostility rather than an honest desire to meet a need.

Barkley Urged To Act On Mob Bill

SEP 18 1940

NEW YORK—(SNS)—Insisting that the Senate Majority Leader call up the Anti-lynching bill at once, "now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of," Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told Senator Barkley this week that we cannot make democracy a reality in America "as long as the mob rides."

White's statement was contained in a letter sent to Barkley September 9, the day folowing the death of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Georgia, the sixth lynching victim this year.

"We agree," the N. A. A. C. P. secretary said, "that it is important to protect America from the spirit of racial bigotry and mob violence which are apart of the basis of the methods used by totalitarian powers and particularly that of Nazi Germany, but while we are building ships, planes, and guns to keep Hitler out, it is imperative that at the same time we make democracy a reality in the United States and that cannot be done as long as the mob still rides."

The letter pointed to the terror aroused against Negro citizens in Brownsville, Tennessee, resulting in the lynching of Elbert Williams, and the tragic status of the Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis, the latter, father of seven children, both of whom were forced to flee their homes. "The lynching and subsequent terrorizing of Negro citizens who sought the right to vote in Brownsville was given impetus by the continued refusal of Barkley to call up the Anti-lynching bill," White said.

Calling upon the Senate Majority Leader to rally all the administration forces behind the bill, to get action immediately, White concluded:

"We therefore again request you, as Majority Leader, to call up the Anti-lynching bill now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of, and that every resource of the administration be put forth to the end that this bill be passed by the Senate before Congress adjourns."

Silent On Mob Law

Election Year Seems as Barrier To Consideration

WASHINGTON—(A N P)—With the major business of this session disposed, of congress stands ready adjourn, if it can, on October 1. A record for peace-time appropriations with a figure set at $15,000,000 marks this as one of the most "liberal" congresses in history.

Yet legislation against lynching, to outlaw the great American national crime, was not considered important enough to reach the floor of the United States senate, although there had been some sort of understanding or promise made whereby the anti-lynch bill would get consideration during this session.

PASSED BY HOUSE

Passed by the house after the most harrowing debates and harrassing of witnesses at public hearings, the bill had the approval of the majority of the house members, excepting those from the Solid South, who saw in it an effort on the part of the northern members to use the bill as a vote-getting football, and so expressed themselves on the floor.

But it was in the senate that the most difficulty was experienced, where some 300 members of that body were up for re-election and couldn't afford to have their opinions spread on the Congressional Records for public inspection. Their opposition to the bill was open and hostility to the measure expressed itself in recriminations and denials of statements.

Declaring that the vote was not as urgent on this measure in an election year, as was the vote on the emergency national defense, senators sought refuge behind the latter to kill any hopes of the former, despite the fine work which had been done in getting various congressmen to support the measure.

So the bill goes over for another congress where the hope is the removal of an election year will give it a better chance to pass.

EXPECT CONGRESS TO SHELVE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

SEP 27 1940

Solons Plan Adjournment October 1, Leaving Mobs Free Of Federal Investigation

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 (ANP) —With the major business of this session disposed, of congress stands ready to adjourn, if it can, on Oct 1. A record for peacetime appropriations with a figure set at $15,000,000 marks this as one of the most "liberal" congresses in history.

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Senate Is

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6405

Ready to Refute Lynch Bill Foes

Call 3-8-40 Knoxville Mail

NEW YORK.—Any attempt on the part of Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, to emasculate the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper federal anti-lynching bill during the final hearings on the bill, by putting on witnesses from Texas, South Carolina and other southern states to testify against the bill, will be met with full facts and figures, the N. A. A. C. P. said this week.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys, chairman of the senate judiciary sub-committee conducting hearings on the bill, announced that the hearings would be resumed on Tuesday, March 5, closing either on that date or March 6.

Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.; and Dean William Hastie, of the Howard university law school, who is chairman of the association's national legal committee, will be present at the hearings to refute any false statements made by Connally's witnesses, the announcement said.

Background material concerning lawless activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other types of mob violence in South Carolina and Texas will be placed in the hands of committee members and newspaper correspondents, Mr. White said. Lack of funds prevented the Association's sending investigators into these states to get fuller information, he added.

A tentative survey of senatorial reaction to the N. A. A. C. P.'s 1940 inquiry on clcture follows:

FOR CLOTURE

Democrats: Alben W. Barkley, Ky.; Bennett Champ Clark, Mo.; Theodore F. Green, R. I.; Francis T. Maloney, Conn.; Sherman Minton, Ind.; Matthew M. Neely, W. Va.; Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Wash.; William H. Smathers, N. J.; Frederick Van Nuys, Ind.; Robert F. Wagner, N. Y.; David I. Walsh, Mass.

Republicans: W. Warren Barbour, N. J.; Arthur Capper, Kans.; James J. Davis, Pa.; Robert A. Taft, Ohio.

NON - COMMITTAL ON CLOTUURE

Democrats: Albert B. Chandler, Ky.; D. Worth Clark, Idaho; James M. Mead, N. Y.; Elbert D. Thomas, Utah; Arthur H. Vandenburg, Mich.; Henry Cabot Lodge, Mass.; Burton K. Wheeler, Mont.

Among those senators who have not yet replied to the N. A. A. C. P. 's query, but who voted for cloture or were paired for cloture in 1938 are the following:

Alva B. Adams, Colo.; Henry F. Ashurst, Ariz.; Homer T. Bone, Wash.; Prentiss H. Brown, Mich.; Dennis Chavez, N. Mex.; Vic Donahey, Ohio; Guy M. Gillette, Iowa; Joseph F. Guffey, Pa.; Carl A. Hatch, N. Mex.; James H. Hughes, Del.; Edwin C. Johnson, Colo.; Josh Lee, Okla.; James E. Murray, Mont.; Harry H. Schwartz, Wyoming; Elmer Thomas, Okla.; Harry S. Truman, Mo.

Republicans: John A. Townsend Jr., Del., Progressives; Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., Wis.

Nashville Tenn. Banner
February 26, 1940

Public Favors Lynch Bill by Small Majority

By Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 26—As Congress ploughs its ways toward adjournment in time for the national conventions, political observers are watching to see what the senate will do with one of the most controversial pieces of legislation on its desk—the Gavagan bill to discourage lynchings.

Passed by the house after a sharp debate, the Gavagan bill faces either quiet pigeon-holing in the senate or a rough-and-tumble filibuster by Southern members if it reaches the floor. Because the latter course might raise awkward strains within the Democratic party on the eve of the Democratic national convention, many political observers think the bill will be pigeon-holed.

The question is—How much public demand is there for anti-lynching legislation of the Gavagan bill's type?

To measure American sentiment on the question, the American Institute of Public Opinion has interviewed a scientifically selected cross-section of men and women in every state, so chosen as to reflect the opinions of the 80,000,000 in the adult population. The survey indicates:

1. That a small majority of persons with opinions on the question (55%) are in favor of the proposed legislation.
2. That the strongest support for the bill comes from Northern Democrats, while the strongest opposition comes from Southern Democrats, a fact which makes the subject particularly ticklish for the Democratic party.
3. That despite the vote in the house, where Republican members voted almost solidly for the bill, rank-and-file Republicans are evenly divided on the question.

Voters in the survey were asked their opinions of the proposed bill after being shown a card on which the following description of the bill appeared:

"Under the proposed federal law against lynching, the federal government would (1) fine and imprison local police officers who fail to protect a prisoner from a lynch mob, and (2) make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to $10,000 to the victim or his family. Do you approve or disapprove of this law?

The answers of those with opinions are:

Approve	55%
Disapprove	45%

Approximately one person in ten (9%) said he was undecided or without an opinion on the question.

The Gavagan bill was attacked on the floor of the house by numerous Southern members who declared that the bill was an entirely unnecessary piece of legislation which would prove nothing but an affront to the South, without materially reducing the number of lynchings. Southerners pointed out that U. S. lynchings have dropped—as the result of purely Southern efforts—from 130 in 1901 to only three in 1939.

The same arguments are raised by some of the rank-and-file voters who oppose the bill. The most frequent objection, however, is that the bill is "too severe," or that it punishes the wrong people.

Supporters of the bill argue that lynchings must be stopped, one way or another, and that present state and local enforcement has not completely succeeded in eradicating it.

There has been virtually no change in sentiment on the question in the past two years, apparently, for in January, 1938, after a similar bill had been debated the Institute found an almost identical division of opinion.

Sectionally the greatest support for the measure occurs in New England and the Middle Atlantic States and the least in the South (55% opposed). Negroes reached in the survey were 9 to 1 in favor of it.

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Booneville, Miss. Independent
February 29, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

The anti-lynching bill, which has passed the lower house of congress two or three times before, and each time been defeated in the senate, has again dragged its slimy trail thru the House and is now pending in the Senate. Southern senators, re-enforced by a few clear-headed members from the North and East, will defeat the bill when it comes to a show down. If Sen. Connally, of Texas, is not disabled by the light stroke he had a few days ago and Pat Harrison is not physically handicapped, and Bilbo is at his best and the senators from Louisiana and Georgia and South Carolina and North Carolina and Alabama and Virginia are all on the job that infamous bill will never get to a roll call. Southern senators will miss the late Sen. Borah in this great fight. Cotton Edd Smith of South Carolina says the second greatest speech he has ever heard delivered in the U. S. Senate was the speech of Sen. Borah on the anti-lynching bill.

The matter of suffrage, the right to vote, is a state-conferred privilege and the federal government has nothing to do with it. In the same class with the suffrage matter is the jury system and the manner of conducting courts and law enforcement. All of these matters belong to the states and it is their privilege to enforce them. There is no necessity for an anti-lynching law. That form of mob violence is gradually going out as respect for law and order increases. During the year 1939 there were only three lynchings in the United States and if let alone this matter will soon right itself. One of the strong fighters for the South along this line is our own John E. Rankin, who made a telling and powerful speech when this bill was pending in the House. We quote below a few extracts from Mr. Rankin's splendid speech which are as follows:

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, bringing this so-called anti-lynching bill in here at this time is one of the most ridiculous performances ever witnessed in the Congress of the United States, and one of which the American people, your constituents, have every reason to be ashamed. It is the old story of Nero's fiddling while Rome burned.

Seldom in the history of this country has there been a greater need for the exercise of statesmenship in this House, We are confronted with problems of grave importance to the people of the Nation and of the world; and yet Congress, or the House of Representatives, is wasting its time on a vicious, stupid measure that everybody knows will never become a law.

Is that statesmanship? Is it the part of wise men to thus disregard the welfare of the Nation, only to stir up strife and discontentment? You Members who are pushing this vicious measure are doing your country the greatest injury of which you are capable.

On yesterday I listened to the address of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Wadsworth), in which he pointed out the fallacy of this measure and the impossibility of its enforcement. He and I do not agree on the great fundamental questions that separate the two national parties, but I want to pay my tribute to him as the outstanding member of the Republican Party in public life today.

This bill that you have dragged out here, by petition, and that a self-respecting com-

mittee of the House refused to report, should never be referred to as an anti-lynching bill. It should be called "a bill to encourage rape and to re-elect Gavagan to Congress." It is nothing but a vicious attack upon the white people of the Southern states, and is fostered by a communistic element that has brought sufficient pressure to bear to force it to the floor of the House through the signatures of men who did not have the courage to resist that pressure.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
March 4, 1940

Dixon Lashes Anti-Lynch Bill, Urges Defeat

Governor Declares Action Unnecessary, And Dangerous Step

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 4—(AP)—Hope that the Wagner anti-lynching bill now pending in Congress would be "decisively defeated" was expressed today by Governor Dixon who said the proposed law would "result in the unquestioned control by the Washington bureaucracy of the personal, private and daily affairs of every citizen of the United States."

Dixon expressed his views in a letter to Senator Kenneth McKellar (D-Tenn) who had asked him for aid in compiling arguments against the Wagner bill which has passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

No Lynchings In Alabama

His letter said in part:

We do not have lynchings in Alabama. The entire power of the state government, for the past many years, has been thrown behind the effort to stop this type of crime, and it does not exist in our state.

"Should any threat of lynching occur during my administration it would be instantly met with whatever force was necessary, and should any law officer in Alabama be guilty of negligence in this regard he would be proceeded against at once. x x x.

"The present swing of the federal government toward the assumption of power in the local affairs of the states is, in my opinion, an extremely dangerous one. Followed to its logical conclusion it will result in the unquestioned control by the Washington bureaucracy of the personal, private and daily affairs of every citizen of the United States wherever located.

"It will lessen the power of a minority to protect itself against aggression by a majority. It will remove the control of the acts of officials from the people whose servants they are supposed to be. It cannot fail to be disastrous to our American way of life and to the continued existence of the basic principles which have maintained, often against attack, the liberties of our people.

Solely A Sectional Issue

"The unanimous opinion of the people of this state is that the Wagner anti-lynching bill is advocated and pushed solely as a sectional issue and for the purpose of securing votes on the part of those who have a substantial negro element in their constituency, and our people are also convinced that enough social problems exist in the constituency of the gentlemen who are advocating this bill to consume their entire time from now on, if they devote their attention to the affairs of their constituents and not to those of people far removed from their section of the country.

"We make no claim to devine wisdom in our handling of the problem presented by the existence of the two races in the South. The best thought of our people is devoted to it, and in my opinion we are making progress. One thing that concerns us far more than the lynching problem, which is non-existant, is the problem of poverty among the negroes, a factor which necessitates the carrying of a tremendous burden by our taxpayers for education, health and relief.

"Might I suggest that great good could be done if, instead of attention to this bill, the gentlemen who are advocating it would devote their time and thought to the removal of the unfair barriers which have kept this section, and thereby these people, in poverty.

"I refer, of course, to the unfair freight rate differentials, primarily; secondly, the tariff; there are many others, including glaringly disproportionate distribution of relief funds with which all are familiar.

"It is further our opinion that passage of this bill would immediately and definitely make for bad relationship between the races. It would hurt, far more than it would help, the very people who are its supposed beneficiaries. x x x."

Greenville, S. C. News
March 10, 1940

NEWS EDITORIAL ON LYNCH SPIRIT PUT IN RECORD

Connally Places Refutation Of Charge By Davis In Congressional Record

KLAN ACTIVITY TOPIC

The News Bureau, 1054 Press Building, By Leased Wire.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 9—Senator Tom Connally of Texas, one of the leaders in the fight against the anti-lynching bill today inserted in the Congressional Record an editorial from the Greenville News of last Thursday refuting the charges of a negro witness at a hearing on the anti-lynching bill that the "lynch spirit" is growing in South Carolina.

The editorial was called to the attention of the Texan, who is a member of the subcommittee holding hearings on the bill, by Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Senator Connally thereupon inserted the editorial in the Congressional Record and stated that he intended it to make a part of the record of the subcommittee's hearings when next the group convenes.

The editorial refutes the testimony of John P. Davis, representative of the American Negro congress, who recounted several instances of Klan activity to support his charges.

Lord, Keep Up the Good Work

In case the U.S. Senate filibusters again when the antilynching bill comes before it, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced this week that its poll shows eleven Democrat and four Republican Senators, including Taft, willing to vote for limited debate.

The association found seven Democrats (including Presidential aspirants Vandenberg and Wheeler) noncommittal; sixteen Democrats and one Republican and one Progressive who voted for limited debate (cloture) in 1938, and only three Democrat Senators who in their answers have said, outright that they are against cloture.

If the vote had to be taken today it would appear that the antilynching bill has 16 all-weather votes and 18 more which are likely.

Here are 34 votes of the 62 needed to stop a filibuster, and of the 49 required to pass the bill if it gets to the floor.

This is not a poor showing. No politician, least of all a Senator, is in the habit of telling in advance how he shall vote.

Some time ago we said that the dear God having removed Senator Borah and smitten Texas's Tom Connally with a stroke of something or other, the antilynching bill has a good chance of passing. And we still think so.

Wadsworth Tells Why He Opposes Lynch Bill

(ANP)

WASHINGTON

Despite the barrage hurled at him for opposing the anti-lynching bill, Congressman James W. Wadsworth (Rep., N.Y.) persists in his stand and said Monday that he has "watched the bill ever since 1922 and it has grown since then to be nothing but a political football.

"What is it," he continued, "but a political effort to keep colored people in the North in line for the Democratic party and to show those in other parties that the Republicans are also trying to get their votes?"

The Congressman said he hates to see any bill aimed at one section of the country, especially since the decrease in the crime of lynching has taken place. "Lynching is a horrible thing," he added "and can be stopped only by those sections where it occurs."

LYNCHING * 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6430

NAACP Seeks More Action on Anti-lynch Bill

NEW YORK.—Letters requesting action on the anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of congress were recently sent to fourteen key senators of both parties by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A special request was made of the three senators sponsoring the bill, Robert F. Wagner, New York; Arthur Capper, Kansas; and Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana. Senator Van Nuys wired that he would consult Senator Wagner on the matter, but that he did not have much hope of any action.

OCT 5 1940

Senator Capper said he was doing everything he could to bring up the bill, and would follow Senator Wagner's lead.

Recess Inevitable

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, wrote that he would consult with Senator Wagner and lend any aid he could, but explained that even if Congress did not adjourn, a recess until after election was inevitable.

The NAACP letter cited seven lynchings during 1940. The list was announced as six, but a killing at Dyersburg, Tenn., August 3, has been verified as a lynching, making the seventh of 1940. Roosevelt Jones, 26, was the victim.

Refuting a signed story in a Chicago weekly September 14, Senator Alben Barkley has denied that he recently told a colored delegation that the Anti-lynching bill is a "dead horse," and "removed as an issue from the present campaign by both parties."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 29, 1940

An Ignorant Speech

When Candidate Roosevelt tells the "Young Democrats" that "there will always be two parties", he implies a narrow and mistaken limitation. There may be three parties, or five. He, prophet though he be, cannot limit the number of American parties. It is entirely possible that the Electoral College, which will decide who is to be president the next four years after January, may break up into three parties—and The News and Courier hopes that it will. The "two party" assumption is assumption and nothing more and is born in what is commonly called "wishful thinking".

When the candidate proceeds that "the names of the two parties may change but that the issues between them are definite" that "inevitably the struggle must be between the forces of liberalism and the forces of reaction", that "the struggle will go on as long as selfishness finds a place in the heart of man", he speaks ignorantly, oblivious of the plain truth that what constitutes "reaction" in one place may be "liberalism" in another, that "selfishness in the human heart" is of varying definition, that the nature of these terms is substantially affected by climate, population, religion, a variety of factors.

For example, Mr. Roosevelt's "liberalism" is the liberalism of the great cities, of the LaGuardias, "Tommy" Corcorans, Felix Frankfurters, Rex Tugwells. Those gentlemen (let us concede them the utmost honesty of opinion of which human creatures are capable) are scant of understanding of or sympathy with the principles and practices that South Carolinians cherish—and saying 'South Carolinians" we refer especially to the candidate's supporters in this state. The most subject and absorbed Rooseveltian in South Carolina is undoubtedly the former governor, Mr. O. D. Johnston, who said in Sumter two years ago that when he spoke he "ran off negroes". That is the "liberalism" which Candidate Roosevelt stood for in 1938, for he exerted himself for the election of Mr. Johnston and was overcome by the exertions of his other "liberal friend" Senator Byrnes, who was no more a Roosevelt man at that time than The News and Courier was. Mr. Roosevelt's "liberals" look on all Southern Democrats, third termers as well as Jeffersonians, as "reactionaries", "bonsbons", "Fascists".

Of the "liberals" that Mr. Roosevelt has in mind there are in all South Carolina not two dozen; there is not one of prominence who will speak out publicly for his "liberalism". They may vote for Candidate Roosevelt, he is a peerless federal job-giver, but they are opposed to the anti-lynching bill to the repeal of the poll tax qualification to abolition of the right of the state to make its own suffrage laws and conduct its own elections. Probably in a few small localities in South Carolina would be open rebellion against Mr. Roosevelt if he interfered to compel them to conduct their primary elections honestly—and to a man these Southern liberals" now expect to vote for the third termer.

Not yet do the Americans perceive it, but the great cleavage in the United States of 1940 is between the urban and rural populations—it is a wider and deeper cleavage than that of the 1860s. We greatly hope that it will not lead to violent revolution, there are ways of escaping it, but the United States is this day much closer to revolution than it was in 1932 or 1933. A "war scare" may and probably will, for the time, thrust it into the background—and that may be good reason for cooking up a war scare to a greater heat than is necessary in the circumstances.

"Labor" is not necessarily "liberal". One can conceive of a labor organization that practices monopoly not less than do some of the big business men. The fact is that no group of persons, rich or poor, or any race or religion, has a monopoly of unselfishness. Employed laboring men of Detroit and Henry Ford are about equally averse to raising the wages, by legislation, of the tenants and sharecroppers, black and white, on Southern farms to a minimum of six dollars a day and to reducing their hours to forty a week—just as in Charleston some of us laboring people (we are at this moment laboring on a typewriter) are not so humanitarian that we are prepared to "sell all that we have and give to the poor" or to work for the same daily compensation in money that they receive.

So, when Candidate Roosevelt undertakes to define "liberalism" and "unselfishness" for this considerable country, he speaks ignorantly, however his phrases be fine and calculated to hypnotize persons more ignorant than himself.

We say that he speaks ignorantly, because we would carefully avoid attributing to him a selfish or demagogic motive.

BARBOUR WILL SEEK LYNCH BILL ACTION

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Promises NAACP That Some Action Will Be Taken Within Next 10 Days.

OCT 12 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—Senator W. Warren Barbour, of New Jersey, will seek action in the Senate on the Anti-lynching bill sometime within the next ten days, it was announced by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The New Jersey senator was among the 14 members of the Senate who were asked by the association last week to seek action on the bill before the adjournment of Congress. He told the association, through his secretary, that he is planning to seek action on the bill 'at the first opportunity within the next week or ten days."

Senator Sherman Minton, of Indiana, told the Association that he will "do anything that I can to try and get it (the Bill) up for consideration and for passage."

Senator Charles McNary, of Oregon, who is running for Vice-President on the Republican ticket, said: "During my years in the United States Senate I have supported actively all Anti-lynching bills that have been before the Congress and I have no reason to change that course of action." Both Senator James M. Mead, of New York, and Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, said that they would inquire about the status of the Bill "if the opportunity presents itself" before Congress adjourns.

WILL ATTEMPT TO BRING MEASURE UP WITHIN TEN DAYS

Washington, D. C.

Most Supporters Would Follow Wagner's Lead, NAACP is Informed

OCT 12 1940

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Both Senator James M. Mead, of New York, and Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, said that they would inquire about the status of the bill" if the opportunity presents itself," before Congress adjourns.

More Support

Senators: Arthur Capper, of Kansas, and Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana, co-authors of the bill with Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, told the association last week that they would follow Wagner's lead on any proposed action to bring the Bill up on the Senate floor.

Van Nuys said he had little hope, but Capper told the NAACP that he was "doing everything I possibly can to get action on the anti-

lynching bill at this session of Congress."

Pointing out that he felt it was up to Wagner to take the lead he added: "Frankly Senator Wagner can do more than I can to get a chance for our bill. I will help him in every way I can."

Senator Arthur Vandenburg, of Michigan, also wrote the association last week that he would consult with Senator Wagner and lend every aid he could to bringing up the bill.

Key Solons Are Sent Letters

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.,

Seven '40 Lynch Instances Cited By Association

OCT 1 1940

NEW YORK—Letters requesting action on the anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of congress were sent this week to fourteen key senators of both parties by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A special request was made of the three senators sponsoring the bill in the Senate, Robert F. Wagner, New York; Arthur Capper, Kansas; and Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana. Senator Van Nuys wired that he would consult with Senator Wagner on the matter, but that he did not have much hope of any action. Senator Capper said he was doing everything he could to bring up the bill, and would follow Senator Wagner's lead.

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DYERSBURG INCIDENT

The NAACP letter cited seven lynchings during 1940. The list was announced recently as six, but since that time a killing at Dyersburg, Tenn., August 3, has been verified as a lynching, making the seventh of 1940. Roosevelt Jones, 26, was the victim.

In a statement made this week, the NAACP blamed the Administration for failure to act on the bill.

"Twice in the last three years the House has passed this bill by votes of almost 2 to 1", the statement said: "The Senate staged a disgraceful filibuster lasting seven weeks in early 1938. After the House passed the bill a second time, the Senate has refused to act to bring it up for a vote. We feel that the Administration could have got this bill to the floor if it had wanted to do so.

DASTARDLY CRIME IGNORED

"In recent years our President and our State Department have issued statements rebuking what they call the forces of brutality and dictatorship in all parts of the world. They have read Sunday School lectures to other nations. They have talked about Democracy but they have chosen to ignore the dastardly crime of lynching in our own backyard.

"America can never stand as an example to other nations on the treatment of minority peoples as long as human beings are shot, hanged and roasted to death here without the federal government lifting a finger to do anything about it. Hitler has a perfect right to sneer at our statements as long as we handle our minorities in much the same manner that he handles his.

"Perhaps the most shameful lynching of this year occurred in Brownsville, Tenn. in June, when a peaceful, law-abiding colored citizen was done to death for the enormous crime of attempting to register so that he could vote in the Presidential election November 5! Brownsville, Tenn., is a picture of our democracy in a nutshell and will remain so until our government does something to punish lynchers."

Senator Barbour Will Seek Action On Anti-Lynching Bill Within 10 Days, Says NAACP

The Plain Dealer
Cincinnati, O.

NEW YORK.—Senator W. Warren Barbour of New Jersey, will seek action in the Senate on the Anti-lynching bill sometime within the next ten days, it was announced this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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OCT 1 1 1940

Barkley Shakes Anti-American Lynch Bill Hopes

Baltimore Sun

WASHINGTON

All probability that Congress would enact antilynching legislation before recessing faded, last week, when Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, the majority leader, declared on the Senate floor that the bill would not be called up because it would provoke a prolonged filibuster.

In view of the international situation, he said, "it is impractical at this time to make a futile effort to obtain a vote on the bill when it is known in advance that a vote cannot be had."

OCT 19 1940

Admitting that invoking cloture rule, would be the only means of getting a vote on the bill, the Senator said: "I have had an individual poll made of the members of the Senate and it has been ascertained that cloture cannot be obtained at this time in order to have a vote on the bill."

6434

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Washington, D. C. Post
March 27, 1940

Assault On Home Rule

Members of the Senate apparently intend to indulge in another unprincipled scramble for the Negro vote. As usual, this contest will be labeled a fight against lynching. But actually the so-called anti-lynching bill is only a snare designed to bring its sponsors unearned political support at the polls.

If the bill were merely ordinary bait for voters it would be of little importance. Many such measures are passed by Congress on the eve of major political campaigns. In this instance, however, Negro votes would be purchased at a terrific cost to the American system of government.

The bill should be designated: "A measure to promote totalitarianism in the United States." Its effects would not be to prevent lynching. That barbarous practice has been virtually stamped out already. This bill could serve only to break down our dual system of government, which gives the people of the States the right of managing their own affairs, and hasten the concentration of all power in the Federal Government.

Enactment of this measure would subject State and county law-enforcement officers to Federal penalties for any failure to do their duty in lynching cases. It would penalize counties, too, for such failure of their law-enforcement officers, in flagrant disregard of the fact that counties are creatures of the States and not the Federal Government. If Congress can take over these local functions, Senator Connally points out, it can "destroy the counties within the States and the States themselves."

It is doubtful whether any legitimate excuse for such an assault upon the American system of government could be found. Certainly the lynching record of recent years offers none. Senator Wagner attempts to justify this new drive for Negro votes by a claim that 73 lynchings have occurred in the last six years. That statement is grossly misleading.

The Tuskegee Institute reports 25 lynchings during the last four years. But the really significant fact is that violent slayings of this type were reduced to three in 1939. Two victims were colored and one white. These lynchings were confined to two States. Yet the sponsors of this bill are willing to set a precedent that would jeopardize the rights of all the States to direct their own internal affairs.

Heinous as it is, lynching is no longer a serious menace. The States have now clearly demonstrated their ability to cope with it. The real question confronting the Senate in connection with this bill is whether a dangerous step toward centralized power should be sanctioned to appease a group of voters who have been much aggrieved in the past. To inject that issue into the politics-charged atmosphere of the present session is a shameful abuse of legislative responsibility.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
March 13, 1940

Anti-Lynching Bill Fought

Governors Of 10 Southern States Join In Asking Senate To Defeat Move

WASHINGTON, Mar. 13.—(AP)—Governors of ten states joined today in asking the Senate to defeat federal anti-lynching legislation already passed by the House.

Their pleas were filed with a Senate judiciary committee by Senator McKellar (D. Tenn.) who said he had written governors of all "southern and border states urging them to do everything within their powers to stop the crime of lynching."

Governors of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia joined in the request to the Senate.

They said lynchings had been greatly reduced, that the proposal was an unconstitutional violation of states' rights, and that the bill would do the negro race more harm than good.

McKellar said southern states had attained "excellent results in stamping out lynchings" and commented that the governors' letters indicated honest opposition to the pending proposal. It would penalize state or local officers for failure to prevent lynchings or to prosecute lynch mobs and would impose up to $10,000 civil damages on counties or communities where lynching took place.

Spartanburg, S. C. Herald
March 21, 1940

ANTI-LYNCH BILL MEETS OPPOSITION OF S. C. POLICE

Wire From Sheriff Henry Is Introduced in Senate Committee Record

Messages from Sheriff Sam M. Henry of Spartanburg and other sheriffs of South Carolina counties to Governor Burnet R. Maybank expressing opposition to the anti-lynching bill now before Congress have been placed in the record of a senate judiciary sub-committee now engaged in a hearing of protests against the proposed legislation.

The letters and telegrams from the South Carolina law enforcement officers were forwarded to Senator Tom Connally of Texas, leader of the senate forces opposing the measure, by Governor Maybank.

Praises Efforts

In introducing the telegrams into the records, the Texas senator praised efforts of South Carolina peace officers to maintain order in several instances of threatened mob violence and said they were doing a "splendid job."

Among messages from South Carolina officials opposing the anti-lynching law which were introduced in the record of the sub-committee were those of Sheriff Henry, Sheriff C. W. Weir of Laurens, Sheriff J. G. Faucett of Union, Sheriff W. T. Strom of McCormick, Sheriff Tom M. Fellers of Newberry, Sheriff A. R. Ross of Pickens and Solicitor Rufus Fant of the Tenth judicial circuit.

Text of Message

The text of Sheriff Henry's message which was introduced in the sub-committee record follows:

"Governor Burnet R. Maybank:

"Re wire have not had a single incident where lynching has been intimated even though we have had some serious cases. I do not anticipate any lynchings in Spartanburg county for the people both white and colored realize that justice can be obtained in our courts. Only a few years ago a jury in this county sent white man up for life for killing a negro man during textile strike and have had numerous cases in recent years where white men have been convicted for killing a negro. Just before you took office Jerry Babb, Andy Babb and Bloomer Williams received 20 years each for killing a negro. At the January 1940 term of court two white men received a sentence of 10 years for assaulting a negro girl. Our policy is to make quick investigation and obtain speedy trial to insure confidence. We need no anti-lynching law from Congress, and I believe that if a committee of the proponents of this bill could visit our courts without knowing that they are present that they would let us alone for they would be convinced that the negro gets the same justice as the white man and in many cases is shown even more consideration."

President's Power To Check Violence Outlined In Report

Pending Anti-Lynching Legislation Mild Compared to Chief Executive's Authority to Employ Army, Navy or Militia, Senate Judiciary Says.

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, April 18—Pending Federal anti-lynching legislation is mild compared with the authority given the President to employ the Army, Navy, or militia to suppress domestic violence, the Senate was told last Monday in the favorable report of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill from the Senate Judiciary committee.

Nor has this power of the President to intervene with Federal troops whenever there is a breakdown of law and order lain dormant. The report points out that President Wilson invoked it in 1914 in connection with disord in Colorado and that previously both Cleveland and Harrison had used it.

DECREASE CAUSED BY CONTINUING AGITATION

The report admits that there has been a decrease in the number of publicized lynchings recorded in the last four years. It ascribes this decrease to continuing agitation and legislative efforts toward enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law during the 75th and 76th Congresses.

"Should it become apparent that Congress is not disposed to enact such legislation, this deterrent would be removed," the report states. "On the other hand, the enactment of this legislation will assure that Federal action which even in prospect has had substantial deterrent effect."

Attention is also directed to the fact that efforts are being made to suppress lynching news in the localities where the crime occurs. "The new technique," the report says, "seems increasingly to be to have lynching carried out by small groups and in secluded places rather than the town square."

PERIODIC RESURGENCE OF CRIME POINTED OUT

Pointing out that the history of lynching shows periodic resurgence of the crime, the report states:

"Unhappily, evidence before the committee indicates that there is at present a disturbing increase in mass violence by groups and organizations — north, south, east and west—which take the law into their own hands and forceably impose punishment and correction upon their victims according to their own ideas in defiance of constituted authority.

"In such a situation an increase in lynching is likely to occur. It is important, therefore, that the proposed legislation should be enacted immediately to put the full power of the Federal Government behind the effort to prevent any

Legislators Differ With Governor, Want U. S. Law For Mobs

CHARLESTON, W. Va. (ANP) —Members of the State Legislature want a federal antilynching law and object to the stand by the governor of the state, Homer A. Holt, in opposition to the passage of such legislation, according to a letter sent Sen. McKellar of Tennessee and signed by J. Bulh Shahan, state senator and John W. Bosworth, state representative.

The communication was addressed to Senator McKellar because he, an opponent of the anti-lynching legislation, wrote to governors of all southern states getting their reaction on the bill pending in the senate and released their reactions to the nation's press.

The letter stated:

TEXT OF LETTER

"Goveror Holt's letter voices only the sentiment of a conservative and an aristocratic minority of the Democratic party in West Virginia under the guidance of the governor's political master, former Gov. H. G. Kump.

"In his letter to you, Governor Holt asserts that from statistics he has, anti-lynching sentiment has almost solved the problem.

"If public sentiment, as the governor mentions, has very nearly solved the problem, why should he express opposition to the enactment of this measure which would simply crystalize into law the known will of the public? In a democracy the will of the people should rule."

Columbia, Tenn., Daily Herald
July 16, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING UP IN CONVENTION

(Special to The Daily Herald.)

CHICAGO, Ill., July 16. — The anti-lynching question may become a troublesome issue in the national convention for Southern Democratic leaders.

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York is chairman of the platform committee, and is one of the most vigorous proponents of an anti-lynching law in Congress.

Edward H. Crump of Tennessee said he is informed the anti-lynching group will press for a plank in the platform through Senator Wagner. Crump related a conversation he had with Governor Carl E. Bailey of Arkansas, which went something like this:

"Governor Bailey, you kept your two senators from coming here as delegates and you have come as a delegate yourself. I understand an effort will be made to write an anti-lynching plank in the platform—could you run for re-election on the Democratic platform with a plank like that in it?"

"No, where's the platform committee meeting?" Governor Bailey declared, and hastened to the Blackstone Hotel to investigate.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
July 16, 1940

Anti-Lynching Issue Problem to the South

Special to The Chattanooga Times.

CONVENTION HALL, CHICAGO, July 15.—The anti-lynching question may become a troublesome issue in the national convention for southern democratic leaders. United States Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, is chairman of the platform committee, and is one of the most vigorous proponents of an anti-lynching law in congress. Edward H. Crump, of Tennessee, said today he is informed the anti-lynching group will press for a plank in the platform through Senator Wagner. Crump related a conversation he had with Gov. Carl E. Bailey, of Arkansas, today which went something like this:

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"No, where's the platform committee meeting?" Gov. Bailey declared, and hastened to the Blackstone hotel to investigate.

The Tennessee delegation is seated on the front row to the left of the center aisle.

EVIDENCE LACKING SAYS GRAND JURY; CALLS FOR RECESS

SPARTANBURG, S. C., Aug. 1—Unable to determine the identity of members of the band of masked, robed and hooded men who on the night of July 3, took four colored tenant farmers from their homes in the northern part of the county, carried them in automobiles to a point near one of the State's main paved highways and lashed them with blacksnake whips —the Spartanburg county grand jury recessed Thursday to reconvene as additional evidence develops, for further investigation of the outrage.

Urging all citizens of the county to co-operate with the police and sheriff's forces to "bring to justice the band of hooded and robed men who, in the night time, took advantage of innocent Negroes and beat them unmercifully," the grand jury in its report, stated: "We have no place for this kind of lawlessness in our community. There is always a way in which anyone can get protection in our county, and it is never justifiable for hooded or robed men to attempt to take the law into their own hands, and their conduct cannot be condoned."

Terming the kidnaping and flogging "outrageous," the grand jury's report in declaring the four victims "innocent," bore out the testimony of the farmers and their neighbors of both races, who were unable to advance any reason for the crime and said the farmers and their families have the reputation of being quiet, law-abiding and industrious. The victims themselves said they knew of no wrong-doing, real or imaginary, for which they could have been singled out for such brutal punishment.

6435

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Lynch Bill Backers On Radio

To Urge Passage Of Measure On Hookup, April 29

Daily World

WASHINGTON—(SNS)— A nationwide broadcast urging passage of the federal anti-lynch bill will be made Monday, April 29, by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York, Mathew M. Neely of Virginia, and Arthur Capper of Kansas, it was announced here today.

The broadcast has been arranged through the National Broadcasting Company over its Blue network from 10:30 to 11 p. m., eastern daylight saving time.

4-16-40

The three senators, who are staunch supporters of the bill, will insist that it be taken up before Congress adjourns and that it be given a chance to be voted on on its merits. They will denounce in advance any attempt at a filibuster. It is their contention that the filibuster is undemocratic because it permits a very small minority of the Senate to block the will of the majority, not only of the Senate, but of the American public. It is expected that they will advocate the imposition of cloture (limitation of debate) in the event a filibuster should develop.

In connection with the radio broadcast on April 29, Walter White, NAACP secretary, issued a statement urging branches of the NAACP throughout the country and other groups and organizations to organize neighborhood listening parties and that immediately after the broadcast, listeners write or telegraph individually to Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking him to set a definite date for the taking up of the anti-lynching bill.

Listeners also are urged to write or telegraph the senators from their states urging them to help bring the bill to a vote, to vote for it and to oppose any filibuster.

Listeners also are asked to write to President Roosevelt asking him to make a statement on the bill.

Every organization and agency interested in this legislation is requested to send out information on the broadcast and to urge its members to write senators and the President to get the bill taken up at this session.

Sociologist Urges U. S. Law For Mobs

Journal and Guide

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Delegates to the Conference of the Southern Sociological Society meeting here last week, heard Dr. Arthur F. Raper urge passage of the anti-lynching law.

4-20-40

Dr. Raper, research director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in Atlanta, said:

"I am in favor of the anti-lynching law because I am firmly convinced there is no way of punishing lynchers under our present court system. A federal statute on lynching is as necessary as the federal law prohibiting peonage. By the very nature of the two crimes, the local courts are not going to punish offenders."

Is Politics Behind Anti-Lynching Bill?

Journal and Guide

If So, It Is On Both Sides of the Question, As the Editorials Printed Below Point Out.

4-6-40

The Anti-Lynching Bill

Norfolk, Va.

From Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

INASMUCH as there are only three Southern Democrats among its eighteen members, it was to have been expected that the Senate Judiciary Committee would report favorably the vicious Gavagan anti-lynching bill which passed the House on January 10. The vote to report the measure closely followed sectional lines. The course that the bill has taken thus far in this session of Congress is similar to the course it took in 1938 when it came to Senate from the House by a vote of nearly two to one only to be killed by a determined filibuster led by Senator Connally of Texas, who is again prepared to lead the opposition.

The Senate is now depended upon to kill this bill for which no sounder and more creditable reason can be advanced than that it will win some Negro votes for those who favor it. That it has been from its inception a sordid political device disguised as a humanitarian measure is plain from the record. That there is no need for this sort of legislation in order to stamp out lynching is also plain from the record. There was a time when lynchings in the South could be counted by the dozen in the course of any year. As late as 1935 there were twenty. In 1939 there were only three. This form of mob violence which is bitterly deplored by every thoughtful Southerner is giving way to better observance and better enforcement of the law. And no thoughtful Southerner can believe that the attempt of the Federal government to invade the states in the manner proposed in this bill would fail to redound inevitably to the grave injury of the racial group which the Gavagan bill is supposed to be designed to protect.

One of the staunchest opponents of the anti-lynching legislation was the late Senator Borah. His opposition was based upon his belief that the bill was unconstitutional. He refused to play politics with the measure. When he ran in certain state primaries for the Republican nomination in 1936 this attitude hurt him in sections where there was a heavy vote, especially in Ohio and Illinois. But it was typical of him that this was a matter of secondary consideration. In Ohio he ran a poor second to Robert A. Taft, now aspiring to the Republican nomination. He challenged Mr. Taft as a lawyer to assert that the anti-lynching proposal was constitutional, and Mr. Taft failed to reply. He is now on the Senate Judiciary Committee, and one of those who voted to report the anti-lynching bill.

Apart from the virtual certainty that the proposed anti-lynching law would be contrary to the very spirit of the Constitution it would be, as every informed Southerner knows, wholly unenforceable. It not only makes it a felony punishable by a fine up to $5,000 or imprisonment up to five years or both for any state or local official to fail to make "all diligent effort" to protect a person from mob violence, but it makes a state subdivision with police powers civilly liable for a lynching within its jurisdiction. The liability is from $2,000 to $10,000 for each victim. And whether such a law could be enforced or not, it would be as violent an attempt on the part of the Federal government to invade the rights of the states as this country has seen — since the black and bitter days of Reconstruction.

Sincerity and A Lynch Bill

From Richmond Times-Dispatch

IT HAS often been argued that congressional advocates of a Federal antilynching bill are not really in favor of such a bill, but are merely voting hypocritically for it, under the threat of losing the Negro vote in their respective States. That argument has been dealt a heavy jolt by the action of the Senate Judiciary Committee in reporting out the Wagner-Van Nuys bill by an 11-to-4 vote.

Consider the fact that of the 11 committeemen who supported this legislation, no fewer than seven come from States with hardly any Negro votes. Indeed, the aggregate Negro population, including men, women and children, is less than 40,000 for all seven States combined, according to the 1930 census.

The largest Negro population in any one of these States is in Nebraska, which Senator Burke represents. It has fewer than 14,000 Negroes. Senator Ashurst and Wiley, who also favored the bill, represent Arizona and Wisconsin, respectively, each of which has fewer than 11,000 Negroes of all sizes, shapes and ages. Senator Hatch of New Mexico has fewer than 2,000 Negro constituents, while Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming has exactly 1,250. Senator Austin of Vermont was coerced into voting for this measure, if some of its opponents are to be believed, by the 568 Negroes in that State, while Senator McCarran was lashed into action by the 516 in Nevada.

It doesn't make sense. Whatever the merits or demerits of the Federal antilynching bill, the argument will have to be abandoned that it is being supported by no one but a lot of time-serving politicians who leap every time the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cracks its whip. The N. A. A. C. P. is a puissant political outfit, of course, and there is no question that some of the bill's advocates are behind it simply through fear of the Negro vote. On the other hand, let's admit candidly that there is such a thing as advocating a Federal antilynching law from a deep and sincere conviction that lynching is an everlasting blot on American civilization, and one which must be wiped out entirely — not merely reduced to three or four a year. No other so-called civilized country has any lynchings at all.

Sen. Barkley Admits The Wide Conspiracy To Kill Anti-Lynch Bill

Sponsors of Bill, Wagner and Van Nuys, Revealed as Among Enemies of Passage of Measure in Senate, in Letter to NAACP Official

By Ben Davis, Jr.

The shocking story of the dirty work going on in the U. S. Senate to scrap the anti-lynching bill, at this session of Congress, is now out.

It is a story of crosses, double-crosses, unprincipled maneuvering behind the scenes, sell-outs and sabotage—engaged in even by the sponsors of the measure.

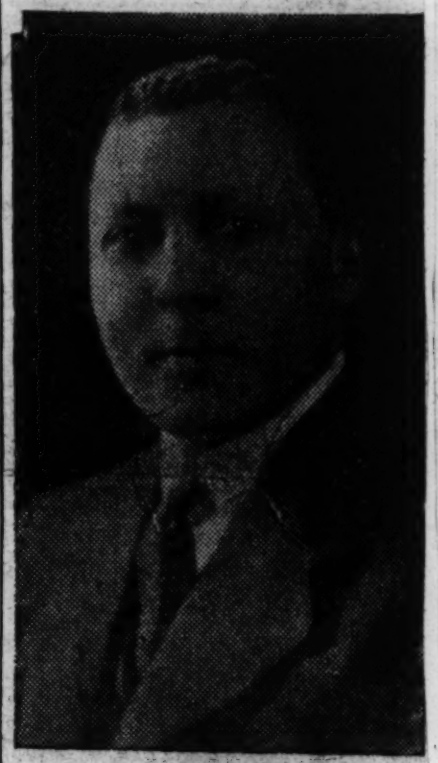
The information is contained in a letter of damning admissions made by Sen. Alben W. Barkley, Democratic majority leader and President Roosevelt's chief spokesman in the Senate. The document was sent on April 22 to Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sponsor of the bill.

Barkley's letter is filled with anti-Negro venom and with a callous contempt for the anti-lynching bill and for Negro rights.

THE BETRAYERS

It proves, unwittingly, that the bill has been betrayed and abandoned by:

1. Barkley himself, who refuses to take any step to set a specific date for discussion on the bill on the Senate floor.
2. Sen. Robt. F. Wagner, co-sponsor of the bill, whom Barkley admits wants to "compromise" the bill out of existence.
3. Sen. Van Nuys, co-sponsor of the bill, who has been sabotaging the bill all along.
4. Sen. Capper, Republican, co-sponsor of the bill.
5. The Roosevelt Administration which has run out on Negro rights (though it never really ran in on them) as it has on civil liberties for the whole American people.



DR. MAX YERGAN

WAGNER'S ROLE

In his letter to White, Barkley expressed "considerable resentment" merely because White had written him requesting that the bill be put on the calendar for action by the full Senate. He goes on to state further:

"I showed it (White's letter) to Senators Wagner and Van Nuys, to whom I learned you sent copies. Both of them felt that the letter was unfair and, in some of its assertions, without the slightest foundation." (White's reply shows that it is Barkley's conduct which has been unfair.)

Thus instead of fighting for their own measure, Wagner and Van Nuys are protecting and defending Barkley's open sabotage of the bill.

Worse still, Barkley states that he discussed the bill "with him (Sen. Wagner) at which time he expressed the hope that the Committee might work out a compromise that would have some chance of passage. I shared that hope."

All the time that Wagner was posing as a "fighter" for the anti-lynching bill he was actually looking for ways and means of junking it. He has been preparing to do the same job on this measure that he has done on his National Health bill—that is, abandon and forget about it in favor of Roosevelt's war program of "economy."

The anti-lynching bill is weak enough as it is. The clause specifically exempting labor from its definition of a "mob" has been deleted, and the bill fails to make lynching a capital crime. To water it down any further, would run the risk of taking every last one of its teeth out. Such a "compromise" would be a defeat of a bill.

THE PAY-OFF

The pay-off is that Barkley states:

"I am unable to give you any information as to when the Anti-lynching bill will be taken up in the Senate. Its sponsors are thoroughly conversant with the situation in the Senate and they did not feel that it should be taken up at a time when other important legislation that can pass is awaiting the Senate's consideration, and thus practically stop the legislative process. For they know, just as you know, that this bill cannot be brought to a vote without cloture (that is, two thirds vote to shut off a filibuster)."

In these words, Barkley is attempting to sound the death knell of the anti-lynching bill at this session. He points brazenly to the fact that the sponsors of the measure agree with his callous and defiant attitude. They are resigned with him to its defeat. He trots out the same old demagogy that was used to kill the bill at the last session—that it must give place to "other important legislation."

If this argument were followed out, the bill would never be passed. Always there's "other important legislation." It's simply that the Administration and the Republicans, don't regard the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendment as important enough to be enforced. Only President Roosevelt's program of war and hunger, his attacks upon labor, his undermining the Bill of Rights, for the country are "important" enough.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6436

West Virginia Legislature Sends Sen. McKellar Word Anti-Lynch Bill Necessary

Repudiate Message From Governor Who They Say Is Tool Of Reaction Forces

Says Bill Will Not Be Extension Of Federal Power

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(ANP)—Members of the state legislature want a federal anti-lynching law and object to the stand by the governor of the state, Homer A. Holt, in opposition to the passage of such legislation, according to a letter sent Sen. McKellar of Tennessee on Friday signed by J. Buell Shahan, state senator, and John W. Bosworth, state representative.

The communication was addressed to McKellar because the latter, an opponent of anti-lynching legislation, wrote to governors of all southern states getting their reaction on the bill now pending in the senate and released their reactions to the nation's press.

"A letter, made public this week, written to you by Gov. Homer A. Holt of this state in which opposition to the anti-lynching bill was expressed, has been brought to our attention. Since the bill is now pending action on the senate calendar, we believe that you, as chairman of the committee in charge of this measure, should know the position of the people of West Virginia.

"Gov. Holt's letter voices only the sentiment of a conservative and an aristocratic minority of the Democratic party in West Virginia under the guidance of the governor's political master, former Gov. H. G. Kump.

"In his letter to you, Gov. Holt asserts that from statistics he has anti-lynching sentiment has almost solved the problem.

"If public sentiment, as the Governor mentions, has very nearly solved the problem, why should he express opposition to the enactment of this measure which would simply crystalize into law the known will of the public? In a democracy the will of the people should rule.

"As representative in both branches of the legislature, we desire to advise you that the people of West Virginia believe in democratic rule and the forceful backing up by statute of the inherent will of the public. We believe that the mere fact that public sentiment has almost solved the problem is undeniable proof of the need for a national law to prohibit this form of irrational mob rule. Lynching has no part in modern civilization and should be excluded by legal mandate.

"Gov. Holt further states that his particular interest in the bill relates 'to the general proposition of the unnecessary extension of federal power.' He would endeavor to hide his opposition to the anti-lynching bill under the guise of the encroachment of federal power. He sets forth the fact that West Virginia already has an anti-lynching law to bolster his argument against the national measure as it would relate to the state. The fact that West Virginia has an anti-lynching bill justifies and makes advisable a national law. The governor's argument is therefore without foundation because there is no extension of federal power as relate to West Virginia."

No More Delay — Van Nuys

Sub-Committee Promises To Report Bill Out

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Two Mississippians, ex-Governor Earl Brewer, and Attorney General Rice, appeared before the Senate sub-committee conducting hearings on the anti-lynch bill, on Tuesday morning and vigorously opposed the passage of the legislation with typical Mississippi logic.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana, chairman of the sub-committee in charge of the measure, again this week announced that the Tuesday hearing was positively the last hearing on the federal lynch bill.

NO POSTPONEMENT

"After these witnesses are heard March 12," said the Senator, "the sub-committee will present its report to the full judiciary committee at the regular meeting March 19. There will be no further postponement of action."

The sub-committee met March 5 and heard John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, and Ben Davis, one of the editors of the Daily Worker, testify in support of the bill. The committee voted to hear Ben Davis after Chairman Van Nuys read a letter from the Communist party asking that he be permitted to testify.

DELAY PROTESTED

Definite alarm over what has been described as the dilatory tactics employed by Senator Van Nuys in apparently permitting Senator Connally to make good his threat to delay the hearings in order to keep the bill from coming to the Senate floor was expressed in a telegram sent to the sub-committee chairman by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

The telegram, which stated that it is "imperative there be no delay because there is growing criticism throughout the country over delay of the bill reaching the Senate," was sent at noon on Monday, March 6, in anticipation of the fact that the hearings would close Tuesday, March 5. This was the date set by Senator Van Nuys on February 22.

NAACP STATEMENT

In a statement issued today by the NAACP secretary said:

"The only thing that will force action on the anti-lynching bill is an avalanche of letters to members of the sub-committee letting them know that friends of this bill want it passed at this session of Congress."

Members of the Senate sub-committee are:

Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana, chairman; Warren Austin, Vermont; Tom Connally, Texas; Matthew M. Neely, West Virginia; Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin.

Barkley Asked To Set Date For Lynch Bill Discussion

WASHINGTON. — ANP Now that the Senate Judiciary committee has reported the anti-lynching bill favorably, Senator Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky Democrat and Senate majority leader, is being urged to set a date for the forthcoming debate and action. In this move, supporters of the bill this week were asked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to take the following steps:

Write Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., urging him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be considered; write to state senators urging them to work to bring the anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for it also asking them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop against the bill, and get as many individuals and organizations as possible to write senators urging that the anti-lynching bill be passed.

Form letters, form telegraphs, and printed post cards are not very effective, according to the N. A. A. C. P., which advises the writing of individual letters. The organization also has issued an appeal for funds to help carry on the fight, emphasizing that the bill now has the best chance of passing in the long history of the fight for this type of legislation.

Lynch Bill Cloture Pledged

White Pushes Senators For Early Passage

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A "substantial majority" of Republican senators will vote for cloture (limitation of debate) on the antilynching bill, according to an announcement by Senator Charles L. McNary, Senate Republican leader, this week.

Senator McNary authorized the following direct quotation from him:

"A substantial majority of Republican senators will vote for cloture if the debate is unreasonably prolonged."

Senator McNary said his announcement followed a poll he had taken of his Republican colleagues.

Walter White, NAACP secretary, was here this week conferring with Senator leaders, including sponsors of the anti-lynching bill, in a desperate effort to secure a date for taking up the bill before Congress adjourns early in June.

Barkley Tells N. A. A. C. P. He Wants Anti-Lynch Bill Disposed of 'At Early Date

Story Of West Virginia Governor's Attempt To Hide His Opposition To Anti-Lynching Bill

New York—The true story of how Governor Homer A. Holt, of West Virginia, expresesd his opposition to the Federal Anti-Lynching bill in a letter to Senator Kenneth McKeller, of Tennessee, arch foe of the bill, but sought to hide this fact from the voters in his state, is contained in a memorandum sent out April 2[illegible] by the N. A. A. C. P. to all its West Virginia branches, and made public here today.

The letter, which the Governor wrote to McKeller is response to a request which the Tennessee senator sent out to ten Southedn Governors last February 9, asking them to state their position on the bill, says in part:

"The statistics, including those which you sent me, would seem to indicate that anti-lynching sentiment has almost solved the problem. It occurs to me that to create federal responsibility in such matters encourage local laxity and do more harm than good.

"My particular interest in this connection relates to the general proposition of the unnecessary extension of federal power. I am much more interested in some other manifestations of this tendency than I am in this particular bill."

"Where it appears to me that there is some reasonable opportunity of my participation in these matters being helpful, I have no hesitancy about expressing my views on this controversial matter I prefer to take no part in it."

Asked whether the letter had been left out of the record by mistake, Senator McKeller gave the following answer in a letter to the N. A. A. C. P.:

"No, the letter from Governor Holt was not inadvertently left out of the record. The Governor asked that the letter not be made public. The only advertence was in permitting the letter to get into the hands of newspaper men when the other letters were inserted in the record."

The N. A. A. C. P. memorandum contained copies of the Governor's original letter and Senator McKeller's explanation. Members of the West Virginia branches of the association were urged to bring the matter to the full attention of all supporters of the bill in that state.

Little Hope Seen For Lynch Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—The threat or the promise that Congress will adjourn around June 1 leaves little hope for the passage of the anti-lynching bill during this term. Carefully evading the issue and not holding sessions on certain days, the Senate has manuvered itself into a position where if the bill is called before the body it can be pointed out that this legislation is holding Congress in session after other important legislation has been cleared up.

Strong supporters of the bill feel that the President should step in and demand that the bill be brought before the body, but others, seeing this as an election year feel otherwise and resent any actions in this manner.

NEW YORK.—Following continued pressure on Senator Alben Barkley by organized groups and individuals throughout the country, urging him to call up the federal anti-lynching bill for a vote, the Senate Majority Leader told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he "would be most happy to see it (the bill) disposed of at an early date," and that he will "vote for it when it is presented for action."

Senator Barkley made the statement in a letter to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the association, following receipt of a petition for passages of the bill signed by N. A. A. C. P. branch members and other citizens of Mason City, Iowa, and transmitted by the association's national office.

The complete text of Barkley's letter dated May 10, follows:

"Your letter of recent date, enclosing petition signed by citizens of Mason City, Iowa, urging prompt action on the Anti-lynching bill, was promptly received.

"I appreciate the interest expressed in this legislation and, while it is impossible at this time to indicate when this bill may be taken up in view of the legislative situation in the senate, I would be most happy to see it disposed of at an early date. It is my intention to vote for it when it is presented for action."

Mich. Democrats Back Lynch Bill

FLINT, Mich.—A resolution endorsing the enactment of the anti-lynching bill now in the United States Senate was adopted by the Michigan Democratic in their annual state convention held here, Friday and Saturday.

The resolution was offered by Senator Charles C. Diggs, of Detroit, and was adopted without opposition.

At the same time the delegates also adopted a resolution endorsing the organization of a Race unit of the Michigan National Guard. This resolution was also offered by Senator Charles C. Diggs.

Emmett C. Cunningham, chairman of the First Congressional District Democratic Organization was named alternate delegate from the First Congressional District. Senator Diggs had already been named delegate with one-half vote from the Thirteenth district.

6437

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Barkley Defies People in Delay On Lynch Bill

Daily Worker
5-20-40

Mass Protests Needed to Insure Action at This Session

Senator Alben Barkley, President Roosevelt's chief spokesman in the U. S. Senate, continues his refusal to set a date for action on the anti-lynching bill although the tremendous protests against his recent anti-Negro statement has compelled him to express support of the measure.

In a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made public here yesterday, Sen. Barkley said that he would "vote for it (the anti-lynching bill) when it is presented for action."

NATIONAL PROTESTS

This statement follows nation-wide indignation against Barkley's contemptuous anti-Negro letter to Walter White, NAACP secretary, in which he revealed that the bill could not be passed and that the sponsors of the measure, Senators, Wagner, Van Nuys and Capper, agreed with him.

It is within Barkley's power as Democratic majority leader in the Senate to obtain a specific date for Senate action.

MUST FORCE ACTION

The bill has been in the Senate for more than six weeks. Further postponement of action makes it extremely doubtful that the bill will be presented at this session. Barkley's letter to White revealed a widespread conspiracy going on against the bill by both Republicans and Democrats.

1,000 Leaders In South Back Anti-Lynch Bill

Sign Petition to F.D.R. and All Senators Asking Prompt Passage

A resolution containing the names of 1,000 Southern leaders has been sent to President Roosevelt and to every member of the United States Senate demanding passage of the federal anti-lynching bill, it was announced here yesterday.

The announcement was made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave. The resolution was circulated through Southern centers by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which unanimously passed it at its second convention in Chattanooga, Tenn., last April.

13 STATES INCLUDED

Leaders from 13 Southern states are among the thousand who signed the petitions, according to a letter to the NAACP from James F. Anderson, assistant secretary of the Human Welfare Conference.

The NAACP announced also that it had received a letter from a Negro worker in Mississippi saying that the real cause of lynchings is that the southern landlord "will take what you make and the government check when it comes, too." Fearing lynch terror against the writer of the letter, his name was not disclosed.

Revealing that between the landlord and the government the tenant farmers and sharecroppers get practically nothing, the Negro worker wrote:

"I just want to give some point on what brings about lynching in the South. It is the unjust landlord. They will take what you make and take the government check too. When it comes they will not let you see how much the check calls for. We have to sign it, and if we speak about the check they are ready to shoot you down at once. You know in reason, that some colored man will fight them and then they will get up a mob crowd to lynch us."

Last week, the New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Church passed a resolution urging enactment of the anti-lynching bill in addition to one calling for wider opportunities for professional training for Negro youth in the Methodist institutions without discrimination.

Voters Turn on Ky. Senators as Lynch Bill Foes

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Incensed at what they regard as traitorous conduct by helping to knife the Federal antilynching bill, citizens attending a NAACP mass meeting at Quinn Chapel here, May 4, have launched a campaign against Senator A. B. (Happy) Chandler and Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley.

Chandler was one of the three members of the Senate Judiciary Committee who voted against reporting the bill out favorably. Barkley has been accused of using his influence as Senate majority leader to keep the bill from being called up for a vote on the floor.

Opponent Advised

The group voted to send a telegram to State Highway Commissioner J. Lyter Donaldson, mentioned as a possible opponent to Chandler in the forthcoming primaries, notifying him of their intention to fight Chandler.

They acted after hearing a speech by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the association, who said:

"We must show any Senator the criminal folly of voting against the expressed interests of a large block of his voting constituents."

KENTUCKIANS FIGHT LYNCH BILL ENEMIES

Launch Campaign Against Senators Barkley and 'Happy' Chandler

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Incensed at what they regard as traitorous conduct on the part of two Kentucky senators who are contributing much to knifing the federal anti-lynching bill, Negro citizens attending a large N. A. A. C. P.—sponsored mass meeting held at Quinn Chapel here have launched a campaign against Senator A. B. (Happy) Chandler and Senate Majority Leader, Alben W. Barkley.

Chandler was one of the three members of the Senate Judiciary Committee who voted against reporting the bill out favorably. Barkley has been accused of using his influence as Senate Majority Leader to keep the bill from being called up for a vote on the floor.

The meeting voted to send a telegram immediately to State Highway Commissioner J. Lyter Donaldson, mentioned as a possible opponent to Chandler in the forthcoming primaries, notifying the former of their intention to fight Chandler. Members of the meeting acted after hearing a speech by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, say:

"We must show any Senator the criminal folly of voting against the expressed interests of a large block of his voting constituents. This organization (N. A. A. C. P.) hopes that Kentucky Negroes will vote solidly against Senator Chandler whenever his name is on a ballot—even if he should run for municipal dog-catcher."

GOP Senators Will Vote for Cloture on Antilynch Bill

WASHINGTON.

A "substantial majority" of Republican Senators will vote for cloture (limitation of debate) on the antilynching bill, according to an announcement by Senator Charles L. McNary, Senate Republican leader, this week.

Senator McNary said his announcement followed a poll he had taken of his Republican colleagues. Walter White, NAACP secretary, was here this week conferring with Senate leaders, including sponsors of the anti-lynching bill, in a desperate effort to secure a date for taking up the bill before Congress adjourns early in June.

Irate Kentucky Citizens Fight Barkley, Chandler

Louisville, Ky.—Incensed at what they regard as traitorous conduct on the part of two Kentucky senators who are contributing much to knifing the federal anti-lynching bill, Negro citizens attending a large N. A. A. C. P. sponsored mass meeting held at Quinn Chapel here Friday, May 4, have launched a campaign against Senator A. B. (Happy) Chandler and Senator Majority Leader, Alben W. Barkley.

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Pointing out that reactionary elements in the South have used the threat of lynching to crush the N. A. A. C. P.'s program of fighting for civil and economic rights, Marshall said these elements have now added to the ranks of their enemies, organized labor with which Negroes are now allied in an effort to obtain economic equality.

"It often happends now" he said "that when they beat up a Negro, they don't just beat him up as a Negro but as a "labor agitators' or 'communists.' Even white labor leaders have been subjected to mob violence in dozens of cases."

Marshall said that Barkley is the key man in the Senate holding up action on the anti-lynching bill, despite the fact that seventy Senators have agreed to vote for it if they are given the opportunity.

With plans for blaketing the state which cards to be sent to Barkley protesting his contniual hamstringing of the anti-lynching bill under way, the meeting distributed hundreds of such cards following Marshall's speech.

It is understood that forthright action will be brought to bear against Barkley's political aspirations not only by Negro citizens of Kentucky, but throughout the country, when and if he decides to run as a Presidential candidate in the 1940 national elections.

WRITES LETTERS TO SENATOR CONNALLY URGING ITS PASSAGE

Dallas Citizens Ridicule 'State Rights' Argument; One Says Negro is White Man's Most Loyal Friend

NEW YORK. — That white Texans are more and more expressing their desire to see the anti-lynching bill passed and are beginning to resent the knife-throwing tactics of Senator Tom Connally, who is trying to kill the bill, was indicated in three letters sent to the Texas senator early this month, excerpts of which were made public by the N.A.A.C.P. this week.

The letters wre written by three citizens, all residents of Dallas, Texas. They are: Boyce F. Farrrar, a business man, Howard Dailey, and Walter E. Hamilton.

Ridiculing the argument that passage of the bill would infringe upon state rights, Mr. Farrar said: "When the question of state rights is raised it meets a popular chord of approval, but when state functions are compared with those of the Federal government in matters of efficiency and expediency there is little to compare....If the collection of Federal taxes is compared with the unwieldy and frequently unfair collection of state and city taxes, again there is no comparison, and when the question of state rights is brought up against the Anti-Lynch bill, it is entirely beside the point.

"If the state where lynching has been practiced in days gone by were polled, it would be found that no one has done a thing to curb this most un-American practice, a blot on the escutcheon of all things American."

Howard Dailey told Senator Connally that he was writing as an "old time Southerner," who has "more than a passing interest in your fight against the anti-lynching bill, because I believe the Negro is the white man's most loyal friend."

Urging Connally to stop playing the role of the demagogue, Dailey said:

"Senator, I would be greatly pleased if you would join the forces of the far seeing statesmen of the nation in stopping the fight against the anti-lynching bill and play the role of a true Southern gentlemen in giving a fair and square deal to our loyal Negroes."

Pointing out that despite the fact that he was born in a lily-white county in Texas, Walter E. Hamilton said in his letter that is was clear to him that "to say there is no need for the bill is ridiculous."

"The writer," he concluded, "was born and reared in Mingus, Texas, where the sun is not allowed to set upon a Negro's head. This, in a country where all men are created free and equal, with special privileges for none. We have always considered you as one of the truly great statesmen of our day, and would regret it exceedingly of you fell into the classification of a demagogue by continued opposition to the Anti-lynching bill."

Congress Flooded With Anti-Lynch Bill Demands

NEW YORK—Because the war situation has heightened the American people's sense of danger regarding the preservation of civil liberties throughout the country, Washington correspondents point out that Congress is receiving thousands of letters demanding passage of the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill and other measures dealing with civil liberties.

This is the situation, correspondents say, despite fact that Congress has pushed back almost all legislation dealing with domestic issues in order to give defense bills the right of way.

Pointing out that the anti-lynching bill is all the more important at this time, because it represents "one of the most powerful incentives to prevent a blackout of civil liberties in the United States during the present period of war hysteria," Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urged individuals and organizations to keep up the steady flow of letters and telegrams through the office of majority leader of the senate, Alben Barkley, calling for passage of the bill before Congress adjourns.

CONGRESS IN PERMANENT SESSION

BECAUSE OF THE rapidly changing international situation, Congress has decided not to adjourn June 22, as originally planned, and will remain in session until the crisis passes in order to be on hand in case emergency legislation is needed. We think this is a good move, as the alternate would be to grant to President Roosevelt war powers that would make him even more of a dictator than he is at present, thus actually changing our form of government.

At the same time it will give our lawmakers the opportunity to dispose of several pressing domestic problems which had been shelved because of the need for speed in the rearmament program. One of these problems is the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill, which is awaiting action by the Senate. This legislation has become a political football and has been kicked about for more thai a decade. For the past two or three sessions it has passed the lower house but has been allowed to "die" in the Senate, with the excuse that more pressing legislation must be given preference.

With Congress remaining in session throughout the summer, all the emergency legislation can be disposed of and there is no excuse for not taking action on this bill. As we are on the brink of a national election, the time was never more opportune than now for the Negro voters to press for the passage of this legislation, to note carefully the stand taken by individual legislators on this bill and to vote accordingly.

In Philadelphia this week the Negroes of the country, through the N. A. A. C. P., will have opportunity to let the Republican leaders know our attitude on this and other important legislation affecting the Negro, such as the Negro's place in the Army and Navy. We also hope that they will be just as emphatic in telling the Democrats, who now control the government, that we are tired of their procrastination and demand immediate action by the present Congress on these matters.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6438

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
April 5, 1940

"DISHONEST LEGISLATION"

This Federal anti-lynching bill is merely an effort to "snaffle Negro votes in the North and nothing else," in the opinion of the Tulsa (Oklahoma) Tribune" and because it is just that sort of Pecksniff legislation, the Oklahoma daily is against it.

Says the Tulsa Tribune further:

But the worst thing about the antilynching bill is that most of its supporters are hypocritical. They know that it is a bad law. But they vote for it because, presumably, it will please their Negro constituents. In 1937 the House passed a previous antilynching measure 277 to 120, but when it came before the Senate on January 6, 1938, it ran into a determined filibuster led by Connally, of Texas. Supporters of the bill filed two petitions for cloture, so as to get a vote by limiting debate. The first was rejected 51 to 37, the second by 46 to 42. Finally, after 6 weeks, a motion to proceed to other business was carried by a vote of 58 to 22. Many Senators who were prepared to vote for the bill privately admitted in the cloak rooms that they hoped it wouldn't pass.

Unlike the Lindbergh kidnaping law, which permitted the Federal Government to aid the State in suppressing a horrible and expanding racket, the antilynching law is directed at a crime that has almost vanished of its own accord. Last year in the entire Nation only three persons, two of them whites, were lynched. Lynchings have dropped steadily from 179 in 1895, 76 in 1910, and 17 in 1925 to the present near vanishing point. In view of such figures there is no possible necessity, other than a political one, for emergency Federal intervention such as the antilynch law provides.

The struggle which the two major parties are waging for the Negro vote is best understood when one considers that Negroes now comprise at least 10 per cent of the population of the major northern and eastern cities. But it is a shame that both parties have resorted to such demagogic and dangerous methods in order to woo that vote.

The antilynching bill is not a piece of honest legislation.

And because it is "dishonest legislation" the opposition to it is justified.

It would not reduce lynching.

Lynching is an evil which cannot be blotted out by legislation which is merely a political bait for votes.

Columbia, S. C. Record
March 27, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL.

Anti-lynching bills always get through the house, where debate is limited, but so far have always been blocked in the senate by a filibuster of Southern Democrats. This year the bill passed the house on January 10 by vote of 252 to 131. The negative votes came from eight Republicans (out of 148) and 123 Democrats (out of 232).

In 1937 an anti-lynching measure went through the house by vote of 277 to 120, but when it came before the senate on January 6, 1938, ran into a determined filibuster, led by Connally of Texas. Supporters of the bill filed two petitions for cloture, so as to get a vote by limiting debate. Each petition fell far short of the required two-thirds majority—in fact, neither got any majority at all. The first was rejected by 51 to 37, the second by 46 to 42. Finally, after six weeks, a motion to proceed to other business was carried by vote of 58 to 22.

The fate of the 1938 anti-lynching bill seemed due more to politics than to sincerity. Some Northern and Middle West Democrats who were for the bill admitted in the senate cloak-room that they had chiefly in mind the negro vote in their states. As for the Republicans most of whom claimed to be for the bill, only one out of 13 voted for cloture the first time and only three out of 13 the second time. Obviously, the Republican leadership expected that most negro voters would blame the G. O. P. less for not helping to bring the bill to a vote than they would blame the majority party for not forcing the bill through.

As for the president, although he was supposed to favor the bill, he did not run the risk of splitting his party further by asking congress for favorable action. Nor did the administration forces in the senate try to wear down the filibusters by having the senate sit steadily from early in the morning to late at night.

In 1932 the negro vote seems to have largely stayed Republican. But by 1934 much of it went over to the Democrats. That year the only negro representative, De Priest, a Republican from Chicago, was defeated by Arthur W. Mitchell, the first negro ever to sit in congress as a Democrat. In 1936, Mitchell's majority, about 3,000 in 1934, rose to almost 7,000. But in 1938 it fell to less than 4,000. Some observers laid the reduction to the failure of the anti-lynching bill, but last week Representative Mitchell rose in the house, ardently praised the New Deal for all it had done for the negroes and called for a third term for President Roosevelt.

The senate judiciary committee this week approved the anti-lynching bill by the overwhelming majority of 12 to 4 with eight Democrats voting with the majority. This in itself is of course nothing new and the Southern Democrats anticipating this setback are prepared to have resort to their one weapon—the filibuster. But this is an election year and for the first time there is the chance that the filibuster plan may not work. Senator McNary, of Oregon, Republican leader, announced that the Republicans will not be bound this year to vote against the application of the cloture rule as was the case in 1938. The filibuster can therefore be checked and defeated if the Northern and Western Democrats decide to limit the debate.

Northern and Middle West Democrats, in denying publicly that they have played politics on the anti-lynching bill, point out that in 1930 negroes made up only 3.3 per cent of the population in New York state, 4.5 per cent in Pennsylvania, 5.2 per cent in New Jersey, 4.7 per cent in Ohio, 3.5 per cent in Michigan, 3.5 per cent in Indiana, 4.3 per cent in Illinois. But in the larger cities—such as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, Newark, Chicago, and Manhattan borough of New York—the proportion is over or almost 10 per cent.

But this is a specious argument. The negro voters in these states can hold the balance of power between the two parties or in primaries between two candidates. And it is nothing new for congressmen to be courting minorities and ignoring majorities. Every pressure group to which the senators and representatives lend ear is, like the negroes in Northern and Western states, a minority group.

The anti-lynching bill may therefore be passed this year and, the president approving may be made law. It will not of course accomplish the extermination of lynching, may even offset and undo a great deal of the gains that the South has made toward the elimination of lynching. That is the tragedy of subordinating reason to politics. But on the other hand it will not constitute any such threat to state rights, as its opponents in congress make out. For state rights have already been abolished by congress and the courts with the aid of Southern votes.

Durham N. C., Morning Herald
March 27. 1940

FILIBUSTER AWAITS ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Southerners Serve Notice Of Talking Effort As Measure Reaches Floor

Washington, March 26.—(AP)—No sooner had the senate judiciary committee sent anti-lynching legislation to the senate floor today than Southern senators served notice they would do their best to talk the measure to death.

"Iw my wind holds out, there are two bills that are not going to pass this session—anti-lynching and suffrage for the District of Columbia," Senator Bilbo (D-Miss) told reporters.

Another, Senator Connally (D-Texas), who led the forces which prevented senate passage of an anti-lynch bill in 1938, declared Finland's famed Mannerheim line would be nothing compared to the resistance the pending legislation would encounter.

Senator Van Nuys (D-Ind), sponsor of the bill to provide fines and imprisonment for local officers who permit lynchings and to make local governments liable for damages to lynch victims or their relatives, agreed that the proposal was threat-

ened with "the same trouble we had before—a filibuster."

"If we can ever get the bill to a vote it will pass; there is no question about that," Van Nuys said in an interview.

The anti-lynching legislation, which already has been approved by the house, was O.K.'d 11 to 4 by the senate committee. Eight Democrats joined three Republicans in support of it: Chairman Ashurst (D-Ariz), Neely (D-WVa), McCarran (D-Nev), Van Nuys, Hatch (D-NM), Burke (D-Neb), O'Mahoney (D-Wyo), Hughes (D-Del) and Austin (R-Vt), Wiley (R-Wis) and Taft (R-Ohio).

Four Democrats voted against the bill: Senators Connally, Pittman (D-Nev), Chandler (D-Ky) and Miller (D-Ark). Taft's and Pittman's votes were cast after the committee's meeting, under a committee rule permitting such procedure.

Talking with newsmen afterward, Bilbo said he would give the proponents "everything I've got in my shop." He indicated he would offer again his amendment providing that American Negroes should be transported to Africa.

Bilbo accused Father Divine, Negro religious leader, of stirring up his angels against the Mississippian. He said he had received many letters from the angels, condemning him for opposing the anti-lynching legislation and denouncing his bill to send Negroes to Africa. Some, he said, asked him why he didn't go back where he came from.

In a statement to the press, Connally declared that the bill was an "insulting reflection upon the southern states" designed to gain votes in other parts of the United States.

He said there were only two lynchings in 1939 and that the South was solving the problem "more completely than any problem with which the federal government now deals."

"Why can't we be let alone when we are doing an outstanding job?" the Texan demanded.

"If the federal government can penalize state officers and lay penalties upon county governments, the federal government can destroy the counties within the states and the states themselves."

Connally complained that the judiciary committee had voted without having the bill read before the full committee, and added:

"The bill, if enacted, will not punish a single member of a mob. It will not lay penalties upon a single lyncher. It is directed alone at sheriffs and peace officers and at the innocent and law-abiding citizens of counties in which lynchings may take place. Under the bill, peace officers are penalized. The relatives of any victim of mob violence may sue the county in which, or through which the victim may have been carried, and secure heavy money penalties. There is no effort made in the bill to punish individual members of a mob.

"This bill is motivated by prejudice and political expediency."

Jackson, Miss., Daily Clarion Ledger
March 27, 1940

Lynch Bill Is Forcing Still Another Filibuster

Advocates of that vicious and wholly-unnecessary federal anti-lynching bill persist in their determination to jam it through at this session of congress. It has passed the House and was approved Monday by the Senate judiciary committee by a vote of 11 to 4.

Southern Senators opposing the bill, and with ample reason, promptly announce that if it ever reaches the floor and all other resorts fail, that they will "talk it to death," or filibuster until it is abandoned.

Those tactics have several times prevented enactment of such legislation. They might succeed again. And these Southern senators at least are justified and will receive the public support of their section in adopting these tactics again.

A filibuster would mean the waste of much time at a considerable cost to the people, while it would also block action on good and needed legislation, but still it would be justified in this case.

Senator Connally, of Texas, who led the successful fight to prevent enactment of this bill once before, declares that the resistance will be stronger than Finland's famous Mannerheim line. And Senator Bilbo says briefly that the bill won't pass "if my wind holds out",—and the Senator's wind isn't easily exhausted.

Intelligent Southerners regret this development but will approve the filibuster. There is less need and less justification than ever before for enactment of any such legislation, and the people of all sections who have studied the lynching problem, who realize the progress made toward eliminating lynching, and who are interested in reducing lynching and not in maufacturing vote-bait, realize it clearly.

PUTS BARKLEY ON SPOT WITH LYNCH QUERY

Warns That Race May Take To Reprisals Against Violence

NEW YORK. — Whether Race members in the South are to take justice in their own hands and retaliate to lynchings with lynchings or whether the lynch bill will be considered was put squarely before Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Barkley has refused to consider the bill because he feels it will delay action on defense measures.

The organization pointed out that five persons have been lynched already this year. The most recent was that of Jesse Thornton who was fished out of Pataylagga river in Crenshaw county, Ala., June 28.

The death of Thornton, who was lynched by a police-led mob because he had "forgotten" to refer to a white police officer as "Mr.," marked the fifth authenticated lynching this year investigated by the association.

Investigation of three unconfirmed lynchings, one in Mississippi, and two in Louisiana, has been hampered because of lack of funds. The lynching of Thornton, one of the most brutal in this section, is told in the following story written by an N.A.A.C.P. investigator and made public by the association Friday.

If ever there was a streamlined hushed-up lynching, according to the new technique in Alabama, that lynching happened at Luverne, the county seat of Crenshaw county.

On June 22 Jesse Thornton, a farm worker, about 27 years old, went downtown to a Negro barber shop. Regarded as a reliable worker, who would fight anybody if imposed upon, he had been living in the community for the past five years with his wife. He was the manager of a chicken farm. He and his wife attended the community church.

As he and a number of his friends stood in front of the barber shop, a police officer came along. Thornton said to his friends, with whom he was talking, "There comes Doris Rhodes, boys." The police officer, overhearing the remark, turned and said, "What did you say?"

Didn't Say Mister

Thornton, not thinking that he had been overheard, hesitated in his reply, and tried to recant and say that he had referred to "Mr. Rhodes." The officer, using an epithet accused him of having left off the "Mr.," whereupon Thornton answered in a forthright manner, "I did say Doris Rhodes." Quick as a flash Rhodes knocked him down with his blackjack, arrested him and marched him off to the jail.

Near the jail door Thornton almost succeeded in getting away when he was stoned by bystanders who were already forming a mob. As he made a second attempt to escape from the officer and a buddy of Rhodes, named Noland Ellis, who were now leading a rapidly forming mob, five shots were fired at him.

Thornton kept going, however, running about three quarters of a mile into a field before he became so exhausted from the loss of blood that he sat down upon a terrace. A white woman saw him take out his handkerchief to mop the blood from his face. He attempted to move on as the mob gained on him and finally gave up in sheer exhaustion when the mob overtook him.

Shot in Swamp

The mob brought up a small truck, shoved him into it, and carried him to a "dead-end" street in the town. They dragged him out and carried him some paces into a swamp. Shortly shots were heard. Members of the mob returned from the wooded section near the swamp.

The whole thing had not taken more than 25 minutes. Jesse Thornton did not come out. Members of the mob now went to the City hall where they talked with Mayor J. A. McKing. They went to the barber shop, learned where Thornton lived, and then went to his home where they asked his wife where Thornton was, as if they did not know.

She told them that her husband had gone to town. They disputed this, threatening her if she did not tell the "truth." The mob came back later that night, took her out in a car where they kept her practically all night, threatening her life if she revealed anything. They scared her so thoroughly that she refused to talk.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
August 13, 1940

Antilynching and Defense

THE Federal antilynching bill is "just as important as the national defense program," THURGOOD MARSHALL, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written SENATOR BARKLEY, majority leader in the Senate. He refuses to accept the Kentucky senator's virtual plea that the antilynching bill not be offered at this time, for fear it would interfere with that program.

If the N. A. A. C. P. knows how the people of America feel about defense, it will soft pedal any such sentiments as the foregoing from MR. MARSHALL, and under no circumstances let the antilynching bill be projected into a legislative situation already overloaded with crucially important defense measures. An overwhelming majority of the American people regard the defense program as more important than anything else, and if the backers of the antilynching bill insist on stalling this country's defense program with extended debate on this bill, popular wrath is apt to end all chance of its enactment, either now or in the future.

This newspaper does not regard a Federal antilynching law as timely today, anyway, in view of the substantial and steady reduction in lynchings achieved by the individual States in the past few years. But even those who advocate the passage of such a law will, in most instances, recognize that it is not comparable in importance to the speedy passage of measures designed to protect this country against attack. By refusing to realize this, the N. A. A. C. P. is playing with political dynamite.

Imagine a filibuster of several weeks over antilynching legislation, at a time when every day counts in building the country's defenses!

6439

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

SENATORS LAUNCH RADIO DRIVE FOR PASSAGE OF LYNCH BILL

WASHINGTON, D. C., Apr. 18—A nationwide broadcast urging passage of the federal anti-lynching bill will be made Monday, April 29, by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York, Mathew M. Neely of Virginia, and Arthur Capper of Kansas, it was announced here this week.

The broadcast has been arranged through the National Broadcasting company over its blue network from 10:30 to 11 p. m., eastern daylight saving time.

Against Filibuster

The three senators, who are staunch supporters of the bill, will insist that it be taken up before Congress adjourns and that it be given a chance to be voted on on its merits. They will denounce in advance any attempt at a filibuster. It is their contention that the filibuster is undemocratic because it permits a very small minority of the Senate to block the will of the majority, not only of the Senate, but of the American public. It is expected that they will advocate the imposition of cloture (limitation of debate) in the event a filibuster should develop.

In connection with the radio broadcast on April 29, Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. secretary, issued a statement urging branches of the N. A. A. C. P. throughout the country and other groups and organizations to organize neighborhood listening parties and that immediately after the broadcast, listeners write or telegraph individually to Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Senate Office Building, Washington D. C., asking him to set a definite date for the taking up of the anti-lynching bill.

Listeners' Support Urged

Listeners also are urged to write or telegraph the senators from their states urging them to help it, and to oppose any filibuster.

Barkley Apathy in Antilynching Fight Assailed

Looks Like an Aid to Filibuster, NAACP Tells Senate Leader

BULLETIN

The antilynching bill was sent to the Senate on Monday by the Judiciary Committee, but sponsors indicated that they would not seek to bring it up until major appropriation bills were out of the way.

NEW YORK.—Failure of Majority Leader Alben Barkley to call up the antilynching bill for debate before the Senate, or even to commit himself on the measure, last week drew fire from the NAACP headquarters here.

Futile efforts to arrange a conference have been made since last November by both Senator Robert F. Wagner, co-sponsor of the bill, and NAACP officials, according to Walter White, association secretary, who on Friday made public a letter reminding Barkley of his apathy.

Doubt Nourished

Mr. White's letter called attention to a recent New York Herald-Tribune story in which the paper's correspondent said that Barkley had laughed off a question as to when the bill, already reported out favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, would be called up.

Such stories, he said, tend to strengthen doubt in the public mind as to whether the majority leader and other Democratic Senators are sincere in their professed efforts to obtain a vote.

Mob Revival Cited

Attention was also called to the revival of mob violence in the face of a "continued apathy," as evidenced by recent "lynchings and other acts of violence . . . in and near Atlanta, where a white barber was flogged to death and thirty or more other men and women, colored and white, were beaten."

"It is generally believed," Mr. White concluded, "that the stage is being set for another 'opera bouffe' performance and another abject surrender to a filibuster. And we have absolutely no evidence that this is not the case."

ROOSEVELT ASKED AGAIN TO SUPPORT ANTI-LYNCH. BILL

NAACP Secretary Goes To Washington In Effort To Get New Dealers To Act

NEW YORK—With Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley maintaining a tight-lipped silence in response to charges that he is making no moves to get up the anti-lynching bill for a vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People revealed Friday, May 3, that copies of the correspondence between Barkley and Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. secretary, have been turned over to President Roosevelt and Democratic committee chairman Jim Farley.

The President and Farley, it was said, have been asked point blank whether Senator Barkley's tactics and his attitude toward the federal Anti-Lynching bill represent the administration's views and the view of the leadership in the Democratic party. No reply has been received either from the President or Mr. Farley.

With repercussions against Barkley's actions being realized throughout the country in written and verbal expressions from white and colored people, it was learned that considerable cloakroom discussion is going on in the capital, where it has long been known that Barkley's name is being mentioned for either a Presidential or Vice Presidential berth on the 1940 Democratic ticket.

That the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People intends to pursue the policy of calling for a showdown with the administration in the fight to pass the Anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress was made clear by Walter White, in commenting on Barkley's silence.

White is expected to leave for Washington early next week. The N. A. A. C. P. urged those individuals and organizations that have not yet made their protest to Barkley to get busy and send in letters and telegrams calling for action on the bill at this session of Congress.

Says Race Exposed To Mob Violence

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"It is the denial of civil liberties of all sorts by the constant threat of mob violence which makes the fight against lynching so vital to all of us, for where millions of human beings have no protection against mob violence, only a few need be killed to hold the rest in check."

This was the challenging statement issued here Sunday, April 28 by Dean William H. Hastie, of the Howard university law school in a broadcast sponsored by the National Negro congress, and heard over the mutual network from station WOL.

Dean Hastie spoke in support of the passage of the Federal Anti-Lynching bill, as chairman of the national legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is leading the fight to get the bill passed.

Anti-Lynching Bill Is Sent To Senate

WASHINGTON, April 8—(AP)—The judiciary committee sent the controversial anti-lynching bill to the Senate today, as a measure intended "to supplement the efforts of the states in stamping out lynching and removing the threat of mob violence from American life."

It was problematical, however, whether the legislation would be considered at this session. Sponsors indicated they would not seek to bring it up until major appropriations bills are out of the way.

Senate Leader Stays Deaf On Lynch Question

Sen. Alben W. Barkley Continues Silence On Senate's Action

NEW YORK. — Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader of the Senate, continues to remain deaf to requests that he make some statement on what action the Senate will take on the federal anti-lynching bill.

Senator Barkley has not responded to a letter from the NAACP dated April 2 asking him to indicate when the bill will be taken up. His silence has encouraged newspaper and radio commentators to state that the anti-lynching bill will be shelved in the Senate.

"Only one circumstance can secure action," the NAACP statement said, "and that is expression from the people back home to their senators demanding that the bill be brought up for a vote. Letters should be sent to Senator Barkley as majority leader at the Senate Office Building, D. C., and to the senators from each state. The time is short and the most powerful weapon is pressure from the voters in the states."

——A Colored Judge——

F.D. Advised of Barkley's Stall on Lynch Bill

NEW YORK—With Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley still silent on charges that he is making no moves to call up the antilynching bill for a vote, the NAACP recently turned copies of the correspondence between Barkley and Walter White, NAACP secretary, over to President Roosevelt and Democratic Committee Chairman Jim Farley.

The President and Farley, it was said, have been asked point blank whether Senator Barkley's tactics and his attitude toward the Federal Antilynching Bill represent the Administration's views and the view of the leadership in the Democratic party. Neither have replied.

Election Talk Affected

With repercussions against Barkley's actions being realized throughout the country in written and verbal expressions from colored and white alike, it was learned that considerable cloakroom discussion is going on in the capital, where it has long been known that Barkley's name is being mentioned for either a Presidential or Vice Presidential berth on the 1940 Democratic ticket.

The association is urging individuals and organizations that have not yet made their protest to Barkley to get busy and send in letters and telegrams calling for action on the bill at this session of Congress.

Civil Rights Group Backs Lynch Fight

WASHINGTO, D. C., May 3—(ANP)—The rights and liberties of minority groups in America was the subject of speeches and discussions at the Civil Rights conference here, which discussed civil rights of labor and of Negroes.

Resolutions regarding the Negro read:

"1. To make the fight of the Negro people for freedom from persecution and discrimination our fight.

"2. To join with them in demanding of both major political parties that this congress remain in session until it has passed the Gavagan-Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-lynch bill.

"3. To secure full suffrage rights for the Negro people not only in the poll-tax states but wherever other obstacles are placed in the way of their voting.

"4. To work for the immediate passage of the Seccombe Civil Rights bill, in order that the American people need no longer be shamed by Jim-Crow practices in the capital of their nation.

"5. That we oppose all discrimination against Negroes in the government service and demand that the ban against the employment of Negroes in stenographic, clerical and professional positions be abolished.

"6. That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Senator Alben W. Barkley, John D. M. Hamilton, James A. Farleyl and James A. Seccombe."

WHITE CHALLENGES DEMO. PARTY ON ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Sen. Barkley Accuses N.A.A.C.P. of Being Unfair in Criticism

NEW YORK. — The fight to pass the Federal anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress is receiving the mass support of large sections of the American people "white as well as colored," whose "resentment is steadily growing at the apparent complete failure of the Senate leadership to initiate or even contemplate the initiation of any determined effort to secure action" on this bill.

This was the sentiment expressed by Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP in a sharp letter to Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley, (D), of Kentucky, and made public by the NAACP this week.

In making the letter public, Mr White said: "We are putting the issue squarely up to the Democratic leadership of Congress to affirm our charges of inaction and attempts to scuttle the bill, or demonstrate its sincerety by passing this legislation."

Challenges Barkley

White challenged Senator Barkley to prove that he has lifted a finger to call up the anti-lynching bill or made any real effort to discuss ways and means of pushing the bill either with the Senate sponsors of the measure, or with the NAACP, which is leading the fight to get it passed.

The statement was a reply to charges made by Senator Barkley in a letter dated April 22, and also made public by the NAACP that the NAACP secretary had "resorted to tactics utterly contemptible" and had made "untruthful" statements in describing in a previous letter, the Senate leader's failure to support the bill.

Barkley also accused the NAACP of arousing his constituents through the Louisville Defender, a Negro weekly paper, in an effort to "build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation."

Cites the Record

Answering the Kentucky Senator by giving a play-by-play description from the record of the NAACP's efforts to get him to act during the period from the end of October, 1939, to the present, White said:

"Through our weekly press service, through communications to branches of this association and to church, labor and other organizations who are working for enactment of the anti-lynching bill we keep those interested supplied with the week-to-week progress of this and other legislation. If supplying this information is to be interpreted by you as an attempt to 'build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation,' then we can do nothing to prevent your harboring any such belief."

Pointing out Senator Barkley's letter "echoes the same defeatism" of those in the Congress majority who have allowed the filibusterers to proceed with their evil designs without exercising the 'slightest determination to put up any effective resistance,' the NAACP secretary declared, "you admit in your letter of April 22 that you are unable, at this late date in the session, to give us any information as to when the anti-lynching bill will be taken up in the Senate."

Lashing out at the disgraceful lack of fighting leadership in the Senate that could rally the majority opinion in that body for the bill if it would do so, White warned the majority leader that "the criticism a great many of us, who see mob violence becoming an increasing menace to the preservation of democratic government in our country, is that those responsible for the handling of this legislation do not manifest the moral courage to oppose the brazen tactics of the minority which is fighting this bill."

Barkley Tells N.A.A.C.P. Anti-Lynch Bill Dead

Daily Worker

Does Not Intend to Call It Up This Session; Declares 'Defense Legislation' Makes Action on Measure 'Impossible'

8/13/40

In a letter dated August 6, Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he does not intend to call the Anti-Lynching bill up for a vote during the present session of Congress.

He said the question of national defense legislation makes it impossible for him to predict "when the anti-lynching bill can be taken up." Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, informed Senator Barkley that the anti-lynching bill is "just as important as the national defense program."

Marshall also pointed out that while the anti-lynching bill is being held up, renewed activity of the Klan, flogging and lynching of Negroes, continue to spread in many states of the South.

Miami, Fla. Herald
October 15, 1940

Deferred Again

FINNEGAN'S famous boiled down report to his superior of a railroad accident, "Off agin, on agin, gone agin," could also apply to the much-touted anti-lynching bill in congress.

For many years, first under Congressman Dwyer and later under the urging of Congressman Frazure, a law to eliminate lynching (rather a law to punish a community in which a lynching may occur) has been before congress. It has been debated and deferred at about every session of congress for more than a dozen years, but turns up smiling, or threatening, at every session.

On occasion the bill has been urged during this session, but last week the house of representatives, in the face of a filibuster, passed it up again, leaving it for a new congress to deal with.

Meanwhile, during all the years that the anti-lynching bill has been bobbing up, lynching in the United States has gradually lessened without the aid of that proposed legislation. The states under their own laws are gradually reducing lynching and there is not now and never has been any necessity for federal action.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6440

Roosevelt Administration Charged With "Fence Sitting" Tactics On Issue Of Passing Anti-Lynch Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"It is the denial of civil liberties of all sorts by the constant threat of mob violence which makes the fight against lynching so vital to all of us, for, where millions of human beings have no protection against mob violence, only a few need be killed to hold the rest in check."

This was the challenging statement issued here Sunday by Dean William H. Hastie of the Howard University law school in a broadcast sponsored by the National Negro Congress, and heard over the mutual network from station WOL.

Dean Hastie spoke in support of passage of the Federal Anti-Lynching bill, as chairman of the national legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is leading the fight to get the bill passed.

Castigating Senate leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties for their "Jekyl-Hyde" attitude toward the bill, the former federal judge said:

"In the United States Senate the leaders of both the Democratic and the Republican parties while expressing themselves as favoring such legislation, have not been willing to make as determined a fight for its enactment as the opposing minority have made for its defeat.

"Today there is real danger that the leadership of the Democratic majority in the Senate will not call this bill up for debate, at least until too late in the session for effective opposition to a filibuster."

Accuse Administration

But the attempts to undermine the bill by middle-of-the-road tactics do not stop here, he pointed out, but can be traced to the Administration itself.

"There is a growing impression among Negro people," he said, "that dilatory tactics with reference to the Anti-lynching bill are but one aspect of an administration strategy of fence-sitting in an election year.

"We begin to see a design of doing just as little for the Negro and for the progressive forces of labor with which the Negro is increasingly allied, as seems possible without definitely alienating these groups. At the same time an alarming disposition to conciliate the most reactionary forces in American life begins to appear".

With a direct warning to the two major parties that their do-nothing attitude will be reflected in the Negro vote, he concluded:

"In 1932 the Republican Party made the mistake of believing that it could not lose the support of the Negro. In 1940 the Democratic Party is well on its way toward repeating that blunder. The strategy of minorities must often be a strategy of reprisal against those in power who use fair words but fail to act as they talk. It is not unlikely that the action or non-action of national party leaders with reference to the anti-lynching bill will be the most important single factor in determining whether the Democratic Party holds or loses the support of the Negro."

Senator Barclay Silent on NAACP Answer

With Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley maintaining a tight-lipped silence in response to charges that he is making no moves to call up the anti-lynching bill for a vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People revealed this week that copies of the correspondence between Barkley and Walter White, NAACP secretary, have been turned over to President Roosevelt and Democratic Committee chairman Jim Farley.

The President and Farley, it was said, have been asked point blank whether Senator Barkley's tactics and his attitude toward the federal anti-lynching bill, represent the administration's views and the view of the leadership in the Democratic Party. No reply has been received either from the President or Mr. Farley.

With repercussions against Barkley's actions being realized throughout the country in written and verbal expressions from white and colored people, it was learned that considerable cloakroom discussion is going on in the Capitol, where it has long been known that Barkley's name is being mentioned for either a Presidential or Vice Presidential berth on the 1940 Democratic ticket.

Senator Capper Urges Passage Of Lynch Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—"My responsibility as a Senator of the United States goes farther than supporting and promising to vote for the Anti-lynching bill; as I see it I have a duty also to see that the measure comes to a vote in the Senate and at this session of Congress."

This was the forceful expression given to the fight to pass the Anti-lynching bill, by Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, in a speech delivered from Washington Monday evening, April 29 over a coast-to-coast NBC hookup.

Recalling his twenty-one years of service in support of Anti-lynching legislation, Senator Capper said:

"I say lynchings are a disgrace to our civilization. It is an education in savagery for the younger generation. It has no place in our land. That is why I shall vote for cloture, and do everything in my power to get a cloture rule adopted."

Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York and Senator Matthew M. Neely, of West Virginia, who also spoke on the same broadcast, urged citizens to write in urging that cloture be invoked to prevent a filibuster against the bill. Said Senator Wagner: "Support of the bill comes from every section and every party; it is as widespread as the impulse of humanity itself."

Speaking from his home near Fairmont, West Virginia, Senator Neely made an impassioned plea for passage of the bill, telling his listeners that they should demand cloture of their senators to protect the democratic right of voting on the bill.

Arthur B Spingarn, president of the NAACP, who introduced the Senators, told his hearers that "organizations representing forty-two million Americans of every creed, color, section and economic condition are behind the fight to pass the bill."

Raps Senate's Sabotage Of Anti-Lynching Bill

NEW YORK—"The current sabotage of the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill in the United States Senate is both shocking and deplorable" says Helen Burlin in an article entitled "Rope, Faggot, and Jury," appearing in the June issue of Equality magazine, a monthly journal published to combat racial and religious intolerance.

Miss Burlin describes the recent exchange of correspondence between Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Alben W. Barkley, Senate majority leader in which Mr. White accused the Kentucky senator of "not lifting a finger" to get the bill out on the Senate floor.

She scores Barkley for his letter declining to give information on when the bill would be brought up, characterizing it as "remarkable for a cavalier and almost insolent tone toward the spokesman of a minority race."

The author reviews the long history of anti-lynching "runarounds" to which fighters for passage of the bill have been subjected, declaring that "the spokesmen of a patient and long-suffering people have a right to feel indignant not only at the outspoken enemies but at alleged friends who callously subject them to this torrent of repeated frustration."

Miss Burlin adds that "there exists a more subtle form of lynching—lynching under pretense of following the forms of law."

She cites two South Carolina cases which she investigated personally: one involving Benjamin Haywood, Beaufort, S. C., war veteran, who was returned from Ohio and sentenced to death after 14 years of blameless life, and the other involving Arthur Patterson and John Baker, both convicted of murder amid courtroom hysteria at McCormick, S. C., despite strong evidence of their innocence.

Miss Burlin in her article, calls for the passage at once of the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.

3 White Texans 'Want Lynch Bill'

NEW YORK—That white Texans are more and more expressing their desire to see the anti-lynching bill passed and are beginning to resent the knife-throwing tactics of Senator Tom Connally who is trying to kill the bill, was indicated in three letters sent to the Texas senator early this month, excerpts of which were made public by the N.A.A.C.P., Friday, May 31.

The letters were written by three citizens, all residents of Dallas, Texas. They are: Boyce F. Farrar, a business man; Howard Dailey and Walter E. Hamilton.

Antilynch Bill Appears Doomed to Silent Death

(By ANP)

WASHINGTON.

With legislation affecting the President's rearmament program providing a convenient dodge, Senators of both parties appear inclined to let the antilynching bill die a natural death—or at least to leave it undisturbed until after the November election.

Rpublican Senators have been openly accused of killing the bill in the past but this time, the Democratic sponsors themselves seem afraid to introduce it on the floor.

Only last week, a resolution was presented by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, adopted by more than 700 citizens of Boston, under the auspices of the National Negro Congress, favoring the prompt enactment of the bill, but was ordered to lie on the table.

Lynch Bill Passage Is Advocated By Texans

NEW YORK — That white Texans are more and more expressing their desire to see the anti-lynching bill passed and are beginning to present the knife-throwing tactics of Senator Tom Connally who is trying to kill the bill, was indicated in three letters sent to the Texas Senator early this month, excerpts of which were made public by the NAACP today.

The letters were written by three citizens, all residents of Dallas, Texas. They are: Boyce R. Farrar, a business man, Howard Dailey, and Walter E. Hamilton.

Ridiculing the argument that passage of the bill would infringe upon state rights, Mr. Farrar said:

"When the question of state rights is raised it meets a popular chord of approval, but when state functions are compared with those of the Federal government in matters of efficiency and expediency there is little to compare. . . . If the collection of Federal taxes is compased with the unwieldly and frequently unfair collection of state and city taxes, again there is no comparison, and when the question of state rights is brought up against the anti-lynch bill, it is entirely beside the point.

"If the states where lynching has been practiced in days gone by were polled, it would be found that no one has done a thing to curb this most un-American practice, a blot on the escutcheon of all things American."

Howard Dailey told Senator Connally that he was writing as an "old-time Southerner," who has "more than a passing interest in your fight against the anti-lynching bill, because I believe the Negro is the white man's most loyal friend."

Urging Connally to stop playing the role of the demagogue, Dailey said:

"Senator, I would be greatly pleased if you would join the forces of the far seeing statesmen of the nation in stopping the fight against the anti-lynching bill and play the role of a true Southern gentlemen in giving a fair and square deal to our loyal Negroes."

Pointing out that despite the fact that he was born in a lily-white county in Texas, Walter E. Hamilton said in his letter that is was clear to him that "to say there is no need for the bill is ridiculous."

"The writer," he concluded, "was born and reared in Mingus, Texas, where the sun is not allowed to set upon a Negro's head. This, in a country where all men are created free and equal, with special privileges for none. We have always considered you as one of the truly great statesmen of our day, and would regret it exceedingly if you fell into the classification of a demagogue by continued opposition to the anti-lynching bill."

NOT ENOUGH VOTES TO INVOKE CLOTURE, BEAT FILIBUSTER

OCT 19 1940

Senate Majority Leader Says Poll Proves Not Sufficient Strength to Enforce Action.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17.—In an attempt to obviate any further discussion of the anti-lynching bill during this session of Congress, Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley told the Senate on Tuesday, Oct. 8. that he was "willing to take the responsibility of saying that in the midst of our international situation, our defense program . . it is impractical at this time to make a futile effort to obtain a vote on the bill."

Admitting that invoking cloture (limitation of debate), would be the only means of getting a vote on the bill, he said: "I have had a very careful personal and individual poll made of the members of the Senate on the Democratic side and on the Republican side, and in that effort the minority leader has cooperated, and it has been ascertained that cloture cannot be obtained at this time in order to have a vote on the anti-lynching bill. It is not only impossible to obtain the two-thirds vote necessary to adopt it, but it would not be possible to get a majority on either side of the Senate for cloture."

Barkley made the statement in response to a question put to him by Senator Warren Barbour, of New Jersey, who asked the Majority leader "if there is to be an opportunity to bring up the anti-lynching bill in this session before we either adjourn or recess."

Enunciating his own position with respect to the bill, the New Jersey Senator said: "As for myself, I most strongly and emphatically point out that this legislation has been passed over obviously too often and altogether too long, and should have consideration.

"I am wholeheartedly and sincerely in favor of it, not only because of the promise that it stands for, but because it represents even more than merely preventing lynching; it has become a symbol of tolerance as representing the true American attitude in relation to real equality, without prejudice as regards race, creed or color."

Senator Barbour read a letter he received from Walter White in which the N.A.A.C.P. secretary pointed to the seven lynchings of 1940, particularly the lynching at Brownsville, Tenn., as "comparable to the oppression of minorities in Nazi Germany, which Americans and the Congress have rightly denounced."

Barkley accused the N.A.A.C.P. of putting him on the spot "because of the not only insistent but sometimes peremptory demands that, regardless of anything else, the anti-lynching bill be brought forward for consideration in the Senate."

As a final gesture the majority leader of the Senate told Barbour that he hoped the bill could be brought up "at an early date, either when we come back in November or at an early date in the next session."

In a telegram to President Rooseevlt Oct. 10, Walter White told the President that Barkley's sounding the death knell of the anti-lynching bill represented a "blow at the patriotism of twelve million Negro citizens."

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6441

Washington, D. C. Post
March 7, 1940

Communist Technique

A deliberately belligerent attitude was assumed by a New York Negro Communist, one Benjamin Davis, in testifying Tuesday at a Senate committee hearing on the pending antilynching bill. His attitude was well expressed in his opening observation that: "It is the plain duty of the Senate Judiciary Committee to put an end to the reactionary efforts being made to emasculate and stifle this bill."

So offensive were some of the remarks of this witness as to sting Senator Van Nuys into saying that Davis was doing more to prevent passage of the bill than any who have appeared to criticize its shortcomings. The irritation of the Senator was understandable. He has been accused in the so-called news columns of the *Daily Worker*, a New York Communist paper which employs Davis, as "actually sabotaging" the legislation in question, "although nominally one of the sponsors."

The episode is an interesting illustration of the habitual Communist technique, carefully worked out in Moscow and religiously followed by the devotees of the party in this and other countries where they are allowed freedom of action.

The Communist Party as such has no more interest in the fate of American Negroes than it has in the future of the Finnish workers now being assiduously bombed in their homes by Soviet airplanes. In all probability the party leaders would like to see the present antilynching bill defeated. The testimony of Davis, with its references to the "Democratic reactionaries and Republican hypocrites" in Congress, was certainly calculated to secure this end.

But the undermining of the measure is, up to a point, skillfully handled. There is no attempt to analyze or refute the many valid objections to the proposed legislation or the many reasons for believing that it would cause more rather than less racial difficulty. On the contrary the Communists, with the abysmal lack of humor which is their greatest weakness, advocate it as a stimulus for democracy, as a proposal "in complete accord with the traditions of Lincoln and Jefferson."

It is at this point that the subtleties of the comrades become threadbare. It is easy to see why they should secretly desire a Senate defeat of the antilynching bill. With the unthinking, that outcome would tend to strengthen the Communist Party claim to be "the uncompromising and outstanding fighter for the complete liberation of the Negro people." But when the Reds strike attitudes as advocates of democracy and the liberation of the oppressed, as indorsers of the American liberal tradition, then it is clear where hypocrisy really lies.

Bristol, Va., Herald Courier
March 10, 1940

Not A Bad Compromise.

Among the witnesses who have appeared recently before the Senate Judiciary Committee, or a subcommittee which is holding hearings on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, was Benjamin Davis, Negro Communist who identified himself as an associate editor of the Daily Worker, a Communist newspaper. And by casting aspersions on Southern Congressmen, and charging Vice-President Garner with agreeing with President Roosevelt to "scuttle" that measure, Davis made a bad witness for the legislation.

The Gavagan bill, which has passed the House, would provide penalties for counties and county officials in the event of a lynching. It has been reported that Mr. Garner will propose a compromise under which the Federal Bureau of Investigation would investigate all cases of lynching and report its findings to the Governor of the State involved. That would not be a bad compromise and doubtless would increase the chances for Senate approval of anti-lynching legislation.

Under the Gavagan bill the FBI would have to investigate cases of lynching before penalties could be imposed on counties and county officials. The reported Garner proposal would do away with the penalties and direct the FBI to investigate and report its findings to the Governor of the State in which a lynching might occur, the findings probably including the identity of the lynchers or some of them, as well as the facts as to the conduct of responsible officers. That would put the issue squarely up to the Governor, and public sentiment probably would compel him to take action.

Talladega, Ala., Daily Home
March 6, 1940

STATE HAD 'CARPEDBAG' ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

Gave Right To Sue For $5,000 For Murder By An Outlaw

MONTGOMERY, March 6. —(INS)— Gov. Frank M. Dixon yesterday bitterly attacked the Wagner anti-lynching bill now in the U. S. Senate. He said Alabama was against it.

Down the State Capitol hall from Dixon's office in another room — the Supreme Court library — could be found a copy of a law strikingly similar to the Wagner bill, the governor announced—a law that was enacted, not by the United States Congress or by any Northern legislature. but by the general assembly of Alabama!

The catch is that the law was put on the statute books 72 years ago during the regime of the first carpetbag administration following the War Between the States. Then the Legislature and all state offices were controlled by Negroes and Northern opportunists.

The law is entitled "An act to suppress murder, lynching, assaults and batteries." It gave the "widow or husband" the right to sue for $5,000 any county in which his or her mate was assissinated or murdered by any outlaw, or persons or persons in disguise or mob, or for past or present party affiliation or political opinion."

Any official of the county that failed to comply with the law was subjected to a $1,000 fine and up to 12 months in jail for every 30 days he delayed performing his duties relative to the suit. This was aimed at the county solicitor, sheriff and court officials who might be reluctant to try the suit.

If there was no suit brought by the mate of the lynched person, then the state itself would step in and make the case against the county, distributing the $5,000 to the schools for blind and deaf.

There could be no suit if the perpetrators of the crime were "tried, convicted and punished."

This old musty anti-lynch law right in the midst of the South was brought to light by State Auditor Howell Turner. He happened across it several years ago while browsing around in the court library.

On Jan. 27, 1872 an act was passed removing Dale County from the provisions of the law. Later the whole law was removed from Alabama's lawbooks.

Senators Get 110 Anti-Lynching Bill Philadelphia

Phildelphia, Mar. 7. A total of 110 individual telegrams urging the passage of a Federal Anti-lynching bill were sent to Washington by Cooperative Committee Against Lynching, following a mass meeting held here on Washington's birthday at the Friends Meeting House. The speakers at the meeting included Rabbi Eugene Sacks, Walter White, Representative Joseph Gavagan, James Dumpson and the Rev. Marshall L. Shepard.

Administration Kills Anti-Lynching Bill

Sen. Barkley Uses 'National Defense' Excuse and Attacks Negro Organizations for Demanding Passage of Bill This Session

OCT 10 1940

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 9. — Majority Leader Alben Barkley has formally sounded the death knell of the anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress.

The administration spokesman informed the Senate that he considered it "impossible" to get action on the anti-lynching bill at this session.

At the same time, Barkley also rapped Negro organizations for making "peremptory demands" that the Senate pass the measure which has been approved several times in the House and held up in the Senate each time by a small group of reactionary Southern filibusters.

Barkley admitted in a speech to the Senate yesterday that cloture, or the shutting off of debate, was the only effective way of getting a vote, but said that "a majority" of both Democrats and Republicans had refused to support this step when he polled them privately.

The question of whether or not Congress will get a prolonged recess until after the election was still in doubt today as Republican politicians tried to make political capital out of a demand that Congress stay in session. In view of the fact that most members of Congress have already gone home, the issue is rapidly becoming academic anyway.

BILL DEAD ANYWAY

But whether Congress technically stays in session or whether it goes home, Barkley made it clear that the anti-lynching bill is out of the window for the session.

The anti-lynching bill will thus take its place with other progressive bills which have been killed off by the Roosevelt administration's war program and will not be acted on at this session.

Other social measures which at one time had the approval of the administration have now definitely been scuttled include:

1. Propsals to extend and improve the existing social security set-up by increasing the amount and the coverage of old-age pension and unemployment compensation payments.

2. The Wagner Housing Bill which would give the U. S. Housing Authority another $800,000,000 in loans.

3. The Wagner Health bill to set up a nationwide system of clinics and hospitals to take care of the millions of Americans who cannot afford to pay for private medical care.

President Roosevelt and his advisers continue to pay lip service to social legislation, and in his labor speech to the Teamsters convention the president said.

"For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended, unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved."

But specific measures enumerated above have been killed by administration leaders in Congress. Promises to the contrary are strictly campaign propaganda.

HITS NEGRO GROUPS

Senator Barkley assailed Negro organizations backing the anti-lynching bill for "the not only insistent but sometimes preemptory demands that, regardless of anything else, the anti-lynching bill be brought forward."

The majority leader trotted out the familiar alibi of "national defense" in explaining why no effort would be made to pass the anti-lynching bill.

He said that **"in the midst of our international situation, our defense program, and the conditions in which the world and our country find themselves; it is impractical at this time to make a futile effort to obtain a vote on the bill when it is known in advance that a vote cannot be had."**

Barkley said that he had conducted a "very careful" poll of sentiment on the motion to shut off the filibusterers by imposing cloture and discovered that such a proposal would not pass.

"It is not only impossible to obtain the two-thirds vote necessary to adopt it but would not be possible to get a majority on either side of the Senate for cloture," Barkley said.

This refusal of both a majority of both Democrats and Republicans to take effective steps to force a vote on the anti-lynching bill contrasted with the campaign pledges which both parties made to the Negro people in their platforms.

Barkley made his statement on the anti-lynching bill after Senator Warren Barbour, New Jersey Republican, had inquired as to the status of the measure.

Senator Barbour read a letter from Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, calling attention to a recent lynching in Brownsville, Tennessee, of a Negro who had simply sought information as to how he could qualify to vote in the November election.

"The case at Brownsville, Tenn., where a law-abiding citizen was lynched because he went with other equally respectable Negro citizens to ask information as to what they should do to qualify to vote in the November Presidential election, is a case which, by itself, is enough to shock Americans and to justify passage of the anti-lynching bill,' White wrote in his letter.

"Other Negroes, including a minister of the gospel and a Negro proprietor of a filling station, were forced by the same mob to flee for their lives from Brownsville. They were ordered to get out of town before daybreak and were told that if they returned they would be lynched.

"One of the Brownsville refugees is father of seven children and his wife is soon to give birth to an eighth child. His filling station was taken over by the Sheriff the day after he was run out of town."

OCT 10 1940

SENATOR DENIES HE PROMISED TO TAKE UP MEASURE

Too Busy with National Defense Program Now, Anyway, He Explains

NEW YORK. — For the fourth time in as many months, Senate Majority Alben Barkley told the NAACP that he does not intend to do anything to bring up the federal anti-lynching bill for a vote on the floor of the Senate.

The senator made his declaration to the NAACP in response to a recent letter from the association which quoted a story appearing in the New York Amsterdam News of July 20 saying that Barkley had told the Colored National Democratic Association at a mass meeting in Chicago just prior to the Democratic National Convention that "the anti-lynching bill will be voted upon before Congress adjourned."

The NAACP had asked the majority leader to name the approximate date when the bill would be called up.

Denying that he had made the statement, Senator Barkley told the association in a letter dated August 6: "I have not seen any of the newspapers that quoted what I had to say because I spoke extemporaneously . . . but the quotation which you use in your letter is inacurrate."

Expressed "Hope"

Pointing out that he had told his audience that he still "entertained the hope that the bill might be voted on during the present Congress," despite the difficulties of long debate even if cloture were voted, he "made no promise that it would be voted on and I made no promise that it would be taken up . . . The program of defense legislation," he said, "which include necessary and urgent measures," did not make him "feel at liberty to prophecy when the anti-lynching bill can be taken up."

Refusing to accept the plea of a defense program as an excuse for not bringing up the bill, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, told Senator Barkley in a letter dated August 7, that the association regarded the "anti-lynching bill as being just as important as the national defense program."

The NAACP official drew attention to the renewed activity of the Klan in many States, its joint activities with the German-American Bund in New Jersey; violence against Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious sect, the brutal flogging and lynching of NAACP officials in Brownsville, Tenn., and the increase in mob violence throughout the country just as mob violence increased preceding the outbreak of the last World War, as fully adequate reasons for bringing up the federal anti-lynching bill without delay.

LYNCHING - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO -

6442

Senator Barkley's Speech Pledges Aid to Lunch Bill

Text of Senator Barkley's Speech delivered at the 8th Regiment Armory before the Colored Democratic National Association Convention, Sunday, July 14, 1940.

INTERRUPTED BY NOISE

"Dr. Thompkins, My Friends. (Noise over top of ceiling)

"No Senator likes to speak when any other air mechanic is in progress, that's why I waited for that noise to cease.

"I appreciate the invitation given me to deliver to you a word of greeting. When I had a letter from Dr. Thompkins, I was unaware, at that time, that I was scheduled to be the permanent chairman at the Democratic Convention.

With my duties in the Senate during the last few weeks, it was even impossible for me to be successful in my efforts to prepare a successful address to deliver Tuesday night at the Democratic Convention.

I discovered, along with my other business, that I am a mere boy, as I have become sunburned, which resulted in blisters to my face, but this affliction is about to clear up now.

All Are Equal

"Well, I am glad to be able to come here and greet you, and I am glad to find that you are here today, and those whom we all represent are members of a political party of long standing. We are all the political descendants of not only one of the greatest democrats in history, but one of the greatest personalities, one of the greatest humanitarians, I speak of Thomas Jefferson. During the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson uttered these immortal words:

All men are created equal.

"Not equal in physical strength; perhaps not equal in an intelligence sense, not equal in the opportunities in grasping this world's goods, but all of us are equal in the opportunity, without race, creed or color, to stand before a free and just government without apologizing to any man.

Paid Price

"It has been the history of the Democratic party from Thomas Jefferson to Franklin D. Roosevelt that those who have paid the price, as the members of your race have, for you have shown your loyalty, from the Revolutionary War to the present time, and I can say without apologizing that we fear no Fifth column activities among the Negro race, and they only demand what they are justly entitled to, freedom and equality under the law, and I say that they deserve it, and the Democratic party will see to it that they get it.

"I can pledge that it has been the policy of the Roosevelt administration, not only to work for the colored men and women, but for all the underprivileged citizens in the United States of America, and this we are pledged to see it that all citizens have economic independence.

"I was a member this morning of my own delegation who received your committee on resolutions. I was inspired by the representation made by the delegates you sent there, and I want to tell you right now that they acquitted themselves well and I think that I can carefully say that the suggestions which they made will receive the very earnest and careful consideration of our National Convention.

Refers to Lynch Bill

"Reference has been made here to the anti-lynching bill and I certainly thank Dr. Thompkins for these words. Under the previous administrations it is true that Legislation of this sort was sent by the House and Senate to committees, where it would remain and die, but not until the Democratic party came into power was there an effort made to pass this bill. Unfortunately, in the Senate we were not able to bring it to a vote.

"As the Majority Leader of the United States Senate, I think my record will show that I exerted every possible effort to bring that bill to a vote. Time after time I have asked for the vote. Now, understand, I am not criticizing any Senator, but when I found it was obvious that a vote could not be had, then I got a petition to circulate for cloture, which is, as you know, a motion to close debate, and even after a closed debate each Senator can speak for an hour, if so desired.

"The petition came up for a vote, but we did not get the necessary two-thirds, and it was impossible to bring the anti-lynching bill to a vote.

Makes Pledge

"It has now been reported by committee, and the reason why we haven't taken it up, is because we have been concerned with our national defense, but I can say this, that this bill will be brought up, and it will be voted upon before this Congress shall have adjourned. That would not surprise me and in fact it is my sincere opinion.

"I do not wish to indulge in any personalities, but last month in Philadelphia the Republicans had a meeting and selected a man to run for President, Wendell Willkie. I suppose they had to go back and take a former Democrat. If (he) Willkie ever was a Democrat in the real sense of the word, I think I will just give you my picture of the Republican nominee for President:

"A wonderful bird is Willkie,
His body was bigger than his bilkie."

"He, Willkie has said he wanted to fight the champion, which is the Democratic party, so did Tony Galento want to fight Joe Louis, but my friends, Joe Louis is still the champion, but I am not afraid of Willkie who wants to fight, which is the only respect that he is like Joe Louis, for this Democratic party with one hundred and fifty years of democracy is not afraid of anybody on earth.

Should Be In All Forces

"We are living in trying times, and this is not a campaign for which frivolity can be the word. We have seen one democratic nation after another go down. We have seen ideals of self-government and liberty-loving people destroyed, all because they were not prepared to meet the onslaught of autocracy and totalitarianism.

"Ours is a peace-loving nation, not unwilling to have peace but we are resolved not to send our boys away from home, but we are preparing to the fullest extent to protect the United States of America, and Negroes must help, and they deserve to serve in every branch of the armed forces of the United States. There shall be but one motto:

"All Americans for one America and for one conception of American democracy."

"I am not welcoming one race or creed to participate in the American form of Government, but like other people, the colored people with all other races must join with us to make America the beacon light to all the nations of the world. And we must have liberty and equality for all men, regardless of their color. I believe in that and I will fight for that.

Honest Platform

"There is a place and will be a place in the ranks of the Democratic party for those who have the ability, and I honestly believe that when the Democratic Convention writes its platform that your desires will be included.

"When we write this platform, it will be an honest platform that says what it means and means what it says. We shall write a platform for the American people, all races, and I know the voters will go to the polls and give us four years more of American democracy.

(Tells story at this point about colored man which is not quoted.)

"If the Republican party had anything to offer they would have offered us something better, but the Democratic party stands on its record. I am glad that I come from a State that has never disfranchised the Negro from the right to vote, and I say that the Democratic party has done a lot for the Negro, and we are going to do more.

"Our State does not exact payment of any poll tax to aid criticizing any State that does, in the disfranchisement of the Negro. Of course, I am not but I stand on my record."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
December 10, 1940

President Can Defend the South

In the present emergency it is to be hoped that no effort will be made by the congress next year to pass an anti-lynching bill, a bill to repeal the poll taxes or other bill designed to deprive the states of their right to control their own affairs, to administer their own laws by their own courts, to regulate and conduct their own elections. The News and Courier hopes that the great influence of President Roosevelt will be exerted to prevent any demonstration in congress having the appearance of effort to embarrass the Southern states, that he will exert it for the sake of unity of the American people when they are confronted by a war peril. Such is the hope of The News and Courier, and it has faith that the president, remembering the support that he has received from the South, will not be silent in the event that partisans shall set out on another "holy war" against it.

REASON--'DEFENSE' NAACP IS TOLD BY MAJORITY LEADER

Courier 8-17-40 Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK, Aug. 15—For the fourth time in as many months, Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he does not intend to do anything to bring up the federal anti-lynching bill for a vote on the floor of the Senate.

The Senator made his declaration to the NAACP in response to a recent letter from the association which quoted a story appearing in the New York Amsterdam News of July 20, saying that Barkley had told the Colored National Democratic Association at a mass meeting in Chicago just prior to the Democratic National Convention that "the Anti-lynching bill will be voted upon before Congress adjourned." The NAACP had asked the Majority Leader to name the approximate date when the bill would be called up.

Denying that he had made the statement, Senator Barkley told the association in a letter dated August 6: "I have not seen any of the newspapers that quoted what I had to say because I spoke extemporaneously . . but the quotation which you use in your letter is inaccurate."

Pointing out that he had told his audience that he still "entertained the hope that the bill might be voted on during the present Congress," despite the difficulties of long debate even if cloture were voted, he "made no promise that it would be voted on and I made no promise that it would be taken up. The program of defense legislation," he said, "which includes necessary and urgent measures," did not make him "feel at liberty to prophecy when the Anti-lynching bill can be taken up."

Refusing to accept the plea of a defense program as an excuse for not bringing up the bill, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, told Senator Barkley in a letter dated August 7, that the Association regarded the Anti-Lynching Bill as being "just as important as the National Defense program."

The NAACP official drew attention to the renewed activity of the Klan in many States, its joint activities with the German-American Bund in New Jersey; violence against Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious sect, the brutal flogging and lynching of N. A. A. C. P. officials in Brownsville, Tenn., and the increase in mob violence throughout the country just as mob violence increased preceding the outbreak of the last World war, as fully adequate reasons for bringing up the federal anti-lynching bill without delay.

Memphis Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
November 25, 1940

WALTER-LOGAN BILL ENEMIES ORGANIZE

Anti-Lynching May Be Hung Onto Measure

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24.—(AP)—Senate opponents of the Walter-Logan Bill, it was reported Sunday, may offer antilynching legislation as an amendment—a step regarded as certain to provoke a filibuster by Southern members and assure the eventual death of the measure.

The Senate is to vote Monday on whether to take up the bill which would prescribe uniform procedure for quasi-judicial Government agencies and would expedite appeals to the courts from their decisions. The House passed the measure last June, over Administration opposition.

If Monday's vote is favorable, some senators said, an antilynching amendment is expected to follow. Among those who said that this action was probable was Senator Minton of Indiana, the Democratic whip, and an opponent of the Walter-Logan Bill.

Mr. Minton said he had "heard that the Antilynching Bill might be proposed as an amendment," and added, "I think it would be a good idea."

The House twice has approved bills to make lynching a Federal crime, but each time Southern senators have prevented action in the Senate by carrying on what they called "prolonged debate," and what proponent of the legislation called a "filibuster."

N.A.A.C.P. Calls on Senate to Bring Up Anti-Lynching Bill Before End of Congress

The Call Kansas City, Mo

Cites Seven Lynchings in 1940 and Blames Administration for Failure to Act While Talking About Democracy

OCT 4 1940

NEW YORK.—Letters requesting action on the anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of congress were sent this week to 14 key senators of both parties by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A special request was made of the three senators sponsoring the bill in the Senate, Robert F. Wagner, New York; Arthur Capper, Kansas; and Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana. Senator Van Nuys wired that he would consult with Senator Wagner on the matter, but that he did not have much hope of any action. Senator Capper said he was doing everything he could to bring up the bill, and would follow Senator Wagner's lead.

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan wrote that he would consult with Senator Wagner and lend any aid he could, but explained that even if Congress did not adjourn, a recess until after election was inevitable.

The Call

The N.A.A.C.P. letter cited seven lynchings during 1940. The last was announced recently as six, but since that time a killing at Dyersburg, Tenn., August 3, has been verified as a lynching, making the seventh of 1940. Roosevelt Jones, 26, was the victim.

Mail

In a statement made this week, the N.A.A.C.P. blamed the Administration for failure to act on the bill.

OCT 4 1940

"Twice in the last three years the House has passed this bill by votes of almost 2 to 1," the statement said. "The Senate staged a disgraceful filibuster lasting seven weeks in early 1936. After the House passed the bill a second time, the Senate has refused to act to bring it up for a vote. We feel that the Administration could have got this bill to the floor if it had wanted to do so.

"In recent years our President and our State Department have issued staetments rebuking what they call the forces of brutality and dictatorship in all parts of the world. They have read Sunday school lectures to other nations. They have talked about Democracy but they have chosen to ignore the dastardly crime of lynching in our own own backyard.

"America can never stand as an example to other nations on the treatment of minority peoples as long as human beings are shot, hanged and roasted to death here without the federal government lifting a finger to do anything about it. Hitler has a perfect right to sneer at our statements as long as we handle our minorities in much the same manner that he handles his.

"Perhaps the most shameful lynching of this year occurred in Brownsvile, Tenn., in June, when a peaceful, law-abiding colored citizen was done to death for the enormous crime of attempting to register so that he could vote in the Presidential election November 5! Brownsville, Tenn., is a picture of our democracy in a nutshell and will remain so until our government does something to punish lynchers."

LYNCHING -1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6443

HOUSE PASSES MEASURE, BUT SENATE TAKES NO ACTION ON PROPOSAL IN ELECTION YEAR

Kansas City, Mo.

Senator Barkley Remains Mum on Report 'Deal' Was Made to Remove Bill As Issue in Campaign

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — With the major business of this session disposed of, congress stands ready to adjourn, if it can, on October 1. A record for peace-time appropriations with a figure set at $15,000,000 marks this as one of the most "liberal" congresses in history.

Yet legislation against lynching, to outlaw the great American national crime, was not considered important enough to reach the floor of the United States senate, although there had been some sort of understanding or promise made whereby the anti-lynch bill would get consideration during this session.

SEP 27 1940

Passed by the house after the most harrowing debates and harrassing of witnesses at public hearings, the bill had the approval of the majority of the house members, excepting those from the Solid South, who saw in it an effort on the part of the northern members to use the bill as a vote getting football, and so expressed themselves on the floor.

But it was in the senate that the most difficulty was experienced, where some 30 members of that body were up for reelection and couldn't afford to have their opinions spread on the Congressional Record for public inspection. Their opposition to the bill was open and hostility to the measure expressed itself in recriminations and denials of statements.

Declaring that the vote was not as urgent on this measure in an election year, as was the vote on the emergency national defense, senators sought refuge behind the latter to kill any hopes of the former, despite the fine work which had been done in getting various congressmen to support the measure.

So the bill goes over for another congress where the hope is the removal of an election year will give it a better chance to pass.

EXPECT CONGRESS TO SHELVE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Knoxville Independent

Solons Plan Adjournment October 1, Leaving Mobs Free Of Federal Investigation

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Iowa Register

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Des Moines

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NAACP Cites 7 Lynchings In 1940 and Hits Lack Of Senate Cooperation

Philadelphia Inquirer

NEW YORK — Letters requesting action on the anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of congress were sent this week to fourteen key senators of both parties by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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Cites Seven Lynchings

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OCT 3 1940

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"Twice in the last three years the House has passed this bill by votes of almost 2 to 1," the statement said. "The Senate staged a disgraceful filibuster lasting seven weeks in early 1938. After the House passed the bill a second time, the Senate has refused to act to bring it up for a vote. We feel that the Administration could have got this bill to the floor if it had wanted to do so.

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Raps Administration

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Barkley Denies Plot with GOP to Kill Lynch Bill

Chicago Defender

NEW YORK — Refuting a signed story which appeared in the Chicago Defender, September 14, Senator Alben Barkley issued a statement denying that he had recently told a colored delegation that the antilynching bill is a "dead horse," and "has been removed as an issue from the present campaign by mutual agreement of both political parties."

OCT 5 1940

The Senate Majority Leader's statement was contained in a letter to the NAACP dated September 20, in response to two NAACP telegrams asking him to deny or affirm the charge and to name the representatives of the two parties who made the agreement, if the charge was true.

Demand Senate Pass Anti-Lynching Bill

NAACP Cites Seven Lynchings This Year in Call for Action Before Adjournment in Leter to 14 Senators

SEP 30 1940

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SENATE FILIBUSTER

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ANTI-LYNCH FIGHT MAY BE TRIED TO BEAT LOGAN BILL

Senate Foes of Measure to Offer Rider If Today's Vote Is Favorable

NOV 25 1940

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Nov. 24. — Senate opponents of the Walter-Logan bill, it was reported today, may offer anti-lynching legislation as an amendment—a step regarded as certain to provoke a filibuster by Southern members and assure the eventual death of the measure.

The Senate is to vote tomorrow on whether to take up the bill which would prescribe uniform procedure for quasijudicial government agencies and would expedite appeals to the courts from their decisions. The House passed the measure last June over administration opposition.

If tomorrow's vote is favorable, some senators said, an anti-lynching amendment is expected to follow. Among those who said that this action was probable was Senator Minton of Indiana, the Democratic whip and an opponent of the Walter-Logan bill.

Minton said he had "heard that the anti-lynching bill might be proposed as an amendment" and added "I think it would be a good idea."

Debate or Filibuster

The House twice has approved bills to make lynching a federal crime, but each time Southern senators have prevented action in the Senate by carrying on what they called "prolonged debate" and what proponents of the legislation called a "filibuster."

Senators Burke, Democrat, Nebraska; Hatch, Democrat, New Mexico, and Austin, Republican, Vermont, expressed confidence that the Senate would act favorably on the motion to begin consideration of the Walter-Logan bill. All three favor the measure's enactment.

Proponents of the bill assert it provides sorely needed reforms for semijudicial agencies, bureaus and departments.

Opponents, including Majority Leader Barkley, Democrat, Kentucky, contend the measure would hamper and restrict the work of the labor board, securities commission, social security board, and other New Deal agencies.

The Senate judiciary committee, which unanimously approved the bill, said that its basic purpose was "to stem and if possible, to reverse the drift into parliamentarism which, if it should succeed in any substantial degree in this country, could but result in totalitarianism."

Veto Predicted

Barkley predicted that President Roosevelt would veto the measure, if the Senate enacted it.

Before deciding whether to take up the bill, the Senate is expected to give approval to elevation of Senator George, Democrat, Georgia, to the chairmanship of the foreign relations committee, succeeding the late Senator Pittman, Democrat, Nevada. This action was voted Saturday by the Senate Democratic steering committee.

The House has no pending business, and leaders doubted that the quorum of members necessary to transact business would be present. Speaker Rayburn, Democrat Texas, advised members yesterday to go home, saying they would receive notice if any important business came up.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 10, 1940

The house anti-lynching champion will be back. He is Representative Gavagan, of New York, author of the lynch measure now shelved in the senate.

May Make Football of Antilynch Bill

NOV 8 WASHINGTON 1940

A plan to bring up the antilynching bill in the Senate, solely in the hope of a filibuster which would delay action on other legislation not approved by the Administration, has been unearthed on Capitol Hill.

The unwanted measures, which observers believe Mr. Roosevelt would veto if passed, are the Logan-Walter Bill to limit the powers of certain Federal agencies and the Smith amendments to modify the National Labor Relations Act, both already approved by the House.

An antilynching bill filibuster, it is believed, would consume the remainder of the session and prevent any embarrassment which might be caused by a veto of the other measures.

Thomasville, Ga. Times Enterprise
December 20, 1940

ANTI-LYNCH BILL

The anti-lynching bill is one of the most farcical things that has ever been given untold attention in congress. It is splenetic and racial in its tenor, it is unfortunate and unsound in its many phases and and it is not in conformity with a wise and sound means of accomplishing the ends sought.

In South Carolina they protected a negro and prevented a lynching, in Thomas county, they captured the negro, tried him in a short time and his execution occurred within a month. That is the best aid in keeping down lynchings in the South. The new bill would penalize the county in which lynching occurred by a fine of ten thousand dollars and there are some pains that the officers would also endure if one occurred.

There is no way to get over the idea that a ten thousand dollar fine on a county would stop lynchings, if the mob started out. They would barely be among those who pay much of the taxes and they would not even think of this bar to their activity. If they are not educated to a point where personal passions can be curbed and controlled they will lynch, if there is a fine of a million dollars.

So anxious to appease some colored voters in the North congress is discussing this matter whenever the colored voters arise up and demand it. The colored congressman from Chicago now says that he is going to have congress take off Jim Crow provisions, because he was forced to ride in a passenger car on a slow train through Arkansas. He paid for the full fare but they did not allow him in the pullmans.

These racial troubles arise now and then but in the main both races are satisfied that the relationships in the south are improving and that with education and other qualifications it will be better even sooner than if left to the hands of the politicians, whose sole motive is votes.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6444

Anti-Lynching Bill Show-down Due Today

CIO Leaders Disturbed by Amendment to Measure by Gavagan—See Danger to Unions in It

By Adam Lapin
(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 9.—Following a long day of desultory debate, a showdown vote on the anti-lynching bill will take place in the House tomorrow.

The most important development today was an announcement by Rep. Joseph Gavagan of New York, who introduced the bill, that he would sponsor an amendment to eliminate the clause which exempts labor unions from the definition of a lynch mob in the measure.

Gavagan said that he would put in an amendment tomorrow to strike out the language which says that lynching "shall not be deemed to include violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any 'labor dispute.'"

He declared that he considered this section "unnecessary" because the bill was sufficiently clear, and added that he believed labor organizations had agreed to this change.

CIO officials, however, stated that they were considerably disturbed by the new amendment and feared that anti-labor courts might distort the anti-lynching bill so as to hit at unoins.

In view of the smashing 256 to 114 vote by which the House agreed yesterday to take up the measure it is believed that the bill will pass by a large majority.

Majority Leader Sam Rayburn, who is opposed to passage of the bill, said that the House will be kept in session tomorrow until final action is taken.

The anti-lynching bill will face its major test in the Senate where an attempt will be made to bottle it up in the Judiciary Committee, and where reactionary Senators are prepared to launch a filibuster if it does reach the floor.

In the main oration of the day opposing the bill, Rep. Hatton W. Sumners, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, declared that the bill ought to be defeated because it disrupted attempts to create "national unity."

"What is the reason for bringing up this now when we need above all things a united America?" Sumners asked.

Sumners said that he was opposed to lynching—but along with many of the other Southern Congressmen who spoke against the bill he regaled the House with gory, anti-Negro stories of alleged rapes against white women which seemed to be an attempt to justify lynching.

A more dignified argument used against the bill by Sumner and his colleagues was that the measure was "unconstitutional" and "violates states's rights."

The only flurry during the day's debate occurred when Rep. Arthur Mitchell, Negro Congressman from Illinois, charged that Republicans were attempting to use their support for the bill to make political capital.

Several Republicans, including Reps. Usher Burdick of North Dakota and George Bender of Ohio immediately assailed Mitchell and said that his speech was a "good reason" for voting against the bill.

Although Mitchell's point against the Republicans was well taken, he simultaneously put on a show of subservience to the Democratic Party and particularly to the reactionary, anti-Negro Southern Democrats opposing the bill.

"While your grandfathers and fathers were engaged in battle to keep us slaves, we were loyal to you," he said, addressing himself to the Southern Democrats. "We are loyal to you now."

Mitchell said that 81 lynchings had taken place since 1882 for "insults to whites," and that there had been a large number of cases of mob violence against Negroes resulting from equally trivial incidents.

"I represent the group that has furnished the victims for the mobs," Mitchell said. "You represent the group that has furnished the mobs. I am asking you to let us pass this bill without emasculation."

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL OPENS UP DEMOCRAT RIFT

Tribune

Southerners Battle House Measure.

1-9-40

BY WILLARD EDWARDS.
[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Jan. 8.—The house chamber echoed to the protesting roars of southern Democrats today after anti-lynching legislation was made the first order of business of the 1940 session by a 256 to 114 vote.

The bill, sponsored by Joseph A. Gavagan, Democratic representative of the Harlem district in New York City, would penalize state officials who are found guilty of neglect of duty in protecting persons from lynching or of failure to prosecute members of a lynching mob. The officials would be tried in a federal court and would be subject, upon conviction, to a maximum prison sentence of five years and a top fine of $5,000.

The measure was brought before the house under a discharge petition which was signed by a majority of members at the last session. The vote today was upon approval of a resolution taking the bill out of the rules committee and bringing it to the floor for consideration.

Democrats Are Split.

One hundred and forty-nine Republicans, 104 Democrats, 2 Progressives, and 1 American Labor member voted for the resolution. Opposed were 111 Democrats and 3 Republicans. The Democratic majority, therefore, was almost evenly split on the measure. In the past, the wounds caused by debate on the measure have taken months to heal and it appeared that this would again be the case.

The measure will be debated tomorrow and passage appears to be assured on Wednesday. The bill gaces a fillibuster in the senate if it reaches the floor there. The southern Democrats in the senate have been uniformly successful hitherto in blocking any action in that body, although the bill admittedly would be approved if a vote were made possible.

Several references were made in the debate to the fact that Democrats tonight will celebrate party harmony at Jackson day dinners thruout the nation. Southerners complained that the national unity sought by President Roosevelt was scarcely to be promoted either in the nation or in the Democratic party by bringing up a measure which the south considers an insult.

Vote Bargaining Charged.

Representative Eugene E. Cox [D., Ga.], led the opposition with a fiery speech.

"This is a miserably sorry bargaining away of the respect and integrity of the south for the Negro votes of the north," he told the house. "It is the Harlem district of New York exercising more influence with the party in power than the whole white south.

"This bill is the expression of a hostility—a senseless, venomous, ignorant, unreasoning hostility—that has existed in some quarters against the south for almost a century.

"It represents the combined will and scheming of a radical Negro group; the leftist who wants to remake America into a despotism like that of Stalinist Russia; the communist who seeks revolution and finds the Negro a willing tool; the simple idealist who is willing to try anything; the so-called centralist who believes in the concentration of power in Washington and the wiping out of every vestige of state sovereignty.

Motive Called Selfish.

"More perhaps than any of these, it represents the ruthless and self-seeking politician who would be perfectly willing to outrage the virtue of southern womanhood and to mongrelize a great party of his own nation as the price of securing the Negro vote for his own selfish and nefarious purposes."

Representative Hamilton Fish [R., N. Y.], argued for the bill, declaring it was the duty of congress to enact legislation to safeguard the security and lives of the American people.

"Every time a colored man or woman is lynched or burned at the stake in America it means that the emancipation proclamation has been suspended and that their civil and equal rights have been destroyed under the law and the constitution," he said.

Representative J. Bayard Clark [D., N. C.] said that the south was solving the lynching problem itself.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL COMES UP TODAY

Telegram

Preliminary Scrapping Will Provide Grim Prelude to Jackson Day Dinner

1-8-40

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 (AP)—The anti-lynching bill—an issue which for scrapping party lines and setting South against the North has no equal—comes to the fore again tomorrow.

Preliminary house skirmishing on the troublesome measure will be a grim prelude to the Democratic party's Jackson day "harmony feast."

The annual Jackson dinner, scheduled for tomorrow night, will be just a few hours after the lynch bill of Representative Gavagan (D-N.Y.), is called up.

There is little question about how the house vote will go. Some say it will be 3 to 2, some say 2 to 1, some say even 3 to 1, but Northerners and Southerners alike give Gavagan's bill an easy margin.

But there will be a fight, regardless of the inevitable outcome.

"We're going to make a record that the senate can't ignore," said one Southerner. "But the bill is going to pass. No question about that."

The bill got its right to the floor by means of a petition signed by a clear majority of the house. That's how it happens to be the No. 1 measure for house consideration in the new session.

The schedule tomorrow is simply to vote on whether or not the bill should be considered, with 20 minutes of debate. Next day, assuming the vote is to take it up, the house begins six hours of argument on the bill itself.

The senate situation is different. There, no rule limits a member's speech, and an opposition bloc is privileged—if strength holds out—to talk a bill to death.

Two years ago, Southern senators filibustered six weeks before they killed an anti-lynching bill. Senator Ellender (D-La.) talked a week.

Senator Connally (D-Tex.), leader of the opposition bloc, indicates the Southerners are ready to deal with a new anti-lynching emergency. But some Southern members believed the leadership, fearful lest it prolong the session, would not permit the bill to get a place on the senate calendar.

Briefly, the Gavagan bill would subject the sheriff or other local authority to $5,000 fine or five years' imprisonment or both if he failed or neglected to "make all diligent efforts" to prevent a lynching, or if he failed to make diligent efforts to prosecute the mob.

For any lynching injury or death the governmental subdivision would be liable to the victim or his heirs to the extent of $2,000 to $10,000

ANTI-LYNCH BILL PASSED BY HOUSE

Constitution

Election-Year Favorite Voted, 252-131; Called Vicious Attack on South

1-11-40

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—(AP)—The house approved one of its perennial election-year favorites, the anti-lynching bill, today and sent it to the senate where an unyielding southern filibuster was set to kill it.

The vote of 251 to 132 followed a discussion in which Representative Rankin, Democrat, Mississippi, asserted that the measure was "nothing but the renewal of a vicious attack on the white people of the southern states," coming not from the Republicans, he said, but from the Democrats.

All southern efforts to amend the measure were crushed, under a massive voting combination of Republicans and Democrats from the north and west. The same fate met an effort by Representative Hoffman, Republican, Michigan, inveterate foe of the CIO, to attach provisions intended to restrict picketing.

The single change accepted was offered by the author of the measure, Representative Gavagan, Democrat, New York, who represents the district of which New York city's teeming negro section, Harlem, is a part. He proposed the elimination of language making the bill inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance.

Representative Pace, Democrat, Georgia, making it clear that he opposed the bill, offered an amendment to exempt from the penalties counties in which lynchings occur after the victim has been brought in by the mob from elsewhere. Proponents of the bill argued that such counties could not be held liable and the amendment was defeated, 57 to 79.

The bill—denounced by southerners as impractical, unenforceable and unconstitutional and upheld by its supporters in the antonyms of those words—seeks to eliminate lynchings by imposing penalties on peace officers negligent in protecting their prisoners from lynch mobs and by making the municipalities and counties liable for damages.

The principal interest and the most extended discussion centered upon an amendment by Representative Colmer, Democrat, Mississippi, which he called the "gangster amendment." This would have made the penalties apply to gang murders.

Asserting that last year there were three lynchings in the entire United States and 272 murders in New York, Colmer asked, "Why should we worry with a mere detail, a mere bagatelle?"

Southern Tory Bloc Threatens Filibuster

Reactionaries Hope to Bury Bill in Committee

Daily Worker

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 8.—By a margin of 225 to 144, the House agreed today to take up the Gavagan anti-lynching bill. Actual debate on the measure will begin tomorrow.

1-9-40

With this vote the House discharged the reactionary Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill. The measure had been bottled up for some time in the Rules Committee, and it had earlier been pigeon-holed for several months in the House Judiciary Committee.

Today's decisive majority backed up the petition signed by 218 members at the end of the last session to discharge the rules committee. Both the CIO and A. F. of L. together with numerous progressive organizations have urged passage of the bill.

In view of today's test vote and the commitment of a large majority of Congressmen to support the bill, passage is considered virtually assured Wednesday.

The strategy of the Tory Southern bloc opposing anti-lynching legislation, however, is to attempt to tie the bill up in the Senate Judiciary Committee indefinitely. If this move fails, Southern Senators are then expected to undertake a prolonged filibuster.

As a result of recent moves by the President and other officials to heal the breach in the Democratic Party around a "national unity program," the anti-lynching issue has become a political hot potatoe for the Administration.

The Administration does not want to alienate the important Negro vote. At the same time it does not want to antagonize the Southern Congressmen and Senators.

For this reason, Administration leaders are understood to welcome a quiet death for the measure in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Majority leader Sam Rayburn was one of the bloc of Southern Congressmen which voted solidly today to oppose passage of the bill.

PHONY "CHAMPIONS"

Anxious to use the measures as a political football, Republican Congressmen seized the opportunity to pass themselves off as champions of Negro rights.

Rep. Ham Fish of New York said that he challenged President Roosevelt "to state at the Jackson Day dinner tonight where he stands on the anti-lynching bill and what he proposed to do to secure its passage in the Congress and help in establishing justice and domestic tranquility in our own country."

Party and sectional lines were rather tangled up, however, in the final roll call on taking up the measure. Several Republicans, including Jacob Thorkelson of Montana, James Wadsworth of New York and Francis Case of South Dakota voted against considering the bill as did a number of northern and western Democratic Congressmen, including Charles H Leavy of Washington, Edward Taylor of Colorado and Abe Murdock of Utah.

The main oration in opposition to consideration of the bill was made by Rep. E. E. Cox of Georgia who made the routine kind of anti-Negro lynch speech familiar to Southern reactionary politicians.

His typical slander was that passage of the measure would jeopardize "the virtue of Southern womenhood and mongrelize the nation."

The anti-lynching bill provides that state officials who neglect their duties in the prosecution of lynchers shall be liable to the penalty of a prison term running up to five years or a fine going up to $10,000.

Subdivisions of state governments are held responsible in the bill for persons lynched in their jurisdiction due to neglect, and shall pay compensation of from $2,000 to $10,000 to relatives of the lynched person.

THE FEDERAL LYNCH BILL

The Good Boys in congress are again in a great lather over a pending federal anti-lynching bill." Their churns are making sop for the Negro voters in the northern cities to lap up. They are concerned primarily with political victories at the polls and not with the security of human life.

Congressman Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, the only Negro member of congress sees through the scheme and in one of the bravest speeches ever made in the house of representatives denounced it forthrightly and intelligently. Mitchell jeopardized his political future when he made that speech We applaud his courage, but his gallantry does not surprise us, for Mitchell is a native of Alabama. Once he was Booker T Washington's errand boy at Tuskegee Institute, once he was a carrier boy for The Advertiser. Now he is a successful lawyer in Chicago. His first great political achievement was the defeat of another Alabamian, Oscar DePriest, Negro, who some years ago made something of a spectacle of himself as a Republican member of the house.

Soon after his first election to congress, Mitchell sat in this office for a pleasant half hour and said: "I want to be an American congressman, not a Negro congressman. I love my people, to be sure, but I also love all other people, and I think it is an obligation of statesmanship to act in behalf of all the people rather than in behalf of classes."

Mitchell knows that the professional friends of his race are phoney. But he is dependent in Chicago upon a constituency that is susceptible to the wiles of the professional Do-Goods. And so it was brave of him to stand up in the parliament of this republic and denounce the pending "anti-lynching" bill.

Americans — southerners at least — are rapidly overcoming the mob spirit. In the end, without federal coercion, they will exterminate it.

6445

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Anti-Lynching Politics

Politics inevitably intrudes into a Congressional session preceding a general election. Every action that is taken is likely to be considered from the viewpoint of its political effect. But that does not justify the injection of mere time-wasting political gestures into a session that is confronted by more urgent legislation than it can hope to enact.

The anti-lynching bill taken up by the House yesterday must be placed in this category. It has previously passed the House only to be killed by filibuster in the Senate. There can scarcely be any doubt that the bill would encounter a similar fate if it should be passed by the House and again submitted to the Senate for debate. To avoid another filibuster and serious disruption of their legislative program Senate leaders would probably pigeonhole the bill.

There is no reason, moreover, for pressing the bill at this time. A few years ago, when the barbarous practice of lynching persons suspected of crime was common in the South, a plausible case could be made for some sort of Federal interference. Now lynching has virtually disappeared. Every State, except Mississippi and Florida, had a clear record in 1939 so far as this dastardly crime is concerned. And in those two States only three lynchings were reported.

With the problem thus narrowed to two States, there is no excuse whatever for the enactment of an anti-lynching bill that would violate the constitutional division of powers between the Federal Government and the States. Indeed, the proposal of Federal penalties for State officials who fail to do their duty was never acceptable. It presumes to exercise a power which the Constitution denies to the Federal Government. Failure of a few States adequately to protect their own citizens, inexcusable though it is, does not justify such a gross encroachment upon their constitutional rights.

When such cogent objections to the bill are added to the fact that the States have almost completed the task of putting their own houses in order, no reasonable excuse is left for reviving the anti-lynching bill in Congress. Regardless of what action the House may take, the bill will doubtless remain a dead letter. Yet some legislators insist on reviving it in an election year in the hope of winning votes.

The issue, of course, is not lynching. That outrageous and uncivilized practice is condemned by almost every member of Congress. With the current improvement in State law enforcement, it will doubtless soon be wiped out. The question by which the House is confronted is whether one group of legislators shall be permitted to make political capital out of this general hatred of lynching to the detriment of a crowded legislative program.

House Opens Anti-Lynch Debate Today

Cox And Fish Exchange Heated Comments On Proposed Federal Act

Budget Issue Waits

McNary Blocks Senate's Move To Vote On Harrison Congress Study Plans

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8.—(AP)—While the Senate dodged an immediate test on a proposal for a special congressional budget study, the House put controversial anti-lynching legislation at the top of its calendar today, and arranged to vote on it by mid-week.

On a roll call vote of 256 to 114, the House decided to take up tomorrow a bill to make lynching a Federal crime. A special rule will permit six hours of debate on the measure.

An immediate decision in the Senate on a proposal by Chairman Harrison (D), Mississippi of the finance committee to set up a special 24-man congressional committee to study President Roosevelt's budget and then draft its own fiscal recommendations was blocked by Minority Leader McNary (R), Oregon.

The Republican leader, first demanded that the proposed joint committee be instructed specifically to investigate defense appropriations and "national military policy" and when Senator Byrnes (D), South Carolina, would not agree, McNary objected to consideration of Harrison's resolution at this time.

It was reported authoritatively that McNary and Harrison later reached an agreement for consideration of the proposal when the Senate reconvenes on Wednesday.

House Leaders Cold

House leaders have been cold to the idea, because appropriations subcommittees already have completed a major portion of their work. They have contended that the Harrison plan would delay the work of Congress.

Reliable informants reported that Harrison would head the joint committee if it is created, and would insist that it make a comprehensive study of defense appropriations.

In another important field of legislation, Chairman Doughton (D), North Carolina, of the House ways and means committee, introduced legislation to extend for three years the administration's reciprocal trade agreements program, now scheduled to expire June 12. Doughton's committee will begin hearings on the resolution Thursday.

Although formal debate on the measure was deferred until tomorrow, the House heard some preliminary, and heated, exchanges concerning it.

Debate Flares

Representative Fish (R), New York, who resides in President Roosevelt's home congressional district, asked why the chief executive "is so strangely silent on legislation aimed to provide for the security and safety of the lives of our own people?"

A denunciation of the bill came from Representative Cox (D), Georgia, who declared that it had "all the hypocrisy of the villian who daubs his vice with a show of virtue." Cox continued:

"It is the perfidious product of a mixed group, who under the guise of 'due process' and in the name of 'equal protection of the law' seek to use the powers of this great government to humiliate, infuriate and manhandle a people who are earnestly doing their best to find a solution of the problems which beset them."

Saying that the bill represented a "senseless, venomous, ignorant unreasoning hostility toward the South," the Georgia Representative added that his section was "sick and tired of being treated as a conquered province."

House Brings Lynching Bill Out to Floor

256-114 Ballot Insures Debate Today; Vote Expected Tomorrow

By John B. Oakes

Sonorous phrases boomed across the floor of the House yesterday as debate began on the bitterly controversial Gavagan anti-lynching bill.

By a vote of 256 to 114, the House brought the measure out to the floor from committee, where it had been bottled up since introduction of the bill exactly a year and five days ago.

Six hours' general debate—expected to produce sectional fireworks of the most explosive sort—will commence today, with a vote probable tomorrow. The House is considered certain to pass the bill, and the Senate equally certain, as usual, to let it die.

Ashurst Predicts Passage

Nevertheless, Chairman Ashurst of the Senate Judiciary Committee told The Post last night that he is enthusiastically in favor of the measure, a majority of his committee favors it and, he added, so does a majority of the Senate.

"If a vote is had, it will pass the Senate," he remarked.

Latest of a long series of anti-lynching bills, the Gavagan measure not only calls for fines for officers responsible for persons who are lynched but also holds that the "governmental subdivision" in which the lynching occurs shall be liable up to $10,000 for each person injured or killed.

In the 20-minute debate that preceded yesterday's vote on bringing the bill out of committee, the heights of ante-bellum oratory were touched by Representative Cox (Democrat), of Georgia, as he roared that the measure grows out of "a senseless, venomous, ignorant, unreasoning hostility that has existed in some quarters against the South for almost a century."

Thaddeus Stevens Invoked

Thaddeus Stevens, implacable leader of the radical reconstructionists in post-war days, "sank to the uttermost depths to which the arrogance of power may drag man," shouted Cox, "yet he never sought to do a meaner thing to the South, he never sought to outrage, to injure, to humiliate the South any more than it is proposed to do in this bill."

Joining Cox in the attack was Representative Clark (Democrat), of North Carolina, who protested against the "unfair" procedure involved in the discharge motion, and added that the lynching problem "is rapidly solving itself in the right way."

A conciliatory note was struck by Representative Martin J. Kennedy (Democrat), of New York, opening the speechmaking with the wish that the ensuing debate could be characterized by the same "feeling of good will" the Democrats expected at the Jackson Day dinners a few hours hence.

Fish Challenges President

If the bill is passed "lynching, the crime against democracy and tolerance, will be 'Gone With the Wind,'" said Kennedy, whose Manhattan district is not far from Gavagan's section of Harlem.

Representative Fish (Republican), of New York, co-sponsor of the measure, challenged his constituent, President Roosevelt, "to state where he stands on the anti-lynching bill and what he proposes to do to secure its passage in the Congress and help in establishing justice and domestic tranquillity in our own country."

The President, said Fish, "does not hesitate to express his views and pass moral judgments on European nations, but why is he so strangely silent on legislation aimed to provide for the security and safety of the lives of our own people?"

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL APPROVED BY HOUSE VOTE

Tribune

Measure Now Faces Senate Filibuster.

1-17-40

BY WILLARD EDWARDS.
[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Jan. 10.—With southern Democrats protesting to the last that the legislation is a vicious attack upon the south, the house today passed, 252 to 131, a bill aimed to discourage lynching.

The Democratic majority was divided in the final vote on the bill, 109 Democrats joining with 140 Republicans, two Progressives and one American Labor party member in approval of the measure. Opposed were 123 Democrats and 8 Republicans.

The measure was sent to the senate where two other similar house bills have expired previously because of filibusters, threatened or actual. This third act is expected to encounter the same fate.

Lynching is defined in the bill as violence by a mob [consisting of three or more persons] which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims thereof. The measure provides that the victim must be in the custody of a peace officer and suspected of, charged with, or convicted of some offense.

Labor Killings Included.

The measure originally carried a provision that lynching should not be deemed to include violence occurring during the course of picketing, boycotting or any incident in connection with a labor dispute. A fight led by Representative Clare E. Hoffman [R., Mich.] to eliminate this provision was victorious. It was knocked out of the bill by voice vote.

Representative William M. Colmer [D., Miss.] argued for an amendment extending provisions of the bill to gangland murders, but his motion was voted down, 105 to 53.

The Colmer amendment found the southerners making a last desperate stand against the bill.

"The crime of gang murders in the north ought to be recognized as reprehensible as lynchings in the south," declared Colmer. "There were only three lynchings in the south in 1939, while there were 272 gang murders in New York City alone."

Lynch Threat Revealed.

"There's a mob threatening a lynching in Mississippi this very minute," retorted Representative Joseph A. Gavagan [D., N. Y.].

"The state is protecting those two Negroes from lynching," interrupted Representative John E. Rankin [D., Miss.]. "The south doesn't need federal interference to cope with its own problems."

Representative William R. Poage [D., Tex.] warned that passage of the bill will only stimulate lynchings in the south. He asserted that sheriffs and peace officers will not take suspected persons into custody, thus avoiding provisions of the law.

"This is nothing but a renewal of a vicious attack upon the white people of the southern states," shouted Rankin. "It's a plot to injure President Roosevelt, who will face a political problem if this bill is laid upon his desk for his signature."

Counties Made Liable.

The bill provides federal prison penalties and fines for state or county officials found guilty of neglect of duty in protecting persons from lynching. They also would be subject to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, and to a fine not exceeding $5,000, for failure to prosecute members of a lynching mob.

The attorney general of the United States would be charged with the duty of investigating complaints against local peace officers and prosecuting them in federal courts.

Counties would be civilly liable for any lynching occurring within their limits. Dependents upon the victim of the mob would be empowered to sue for damages ranging from $2,000 to $10,000. The attorney general also would be called upon to prosecute this civil claim in the federal courts.

HOUSE HOT I LY ARGUES LYNCH BILL; PASSAGE FORECAST FOR TODAY

Southern Democrats In Senate Prepare, However, To

Pigeonhole Measure

1-10-40

LENGTHY HEARINGS NEAR

Connally Announces Committee Procedure

NEW YORKER JOINS FOES

Republican Wadsworth Contends Legislation Violates Constitution and Traditional Rights Of States

By International News Service

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Despite attacks on the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Republicans were set tonight to jam the measure through the House tomorrow and send it to the Senate.

Southern Senate Democrats, meanwhile, disclosed plans to pigeonhole the measure in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator Tom Connally (D., Texas), who led successful filibuster against the measure in 1935 and again in 1937 announced that "extensive hearins" would be necessary before the Judiciary Committee.

New Yorker Joins Foes

Representative Wadsworth (R., N. Y.), deserting the G. O. P. backers of the bill, denounced it as a "futile measure that can never be enforced; one that is a snare and a delusion, which will bring bitter disillusionment ultimately to multitudes of good people."

An advocate of state's rights, Mr. Wadsworth highlighted the desultory House debate by declaring the bill would give the Federal Government "power to destroy the Government of a county" and branded it as a "gigantic fraud."

"I do not believe," said Mr. Wadsworth, "that such a law could survive the light of day in a single court in this land unless the courts have reached the conclusion that there is no longer such a thing as a Federal Union of sovereign states under the Constitution of the United States."

Texan Opposes Bill

Chairman Sumners (D., Texas) of the Judiciary Committee, which refused to approve the measure, told the House the bill "violates fundamental natural laws underlying democracy."

Citing that there were only three lynchings in 1939, or one to every 43,000,000 persons in the Nation, Mr. Sumners said the local governments were stamping out mob rule.

Representative Mitchell (D., Ill.), only negro in Congress, called for passage of the bill to give the negro "the right to be tried in the courts like anyone else."

Labor "Mobs" Assailed

Representative Hoffman (R., Mich.) attacked a provision in the bill which would exempt officials from responsibility for deaths caused in labor disputes by mobs. Within the past few years, he said, more deaths had occurred in labor disputes than by lynchings. He said:

"It was not long ago—in fact it was in 1922—that 25 men were either hung, stabbed, shot to death or dragged behind automobiles until they were dead, by a labor organization which acted upon receipt of a telegram from John L. Lewis. Not a single individual was convicted in the state of Illinois for these wholesale murders."

SENATE AWAITING ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Telegraph

House-Approved Measure to Meet Grim Opposition From Southern Bloc

1-11-40

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10 (AP)—The house approved one of its perennial election-year favorites, the anti-lynching bill, today and sent it to the senate where an unyielding Southern filibuster was set to kill it.

The vote of 252 to 131 followed a discussion in which Representative Rankin (D-Miss.) asserted that the measure was "nothing but the renewal of a vicious attack upon the white people of the Southern states," coming not from the Republicans, he said, but from the Democrats.

All Southern efforts to amend the measure were crushed, under a massive voting combinatino of Republicans and Democrats from the North and West. The same fate met an effort by Representative Hoffman (R-Mich.), inveterate foe of the CIO, to attach provisions intended to restrict picketing.

One Change Accepted

The single change accepted was offered by the author of the measure, Representative Gavagan (D-N.Y.), who represents the district of which New York city's teeming Negro section, Harlem, is a part. He proposed the elimination of language making the bill inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance. Gavagan explained that the provision was unnecessary because the bill could not possibly be interpreted as applying to labor situations.

The bill—denounced by Southerners as impractical, unenforceable and unconstitutional and upheld by its supporters in the antonyms of those words—seeks to eliminate lynchings by imposing penalties on peace officers negligent in protecting their prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making the municipalities and counties liable for damages.

The principal interest and the most extended discussion centered upon an amendment by Representative Colmer (D-Miss.), which he called the "gangster amendment." This would have made the penalties apply to gang murders.

Gang Deaths High

Asserting that last year there were three lynchings in the entire United States and 272 murders in New York city, Colmer asked, "why should we worry with a mere detail, a mere bagatelle?"

Proponents of the measure replied that the proposal was intended to "load down the bill with so many amendments that it will sink."

Race riots in the North, Rankin said, have killed more Negroes "than have been killed in all the lynchings in the Southern states since the Civil war."

Representative Pace (D-Ga.), making it clear that he opposed the bill, offered an amendment to exempt from the penalties counties in which lynchings occur after the victim has been brought in by the mob from elsewhere. Proponents of the bil argued that such counties could not be held linble anyway and the amendment was defeated, 57 to 79.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6446

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL IS PASSED BY HOUSE

Vote for the Gavagan Measure, 252 to 131, Includes 109 Democratic Members

SENATE DEFEAT EXPECTED

1-11-40

Connally Is Ready for Usual Filibuster—Southern Group Sets Up States Rights

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10—The Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, after three days of attacks by Southern Representatives, was passed today by the House, 252 to 131, and sent to the Senate, where its opponents have threatened to filibuster if and when it is called up for consideration.

The House vote was as follows: 109 Democrats, 140 Republicans, 1 American Laborite and 2 Progressives voted for it; 123 Democrats and 8 Republicans opposed it.

The bill, the third of its kind passed by the House since 1922, would impose fines on county or State officials who were negligent in protecting persons within their custody and in allowing them to be seized by mobs and killed or injured. Federal courts would have jurisdiction to try suits against counties for damages to persons so injured, or to relatives of those killed, the maximum amount being $10,000.

The House, after passing the bill, struck out a provision exempting labor violence from the penalties. Representative Gavagan of New York, author of the bill, offered the motion by which this provision was stricken.

"Gang" Amendment Is Defeated

The House defeated, 105 to 53, an amendment by Representative Colmer of Mississippi which would have brought "gangs" under the definition of mobs, and made counties harboring gangs subject to the penalties prescribed in the case of lynchings.

Mr. Colmer said that there were 272 murders in New York City in one year attributed to gangs, and asked why go after the crime of lynching, of which there were three cases last year.

Mr. Colmer said he hoped that Mr. Gavagan would "not insist upon passage of his bill, because then the gentleman will have disposed of his most potent reason for continuing to sit here in this House."

Mr. Gavagan retorted that Mississippi troops were called out yesterday to protect two Negroes, whereupon Representative Rankin of Mississippi shouted that that was the best evidence that the South was, by education and the expenditure of taxpayers' funds, solving the situation.

Representative Poage of Texas asserted that if the bill ever became law, sheriffs who now did all possible to protect prisoners charged with crimes against women, would "look the other way" and not arrest suspects in order to escape the possibility of trial on charges of permitting a prisoner to be taken from his custody.

Rankin Charges "Politics"

Charges of politics, frequently made during the three-day debate, were repeated today. Mr. Rankin accused the Republicans of trying to embarrass President Roosevelt "by laying this bill on his doorstep."

"That's the greatest injury you could do him," he told his Democratic colleagues.

Mr. Rankin moved to strike out all after the enacting clause, which if adopted would have killed the bill, but his motion was defeated, 128 to 62.

The House also refused to accept an amendment by Representative Hoffman of Michigan, which would make the bill applicable to any one killed or injured by a mob, as well as those suspected of a crime and taken into custody and then lynched. The vote against it was 87 to 54.

"Why not protect innocent persons?" Mr. Hoffman argued.

The Southerners, who said the measure was aimed at their section, made their own fight in the knowledge that they would lose but looked to the Senate to see that the bill never would become law. Senator Connally of Texas, who led the filibuster two years ago against a similar bill, already has given notice that he would lead such a fight again if the bill was called up in the Senate.

Guardsmen on Duty in Mississippi

By The Associated Press.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 10—The House of Representatives unanimously adopted today a resolution disapproving the Anti-Lynching Bill as an invasion of State's rights.

The resolution was offered by Representative Louis Bullock of Prentiss, Jeff Davis County seat, where National Guardsmen were on duty yesterday during the arraignment of two Negroes charged with killing a white man.

Governor Hugh White expressed the belief yesterday that Northern Congressmen were backing the Anti-Lynching Bill "trying to get votes."

NATCHEZ, Miss., Jan. 10 (AP)—National Guardsmen were on duty in several areas today to thwart possible mob violence against Negroes.

The Natchez National Guard company was mobilized hastily last night when possemen reported they had surrounded a Negro, known as Texas Red, on a plantation nine miles south of here.

Three companies of guardsmen were ordered to Prentiss, Miss., yesterday by Governor Hugh White when two Negroes were arraigned on charges of killing a former marshal

ANTI-LYNCH BILL WILL BE DEBATED

New York Representative Says He Will Present Measure Next Monday

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 (AP)—The cue was given today for the first big legislative battle of the present congressional session when Representative Gavagan (D-NY) announced he would call up his anti-lynching bill next Monday.

Meanwhile, Southern opposition to the bill began crystallizing.

Representative Clark (D-NC), a member of the rules committee which failed to grant a rule at the last session for consideration of the measure, said he understood there would be "concerted Southern opposition this year.

"There probably will be a meeting of Southern membership before Monday," he said, adding, however, there had been no efforts to organize as far.

Asserting he anticipated no trouble in winning house approval of the controversial measure, Gavagan expressed confidence it could pass in the senate also, "if the Democratic processes of government are allowed to operate."

Filibuster Feared

Gavagan said proponents of anti-lynching legislation might attempt to invoked cloture if a filibuster threat were carried out. The senate usually invokes cloture only in extreme cases to shut off debate and block a filibuster.

"If this measure is permitted to come before the senate for a vote I believe it will pass," he said.

The bill would provide for fines for officials guilty of negligence in lynchings and make counties in which the crimes occur liable for damages up to $10,000.

A similar measure was passed by the house after furious debate two years ago, but was filibustered to death in the senate.

The New Yorker said he would call his measure up Monday for 20 minutes debate on the rule and that the real fight would open up Tuesday when proponents and opponents of the measure would divide six hours of debate.

Rep. John L. McMillan (D-SC) said he hated to see the bill called up.

"It will mean that this sesion of congress will get off with a bad taste in its mouth."

Senate Gets Lynch Bill From House

Northern And Western Democrats Taxed With Championing Measure

Passes 252 To 131

Appropriations Committee Lifts Bar Against Hike In Roosevelt's Budget

1-11-40

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—(AP)—The House approved one of its perennial election-year favorites, the anti-lynching bill, today and sent it to the Senate where an unyielding Southern filibuster was set to kill it.

The vote of 252 to 131 followed a discussion in which Representative Rankin (D), Mississippi, asserted that the measure was "nothing but the renewal of a vicious attack on the white people of the Southern States," coming not from the Republicans, he said, but from the Democrats.

All Southern efforts to amend the measure were crushed, under a massive voting combination of Republicans and Democrats from the North and West. The same fate met an effort by Representative Hoffman (R), Michigan, inveterate foe of the C. I. O., to attach provisions intended to restrict picketing.

One Change Voted

The single change accepted was offered by the author of the measure Representative Gavagan (D), New York, who represents the district of which New York City's teeming negro section, Harlem, is a part. He proposed the elimination of language making the bill inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance. Gavagan explained that the provision was unnecessary because the bill could not possibly be interpreted as applying to labor situations.

The bill—denounced by Southerners as impractical, unenforceable and unconstitutional and upheld by its supporters in the antonyms of those words—seeks to eliminate lynching by imposing penalties on peace officers negligent in protecting their prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making the municipalities and counties liable for damages.

The principal interest and the most extended discussion centered upon an amendment by Representative Colmer (D), Mississippi, which he called the "gangster amendment." This would have made the penalties apply to gang murders.

Asserting that last year there were three lynchings in the entire United States and 272 murders in New York City, Colmer asked, "Why should we worry with a mere detail, a mere bagatelle?"

Proponents of the measure replied that the proposal was intended to "load down the bill with so many amendments that it will sink."

Race Riots In North

Race riots in the North, Rankin said, have killed more negroes "than have been killed in all the lynchings in the Southern States since the Civil War."

Representative Pace (D), Georgia making it clear that he opposed the bill, offered an amendment to exempt from the penalties counties in which lynchings occur after the victim has been brought in by the mob from elsewhere. Proponents of the bill argued that such counties could not be held liable anyway and the amendment was defeated, 57 to 79.

Representative Hobbs (D), Alabama, asserted there were 700 lynchings in the North last year, but he added, "they don't call them lynchings unless they occur in the South."

He said only one 1939 Southern case, a Florida killing, could be properly termed a lynching.

But, Hobbs contended, in New York and Chicago, "where gangster rule dominates," lynching is on the increase. He said the Gavagan bill would not apply to gang killings.

Reviving the Anti-Lynching Bill

The third session of the Seventy-sixth congress hardly gets under way before Representative Gavagan, New Dealer, of New York, gives notice that he will call up his anti-lynching bill next Monday.

This means that another wedge will be driven between Southern Democrats and the New Deal party, with the possibility of a bitter fight in the senate in which a tedious and costly filibuster will develop.

Everybody realizes that this is just one more bid for the Negro vote of Harlem, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other such centers.

Senator Joe Guffey succeeded in winning the Negroes of Pittsburgh to the New Deal in 1936, but since then they have fallen away and this anti-lynching bill its expected to bring them back into the fold.

The iniquity of this bill is that it tends to intensify race antagonism at a time when public sentiment is rapidly crystallizing against lynching and the instances of mob violence have been reduced almost to the vanishing point.

Tuskegee Institute, over in Alabama, has been compiling statistics on lynchings for many years. It has just made public its latest report which shows that the number has dropped from 20 in 1935 to eight in 1936, eight in 1937, six in 1938 and only three last year.

Of these three, two were in Florida and one was in Mississippi. One victim was a white man and two were Negroes.

On the other hand, the report reveals that in 18 instances officers of the law prevented lynching and 17 of the cases were in the South. Right here in Macon a Negro, charged with an attempt at rape, was arrested in 40 minutes and in a few days was on his way to serve a 20-year sentence in the penitentiary.

Not one of the lynchings last year was for the crime of rape, which in years past has been the reason for the greatest number of lynchings, so it is evident that this element of violence is dying out.

But at a time when the number of Negroes lynched is down to two in a year this anti-lynching bill is to be revived. It provides that if a sheriff cannot show that he used all diligence in preventing a lynching the county in which it took place shall be fined 10 thousand dollars, to be paid to the surviving relatives of the victim.

It has often been pointed out that many persons, white and black, have been murdered by relatives for the sake of the insurance money, and it is more than likely that this anti-lynching bill would put a premium on lynchings instead of suppressing mob violence.

The sectional character of the bill is shown in the fact that if a labor mob jumps on a worker who refuses to join in a strike and beats him to death for asserting his right to work, that is not to be called a "lynching"—although the victim is just as dead from an unjustifiable attack as if he had been hanged to a limb in the South.

It is in the class with New Deal revival of a proposed child labor amendment to the constitution, when child labor has become a thing of the past.

There is no excuse for this anti-lynching bill and it should be killed.

Lynch Bill Insult to South, Angered Georgians Declare

Mitchell, Negro Member From Illinois, Accuses Republicans of Trying To Buy Votes With Measure Apparently To Be Passed by House Today

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.
Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—When general debate was continued today in the house on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, three Georgians, Representatives Tarver, Brown and Pace, vigorously assailed the measure as unconstitutional, and an "insult" to the south.

The house also heard its only negro member, Representative Mitchell, Democrat, Illinois, hotly charge the Republican party with "trying to buy back the negro vote" with the pending anti-lynching bill.

His accusation, in the midst of a quiet, almost perfunctory renewal of a controversy that recurs in every congress, started something. Several Republicans sought recognition to express their resentment and Representative Fish, Republican, New York, caustically inquired whether the negro vote was for sale.

Tarver Bitter.

"Every vote in the United States is for sale," Mitchell answered, "not for money, but for rights and justice."

Judge Tarver was especially bitter in his denunciation of the bill which, it is conceded on all sides, will pass by a comfortable majority when a final vote is taken tomorrow.

"The house of representatives," Representative Tarver said, "now engages in its biennial performance of allowing south-haters to vent their spleen upon that section of our country which has been outstanding in law enforcement, upon the assumption that to do so will redound to the benefit of politicians in other sections dependent for election either upon the negro vote or upon the raising of a pseudo-issue calculated to deceive at least a portion of the electorate."

Representative Brown asked his colleagues on both sides of the aisle whether the crime of lynching should be remedied by the United States government or by local government.

"If, as under this act," Mr. Brown declared, "the United States government says that three men can be punished for murder, then the United States government can say that one man can be punished for murder, it can punish another for exceeding the speed limit in a car, another for petty larceny, for gambling, and for all crimes upon the statute books."

Representative Page agreed with his Georgia colleagues that while lynching was a crime, it was the individual state's duty to punish that crime.

"This is a shameful procedure," Judge Tarver said.

Looks to Future.

"There is nothing to be accomplished except to place in the record the facts which demonstrate the unwisdom, the unconstitutionality, the vicious purpose of this proposed legislation, and then depend upon the good judgment of the American people to eventually appraise the issue correctly, and upon the stalwart patriotism of southern senators operating in another body where minorities are still effective to force postponement of final consideration."

Representative Brown insisted that if congress undertakes to set up federal supervision over state statutes applying to one particular crime (lynching), then congress can pass laws in the future providing for the supervision of any state statutes.

Representative Gavagan, Republican, New York, author of the bill, announced that he planned to eliminate a section specifically exempting killings in the course of labor disputes.

HIT EXEMPTION GIVEN GOONS IN LYNCHING BILL

Protest Stirred by Chicago Killing.

BY WILLARD EDWARDS.
[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Jan. 9.—The baseball bat slaying of a Chicago garage owner by labor goons figured largely in the house debate today over a bill to suppress lynchings in the United States.

Representative Clare E. Hoffman [R., Mich.], attacked the anti-lynching measure because it specifically exempts murders committed in connection with any labor dispute. Hoffman's criticism gained so much support that sponsors of the measure said they would move to amend the bill to eliminate the labor killing exemption.

The Michigan representative drew attention to the fatal assault last Dec. 28 upon Marinus Hyld, a garage owner, who died Dec. 30 of a beating with bats in the hands of labor goons.

"That killing is as revolting to decent citizens as any lynching of a Negro that ever occurred in the south," Hoffman told the house. "Yet this bill specifically exempts such a crime from federal prosecution."

Labor Sluggers Exempt.

The anti-lynching bill defines a lynching as violence by a mob [composed of three or more persons] which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims. Immediately following was a proviso that "lynching shall not be deemed to include violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any labor dispute."

"Why this exemption?" asked Hoffman. "The title of the measure informs us that the bill is to be passed to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every state due process of law and equal protection of the laws. If the government is to go into the business of prosecuting crimes of violence which the states seem to be unable to curb, why not extend the bill to include these labor murders which go unprosecuted?

"This bill does not even pretend to prevent a lynching of a white or a colored man under some circumstances. If a man, white or colored, be hanged by the neck until he is dead, this law does not provide punishment for those who failed to protect him or remedy for his dependents if a labor dispute to which he was a party was pending.

"So, if some one in the south or in the north wants to lynch a white man or a colored man all he needs to do to escape punishment under this act is to first create a labor dispute."

Author Seeks Elimination.

Representative Joseph A. Gavagan [D., N. Y.], author of the bill, announced that he would move to eliminate the proviso attacked by Hoffman, thus permitting killings, such as that of the Chicago garage owner, to come within the provisions of the legislation.

Hoffman went on to criticize another provision of the bill which provides that the person lynched must have been suspected of, charged with or convicted of a crime before the act shall apply.

"Why should the law be limited to persons under suspicion, charge or conviction of a crime?" he asked. "Let us not deny protection to the law-abiding who may be murdered in labor disputes without ever having been accused or suspected of any offense."

Futile, Says Wadsworth.

Representative James W. Wadsworth [R., N. Y.], termed the measure futile gesture.

"It is useless for a centralized power to turn its weapons against a local community and attempt to compel its citizens to good behavior," he said. "This futile measure never can be enforced."

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell [D., Ill.], only Negro congressman, made a plea for the bill and then accused Republicans of trying to buy the Negro vote with support of the bill. Representative Hamilton Fish [R., N. Y.], replied that he did not believe the Negro vote was for sale and said Republicans had supported the proposal for 20 years.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6447

Anderson, S. C., Mail
March 29, 1940

Floggings Boost Chance Of Anti-Lynching Bill

Passage Of Measure Is Seen As Blow At South—Political Legislation

By DR. R. F. KIRKPATRICK

Once again an anti-lynching bill has been reported favorably to the United States Senate; and now takes its place on the calendar of that body for such disposition as it may decide to make of it. It has already passed the lower house by an overwhelming majority, and it seems likely that it will now pass the Senate and become law. Of course there will be a long and bitter filibuster: Senator Bilbo of Mississippi is quoted as saying that if his "wind hold out" it will never pass, and Senator Tom Connally of Texas, who led the successful filibuster the last time such a measure was before the Senate, is all set for another; but it looks like a forlorn hope.

Out of approximately ninety Senators, it is said that there are only about sixteen, who are opposed to the bill, and it seems likely that this time, after the filibuster has gone on for awhile, the hitherto little used cloture rule of the Senate will be invoked. This rule provides that if a certain majority of the Senators signs a petition for the conclusion of debate, then debate must be brought to a close, and a vote taken. The Senate has heretofore been very slow to cut off debate, but this is election year, and this is a purely political measure, so it is thought there would be no difficulty in securing the necessary number of signatures. If it ever comes to a vote it will be overwhelmingly adopted, and the president will certainly sign it, and "that's that", as Mr. Farley said the other day.

A DEPRESSING SITUATION

It's a depressing situation, for there is nothing constructive about the measure; instead it is utterly reactionary, and what is worse entirely without excuse or justification. Really it is an amazing situation. To me the saddest part about it all is that it is inspired by resentment and hate. It has been brought forward by the Association for the Advancement of the Negro Race in North America to punish the Southern people for their irreconcilable, uncompromising attitude toward the Negroes. Now I freely admit that we white people have been and many of us still are wrong in our attitude toward our race problem; I know that oft times we have not been fair to the Negroes in our dealings with them; and we are still unfair and un-Christian at vital points in our approach; and I am deeply sorry; and if I could do anything about it I would gladly. But this not the way to correct the situation. Nothing that is conceived in hate ever does any good.

Indeed the heartbreaking thing about this anti-lynching measure is that it is going to make race relatonships worse and more difficult. Southern people are going to resent the insult that is implied in the measure, and rightly resent it. It will embitter our relationship with the rest of the country, and stir race feeling. It is tragic.

POLITICALLY INSPIRED

There is no excuse for the measure. Lynching has been a dark blot on the fair name of the South: in years past there have been as many as forty-five lynching in a year, every one of them a disgrace to us, but our people have taken hold of the situation vigorously, and we have reduced lynchings till last year there were only three, and one of them was a white man. Give us time and we will wipe out the thing completely, and very soon. There is no real reason for the law, but this national organization of Negroes insists that we must be humiliated, and they have threatened to turn Negro votes away from Senators who failed to support the measure. This is a real consideration, for there are many districts and states in the north where the Negro vote is a real factor if not decisive. So it has been counted good politics by every Congressman or Senator outside of the South to support the bill.

DRY ROT

There is no more melancholy evidence of the dry rot that has laid hold of the heart of American democracy than this cynical willingness on the part of the overwhelming majority of Congress to play polititics in this brazen fashion. It is particularly illuminating to see that northern Democrats are just as ready to sacrifice us on the altar of political expediency as are Republicans. There is in reality no longer a national democratic party, and for my part I would organize a southern party, and throw our support to whichever of the northern parties offered us the best deal. That may be cold blooded, but sentiment is getting us nowhere.

OURSELVES TO BLAME

As we face the probability that this anti-lynching bill will become a law there is little comfort in the thought that we have furnished the advocates of it additional pretext for pushing it. A Negro, who came to Washington recently to visit the Department of Justice, gave out a statement that hundreds of Negroes have been beaten in Georgia and South Carolina during recent months, and yet the Department of Justice had done nothing about it. Unfortunately there can be no doubt about the floggings, and the story has stirred the nation with indignation.

Our Klan boys may get a big kick out of their shrouded parades, and warning notes, and cross burning, but they are lending encouragement to hoodlums to engage in flogging people. And in every way they are bringing the national disfavor upon us, and furnishing the pretext for just such humiliating legislation as this anti-lynching measure. And unluckily we all pay for it.

Anniston, Ala. Star
March 31, 1940

Sullivan On Anti-Lynch Bill

One of the strongest indictments of the so-called anti-lynching bill to come to our attention lately is brought not by a Southerner but by a resident of the East who is a Republican in political faith and strongly critical of most New Deal policies. This person is none other than Mark Sullivan, the widely-known political writer, and his castigation of the measure appears in his copyrighted column in The New York Herald Tribune, which is, incidentally, the leading organ of the conservative wing of the Republican party in the East but permits its columnists to give free expression to their own opinions under their signatures.

Mr. Sullivan unreservedly brands the bill as a move to win the heavy Negro vote in the North and East—a fact already generally known and admitted by unbiased observers, of course, and declares that its passage by Congress would create dangers to the country far graver than those its sponsors profess to be desirous of removing. And in opposing it, he points out, in the first place, that there is no need for such a law, since the crime of lynching now virtually is non-existent in the United States, only three cases having been recorded in the entire country last year. "Can anyone think of a rarer crime?" he asks parenthetically in that connection, and adds that "it would be an interesting research."

However, rare as is the crime of mob murder, it still is not so rare as another crime, Mr. Sullivan reminds his readers, and that is the failure of a law enforcement officer to use due diligence in preventing lynching or in bringing to justice those known to be guilty of taking the law in their own hands. So far as he has been able to learn, he tells us, no case is on record of such negligence of duty on the part of a sheriff or other officer last year. At any rate, it is significant that he failed to find in the perusal of several score pages of the Congressional Record covering debate on the issue any allegation on the part of speakers that an officer was derelict in the performance of his duty in the three lynchings in 1939. And it would seem to be a safe assumption that if such evidence could have been found some proponent of the anti-lynching measure would have brought it forth for use in Congressional debate.

Albany, Ga. Herald
March 28, 1940

This Is My Personal Column

By H. T. M.

ANTILYNCHING BILL DANGERS

The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 10 to 3 Monday to approve the anti-lynching bill. Southern senators have announced that they will oppose with argument and by every available parliamentary stratagem the expected attempt to pass the bill. There are threats of a Senate cloture rule to limit debate and force a vote. It is a parliamentary device seldom resorted to, conservative senators being traditionally opposed to invoking it. But this is a campaign year. There are votes in Northern states which may be influenced by the attitude toward it of senators up for re-election.

This bill recalls the remark of a man who observed the mental ponderosity of a speaker who poured invective against a matter which clearly was of no importance. "He reminds me," said the observer, "of a pigmy wielding the club of Hercules to brain a gnat."

There are two or three lynchings a year in the entire South. A single labor riot in a Northern industrial district often causes more deaths than are attributed to Southern mobs in an entire year. And it is against the South alone that the antilynching bill is directed. Its backers admit it, and while they do not admit that its inspiration is purely political, every intelligent person knows that

it is. They seek a revolutionary law to deal with something that the South has already put down.

If this bill is forced through the Senate, a dangerous situation will be presented, and its menace will be to Negroes in the South. White men who respect and obey the laws will not be affected by it; they will continue to be sincerely interested in preserving friendly relations between the races who live together in this section.

But there is another white element in the South. Fulton County has had to deal with some of its representatives recently—night floggers, hood-wearers, men who convict and execute judgment without hint of due process of law. This is the element that might be expected to resent an antilynching law. Can't you hear them now?—"We'll show these long-nosed Yankees what we think of their meddling in our business. We'll give 'em a few samples of how we run things. We'll put on a few lynchings just to show 'em who's boss."

And the sad truth is that these avengers would bear none of the burden of a fine assessed under the antilynching bill against a county in which a lynching might occur. Such burdens fall on property owners—on responsible citizens. Rarely is a night-flogger or a mob member a substantial taxpayer.

Southern people know Southern conditions better than those who live in other sections of the country will ever know them. That is one of the reasons for the uncompromising opposition of Southern men in Congress to antilynching bills. They fear the consequences.

Lynching Before the Senate

THE federal Anti-Lynching Bill has again passed the House, 252 to 131. It passed last year, to be filibustered to pieces by Southern reactionaries in the Senate. Now it goes to the Senate again and nationwide pressure must be exerted immediately to prevent the Bourbon statesmen from ditching it.

A bristling series of anti-alien bills have an even better chance to get the immediate attention of the House and Senate. The Senate has followed the lead of the House in passing one of them, the Starnes bill, monument to the statesmanship of Alabama's Joe Starnes, distinguished wing-collar goon of the Dies committee. The bill passed the Senate with a mumbled hearing and accompanied by the declaration of Sen. Bob Reynolds, the tarheel fuehrer, that America "coddles and pampers aliens." This phenomenally unconstitutional legislation proposes the ousting of all aliens who "admit in writing" to un-American practices. No statute of limitations affects the "crime," no jury or judge is provided for the case, and the lowest estimate of the number of people who could be deported under this shameful bill is two million.

SENATORS TO SPEAK OVER NBC NETWORK

Wagner, Neely and Capper To Urge Passage of Federal Measure

WASHINGTON. —A nationwide broadcast urging passage of the federal anti-lynching bill will be made Monday, April 29, by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York, Mathew M. Neely of Virginia and Arthur Capper of Kansas.

The broadcast has been arranged through the National Broadcasting company over its Blue network from 8:30 to 9 p. m., central standard time.

Three to Speak

The three senators who are staunch supporters of the bill, will insist that it be taken up before Congress adjourns and that it be given a chance to be voted on on its merits. They will denounce in advance any attempt at a filibuster. It is their contention that the filibuster is undemocratic because it permits a very small minority of the Senate to block the will of the majority, not only of the Senate, but of the American public. It is expected that they will advocate the imposition of cloture (limitation of debate) in the event a filibuster should develop.

Issues Statement

In connection with the radio broadcast on April 29, Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, issued a statement urging branches of the N.A.A.C.P. thrughout the country and other groups and organizations to organize neighborhood listening parties and that immediately after the broadcast, listeners write or telegraph individually to Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Senator Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking him to set a definite date for the taking up of the anti-lynching bill.

Listeners also are asked to write or telegraph the senators from their states urging them to help bring the bill to a vote, to vote for it, and to oppose any filibuster.

Listeners also aer asked to write to President Roosevelt asking him to make a statement on the bill.

Every organization and agency interested in this legislation is requested to send out information on the broadcast and to urge its members to write senators and the President to get the bill taken up at this session.

LETTER ASKING FACTS IGNORED

Majority Leader In Senate Seen Sidestepping Important Issue

WASHINGTON—Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader of the Senate, continues to remain deaf to requests that he make some statement on what action the Senate will take on the federal anti-lynching bill, it became known this week when it was revealed that he had not responded to a letter from the N.A.A.C.P. dated April 2, asking him to indicate when the bill will be taken up. His silence has encouraged newspaper and radio commentators to state that the anti-lynching bill will be sidetracked in the Senate.

The secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. wrote Senator Barkley again April 18 communicating to him the concern of church and labor groups, and especially the concern of Negro Americans, over the treatment which has been accorded the anti-lynching bill.

The N.A.A.C.P. has been advised that a number of senators, while wholly in favor of the bill and pledged to vote for it, do not wish to have a nasty racial fight on the floor of the Senate, and for that reason are not insisting that the bill be brought up.

"Only one circumstance can secure action," the N.A.A.C.P. statement said, "and that is expression from the people back home to their senators demanding that the bill be brought up for a vote. Letters should be sent to Senator Barkley as majority leader at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and to the senators from each state. The time is short and the most powerful weapon is pressure from the voters in the states."

NBC NETWORK TO CARRY TALKS ON ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Three Senators Will Make Legislation Plea April 29

A nation-wide broadcast urging passage of the federal anti-lynching bill will be made Monday, April 29, by Senators Robert F. Wagner, of New York, Mathew M. Neely of Virginia, and Arthur Capper of Kansas, it was announced here this week.

The broadcast has been arranged through the National Broadcasting Company over its blue network from 10:30 to 11 p.m. eastern daylight saving time.

The three Senators, who are staunch supporters of the bill, will insist that it be taken up before Congress adjourns and that it be given a chance to be voted on, on its merits. They will denounce in advance any attempt at a filibuster.

It is their contention that the filibuster is undemocratic because it permits a very small minority of the Senate to block the will of the majority, not only of the Senate, but the American public. It is expected that they will advocate the imposition of cloture (limitation of debate) in the event a filibuster should develop.

Must Write Barkley

In connection with the radio broadcast on April 29, Walter White, NAACP secretary, issued a statement urging branches of the NAACP throughout the country and other groups and organizations to organize neighborhood listening parties and that immediately after the broadcast, listeners write or telegraph individually to Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking him to set a definite date for the taking up of the anti-lynching bill.

Listeners also are urged to write or telegraph the Senators from their States urging them to help bring the bill to a vote, to vote for it, and to oppose any filibuster.

Listeners also are asked to write to President Roosevelt asking him to make a statement on the bill.

Every organization and agency interested in this legislation is requested to send out information on the broadcast and to urge its members to write Senators and the President to get the bill taken up at this session.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6448

WEAR ANTI-LYNCHING BUTTONS UNTIL BILL IS PASSED, SAYS N. A. A. C. P.

Call 4-3-40

NEW YORK.—"Wear Your Anti-Lynching Button Until the Bill is Passed," will be the slogan of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People until the federal anti-lynching bill passes in the senate.

Kansas City, Kansas

This was the statement issued by officials of the organization as they praised the courage of a young association member who was recently arrested in Arkansas, for selling anti-lynching buttons. Police officers after beating the youngster, confiscated his supply of buttons.

Opinion Varies On Fate Of Anti-Lynching Bill

Daily Worker 4-5-40

WASHINGTON, April 5—Opinion as to the possible fate of the federal anti-lynching bill which was favorably reported to the floor of the Senate by the judiciary committee differs greatly among the various students of senatorial reaction to this type of legislation.

There is high optimism in some cirlces as to the chances of the bill's passage. These persons discount entirely the threatened filibusters of certain southern legislators on the ground that the rule of cloture will be enforced because some senators facing the ordeal of a re-election campaign must hurry home and begin their drive for votes.

This of course would mean that the bill would be brought to an early vote and it has been generally predicted as a result of polls taken on the attitude of senators, that if the measure reaches a vote it will pass.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, officially clings to a modification of this high optimism.

It feels, according to statements issued by official spokesmen that there will definitely be a filibuster. This filibuster, however, will in the first place be a play to the grandstand. The senators of the class are more interested in impressing their constituency with their opposition to the measure than they are in earnestly killing the bill.

Spporters of the bill were urged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to take the following steps:

1. Write Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senate Office building, Washington, D. C., urging him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be considered.

2. Write to senators from their states urging them to work to bring the anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for it; also urge them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop against the bill.

3. Get as many individuals and organizations as possible to write senators urging that the anti-lynching bill be passed. Form letters, form telegrams, and printed post cards are not very effective. Letters should be individually written to have the most weight.

The N.A.A.C.P. also has issued an appeal for funds to help carry on the fight, pointing out that the bill now has the best chance of passing in the long history of the fight for this type of legislation.

Another basis for the optimism of the N.A.A.C.P. is their belief that many others from border states, in an effort to gain the vote of Race members and of liberal whites will remain silent and offer no opposition to the bill's passage, while at the same time doing nothing that might be construed as favoring federal anti-lynching legislation.

Urges Petitions

Another factor upon which the N.A.A.C.P. is basing its belief that the bill will pass, is the support given the measure by the general public. Toward this end, the association is strongly urging individuals and organizations to petition their senators with letters, telegrams and post cards to vote for the bill's passage.

It is believed that if sufficient public support can be demonstrated in this measure it will be reflected in the attitude of the lawmakers.

Fear Connally

On the other hand, the pessimists claim to know that Tom Connally, of Texas; Key Pittman of Nevada and "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky are men of great lung capacity and can talk and talk without end.

These men, well known for their long-windedness, are all conscientious opponents of the measure. One man, once he gets the floor can talk any measure to death. In the case of the anti-lynching bill, there are three verbose men any one of whom or all three of whom in relays could easily doom the bill.

Harlem Rally Hears Davis on Anti-Lynch Bill

Calls Upon Audience to Flood Congress with Demand for Passage

Daily Worker 4-11-40

A packed meeting of Negro and Puerto Rican citizens at Puerto Rican Hall, 2[illegible] Eighth Ave., demanded last night the immediate passage of the Federal anti-lynching bill and freedom for the five framed Scottsboro boys.

Speaking for the enactment of the bill, Ben Davis, Jr., member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker, who scathingly exposed the filibuster plans of the lynchers before the Senate Sub-Committee, urged the audience to flood the Committee with telegrams and resolutions demanding that the bill be brought on the floor for action.

He pointed to the undemocratic tactics of Senator Barkely who is secretly trying to keep the bill off the floor until the next session of Congress, as cause for alarm and renewed activity on the part of the people.

MOORE SPEAKS

Richard B. Moore, outstanding Negro orator and active at the very beginning of the fight to free the Scottsboro boys, called for an intensified fight to free the five boys still in prison after nine years of brutal torture. He said the Scottsboro case is still symbolic of the oppression of the Negro people and that the fight for the passage of the anti-lynching bill and the completion of the Scottsboro fight, are focal points in the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people.

Speaking on the same program was Jose Santiago, prominent fighter for Puerto Rican independence and against the oppressive yoke of Yankee imperialism.

Telegrams were sent from the meeting to the Governor of Alabama, the Alabama State Board of Paroles and Pardons, demanding freedom of the Scottsboro boys and to the Senate Committee urging favorable action on the anti-lynching bill.

Wm. Monroe Trotter

Editor and Publisher

1901 - 1934

THE ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Secretary Walter White's anxiety over the anti-lynching bill is understandable. After what seemed to be an unreasonably long delay in the Senate judiciary committee the measure finally was voted out late last month. Since then all efforts through the usual channels to bring the bill to the floor of the Senate have failed. Since last November, according to NAACP records, Senator Alben W. Barkley, the majority leader, has refused to commit himself on the anti-lynching bill or to hold a conference to discuss the legislation either with the NAACP or with Senator Robert F. Wagner, one of the sponsors of the bill. Moreover, the Senate majority leader so far has not set any date when the bill will be brought up in the Senate for debate and action although the bill is now on the Senate calendar. Of this apparent indifference Secretary White pointedly complains in a recent letter to Senator Barkley: "When I have sought to assure them (inquirers) that there are Senators on both sides of the aisle who are sincere in their support of the bill I have been asked what definite assurances I have from you as majority leader that every possible effort will be made to obtain a vote at this session of the Congress. Obviously, I am unable to answer this question. I have had to tell inquirers that though I have been trying since last November to talk with you, I have not succeeded, nor has Senator Wagner been successful in arranging a conference or getting any commitment from you.

"Recent revelations of lynchings and other acts of violence as for example, in and near Atlanta, Georgia, where a white barber was flogged to death by a mob and 30 or more other men and women, white and colored, were beaten, cause people to wonder why the Senate does not act. It is generally believed that the stage is being set for another opera bouffe performance and another abject surrender to a filibuster. And we have absolutely no evidence that this is not the case." From the foregoing it becomes clear that the bill, happily liberated the last from the tortuous procedure of the Senate Judiciary committee, immediately thereafter encountered another net of untoward designs in which it may be permitted to die a quiet death.

The dilatory tactic continues to work well; and as this is an election year wtih Congress already talking of adjournment by June in anticipation of battles on the forty-eight fronts, opponents of the bill and perhaps some of its "supporters" will no doubt prefer that the bill remain hidden rather than brought to the floor of the Senate for debate to be followed by the noise, bluster and embarrassment of the filibuster that awaits it. Nevertheless, it is precisely because this is an election year and Congress is bent on early adjournment, heavier pressure than ever must be marshalled to force the Senate to act on the anti-lynching bill. Supporters of the bill should at once

1) Write Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., urging him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be considered.

2) Write to senators from their states urging them to work to bring anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for it; also urge them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop against the bill.

3) Get as many individuals and organizations as possible to write senators urging that the anti-lynching bill be passed. Form letters, form tele-

grams, and printed post cards are not very effective. Letters should be individually written to have the most weight.

Word has been received from our Massachusetts senators. Senator Lodge is listed as non-committal, Senaory Walsh's reply was unequivocally favorable. Senator Walsh wrote: "I will, of course, vote for cloture on the anti-lynching bill, for I feel that this measure has already been pending too long in the Senate without permitting a vote on its merits."

Dewey States Vews On Anti-Lynching Bill

Clarendale 4-12-40

NEW YORK CITY. — The position of Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for President, on anti-lynching legislation is contained in a letter he wrote to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last year. In it he declared, addressing Mr. Walter White, secretary of the Association:

Kansas City, Kansas

"Your determined campaign to end lynching would aid our government in fulfilling its obligation to secure to all citizens the right to life."

The same letter contains Mr. Dewey's stand on the color issue in American life.

"Your efforts . ." he wrote to Mr. White, "to effect those changes in our social and economic organization which will ultimately bring about true racial equality will lessen the constant need for special legislation and obviate the necessity for creating by statute a special category for those of different color or race."

An even more definite and fearless stand on the Negro was taken by Mr. Dewey during March of this year when he was interviewed in Washington. Asked to comment on his stand in reference to segregation in Washington he asserted:

"I have no fear of Washington prejudice and I would not abandon my policy of making appointments regardless of race, creed or color if elected to the Presidency. The world is growing more open minded and the intolerant man is eventually destroyed by his own intolerance."

In the same interview Mr. Dewey added:

"When I took office as special prosecutor (in New York) colored people had been used from time to time, but had been called deputy assistants. But I found no reason to use these petty subterfuges as long as they could do the work."

Fight For Passage Continues

Solon Resents Being Forced Into Open

Daily Worker

NEW YORK—(SNS)—The fight to pass the federal anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress is receiving the mass support of large sections of the American people "white as well as colored" whose "resentment is steadily growing at the apparent complete failure of the Senate leadership to initiate or even contemplate the initiation of any determined effort to secure action" on this bill.

4-30-40

This was the sentiment expressed by Walter White, executive secretary of the Natinal Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a sharp letter to Senate Majority Leader, Albon W. Barkley, (D), of Kentucky, and made public by the NAACP today.

In making the letter public Mr. White said: "We are putting the issue squarely up to the Democratic leadership of congress to affirm our charges of inaction and attempts to scuttle the bill or demonstrate its sincerity by passing this legislation."

BARKLEY CHALLENGED

White challenged the Senator Barkley to prove that he has lifted a finger to call up the anti-lynching bill or made any real effort to discuss ways and means of pushing the bill either with the Senate sponsors of the measure, or with the NAACP, which is leading the fight to get it passed.

The statement was a reply to charges made by Senator Barkley in a letter dated April 22, and also made public by the NAACP today, that the NAACP secretary had "resorted to tactics utterly contemptible" and had made "untruthful" statements in describing in a previous letter, the senate leader's failure to support the bill.

Barkley also accused the NAACP of arousing his constituents through the Louisville DEFENDER, a Negro weekly paper, in an effort to "build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation."

Answering the Kentucky Senator by giving a play-by-play description from the record of the NAACP's efforts to get him to act during the period from the end of October, 1939 to the present, White said.

"Through our weekly press service, through communications to branches of this association and to church, labor and other organizations who are working for enactment of the anti-lynching bill, we keep those interested supplied with the week-to-week progress of this and other legislation. If supplying this information is to be interpreted by you as an attempt to 'build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation' then we can do nothing to prevent your harboring any such belief."

Pointing our that Senator Barkley's letter "echoes the same defeatism" of those in the Congress majority who have allowed the filibusterers to proceed with their evil designs without exercising the slightest determination to put up any effective resistance," the NAACP secretary declared, "you admit in your letter of April 22 that you are unable, at this late date in the session, to give us any information as to when the anti-lynching bill will be taken up in the Senate."

Lashing out at the disgraceful lack of fighting leadership in the senate that could rally the majority opinion in that body for the bill if it would do so, White warned the majority leader that "the criticism a great many of us, who see mob violence becoming an increasing menace to the preservation of democratic government in our country, is that those responsible for the handling of this legislation do not manifest the moral courage to oppose the brazen tactics of the minority which is fighting this bill."

Federal And State Police Seek Clues In Cal. Mystery

Defender 3-31-40
Chicago, Ill.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., March 29—After 23 days of intensive search by representatives of every law-enforcing agency in the state, including representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, little nine-year-old Dorothy Gordon, victim of a white kidnapper, was reported still missing Tuesday of this week.

Significant of the wide-spread interest in the case was the disclosure that Gov. Culbert L. Olson on Friday issued a proclamation setting aside from the state treasury $1,000 to be offered as a reward for information leading to the finding of the child or the capture of her seducer.

This money from the state coupled with that already contributed by numerous civic-minded individuals and organizations brings the total of cash rewards offered for breaking the case to well over $5,000.

The latest step taken towards locating the missing child and finding the moron responsible for her abduction, was the delegating of the Goodyear blimp to aid in scanning isolated areas and hidden recesses along the Los Angeles river bed, areas inaccessible to searching parties in autos.

The blimp will collaborate with a squadron of planes under Capt. Claude Morgan, of the sheriff's office. This aerial branch of the investigation was equipped with powerful binoculars and ordered to fly low over all wooded and mountainous areas and report by wireless to coordinating searching parties on the ground, in an effort to locate the missing girl.

The most recent of important "tips" reaching police authorities was that supplied Saturday by Mrs. Eva Anglin, Mrs. Christine Conley and Miss Mae Silver who said that while awaiting a street car at Avenue 20 and North Main street on the day following the kidnapping they observed an automobile such as purportedly used by the abductor.

According to the women, the auto, a coupe bearing the license number 7X438—1939 contained a blond-haired white man and a small girl. The latter appeared to have been crying. Just as the car passed them the man pushed the child in a threatening manner as though cautioning her to remain quiet, the women said.

"Our attention was particularly attracted because the child appeared to be a Negro," the women told police.

One of the numerous "tips" which went astray of the Gordon case was one which inadvertently led to disclosure of a similar situation in which a white music teacher had been frustrated in an attempted attack upon a 10-year-old pupil by the timely appearance of the girl's brother.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6449

Mobile, Ala. Press
March 18, 1940

THE POLITICAL MOTIVES BEHIND ANTILYNCH BILL WILL KILL IT

The fact that the Wagner anti-lynching bill is given only the slightest chance of passing the Senate is gratifying to those who abhor the ulterior motives of those supporting such a sectional proposal.

Political expediency—the balance of power held by the colored vote in a few Eastern and Midwestern states—is the only motive behind the proposed legislation. Try as they may, proponents of the bill have been unable to offer a single sound, unselfish reason for the measure's passage.

Aside from the fact that they are unable to support their own proposal in a logical and convincing manner, supporters of the bill cannot even intelligently answer objections of its opponents. The objections most frequently propounded are invasion of state sovereignty and that there is no necessity for the proposal's enactment.

Although the constitutional question might be argued indefinitely, the latter objection is hardly open to question. Since there were only three lynchings in 1939, it has been evidently established that state and local law enforcement officers are capable of handling mob violence without interference of the federal government.

Southerners, fortunately, are not the only ones who realize there is no necessity for the anti-lynching bill and that its underlying motives are as transparent as glass. Otherwise, the measure might be forced down our throats by those who would again stir up sectionalism in an effort to strengthen their own political fences.

The bill appears doomed in the Senate, however. The sooner its comparative few supporters realize this, the quicker can the Senate consider more important and necessary legislation.

Lumpkin, Ga., Stewart-Webster Jnl.
March 14, 1940

Anti-Lynching Bill Given Approval

A senate judiciary sub-committee approved the controversal anti-lynching bill Wednesday in Washington, 5 to 1.

Chairman Van Nuye, Democrat of Indiana, said the report would be made to the full judiciary committee Monday. He predicted that the bill would be reported favorably to the senate a week later.

Senator Conally, Democrat from Texas, who cast the lone dissenting vote in the subcommittee, conceded that the measure would reach the senate calendar but said senators from Southern states would "resist its passage with all the endurance and fortitude of which they are capable."

The bill, which has been beaten several times by senate filibusters, already has passed the house.

It would make it a felony for a state or local peace officer to fail to use "all diligent efforts" to protect an arrested person from a lynch mob. Three or more persons would constitute a mob.

In addition, the political sub-division in which a lynching occurred would be liable for civil damages up to $10,000 to a lynch victim or to his next of kin if he was fatally injured.

Sub-committee members who voted for the bill in person or by proxy were Van Nuys, McCarran, Democrat from Nevada; Neely, Democrat, West Virginia; Austin, Republican, Vermont, and Wiley, Republican, Wisconsin.

Cordele Ga. Dispatch
March 15, 1940

The Most Potent Argument Against The Anti-Lynch Bill

Yesterday a big, black Communist delivered the most potent argument against the current anti-lynch bill which is engaging the attention of the Congress.

Crashing the gates of the judiciary subcommittee which was conducting a hearing on the bill, a New York Negro Communist, who'll answer in hell to the name of Benjamin Davis assailed southern Senators, the South, vice-president Garner and the members of the committee in an idiotic tirade. In doing so he probably dealt a death blow to hopes of ever getting the heinous legislation which he favored on the law books of the land. By showing the type of people, the mentality, and the social element which favors passage of the bill he made it increasingly plain that the anti-lynch measure is a smelly bit of hypocrisy, spawned of Communism and hatred.

In reality, the South owes a debt of gratitude to this offensive black ape. He has made it clear to us, and we believe to the Congress, that this particular piece of legislation is one which should never go further than the first committee which considers it. He has made it clear that it is just another example of Communist machinations for stirring up trouble and fomenting civil strife and disorder. In branding the vice-president of the United States an "evil old labor-baiter" and southern senators as "stooges" he showed once again what the Communist methods are.

The fact that Earl Browder, a convicted felon, and his party members who are broadly speaking made up of malcontents and trouble-brewers (to be as charitable of these gentry as possible) are in the forefront of those who favor anti-lynch legislation is enough to turn even the stomachs of our hardened Yankee friends. It is enough to make even those who have been most outspoken in their desire to utterly stamp out lynchings think twice before they align themselves behind the toters of the red flag of Communism.

Lynching's Enemy

BY a 5-1 vote, the Senate sub-committee in charge of the Wagner-Van Nuys Antilynching Bill, reported out the measure to the Senate judiciary committee last week.

Future action upon the bill depends upon the support it will receive from those in favor of federal legislation on this score.

Regardless of the outcome, a reminder is timely that lynching has its source in ignorance and hate. Therefore, concentrated educational attacks should also be made upon illiteracy, superstition, and vice.

Past records show the intimate connection which exists between mobs and other kinds of violent and subversive actions. The Ku Klux Klan and the once powerful Black Legion are examples. Disrespect for the law is a contagion which knows no sectional or racial bounds.

When the security of any group is destroyed the security of all other groups is correspondingly lessened. Whether the action takes the line of race, or religious, or class hatred, the same passions are set in motion. Education is a potent force which can be used in the elimination of the lynching evil.

White Sees Senate Committee Report Favorable To Passage Of Anti-Lynching Legislation

The first hurdle on the road to getting the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill to the floor of the Senate was passed Wednesday, March 13, when the Senate Judiciary sub-committee reported the bill out favorably, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said Friday.

There is every indication that the bill will be reported out favorably by the full Senate, Judiciary Committee on Monday, March 18, according Walter White, executive secretary of the Association.

Mr. White made the statement while commenting on the final hearings held on the bill by the Senate Judiciary sub-committee March 12 and 13. Within a few minutes after the close of the hearings the sub-committee brought in a report showing a 5 to 1 vote in favor of the bill. Senator Connally of Texas was the only dissenter.

Shortly after the hearings closed Mr. White had a conference with Senator Henry F. Ashurst, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in whose hands the bill now is placed. Senator Ashrust pledged full support for the bill, and gave definite assurance that it would be reported out favorably when the full committee meets on Monday.

Members of the Senate sub-committee who voted for the bill were: Frederick Van Nuys, (D), Indiana, chairman of the committee; Matthew M. Neely, (D), West Virginia; Warren R. Austin, (R), Vermont; Alexander Wiley, (R), Wisconsin, and Pat McCarran, (D), Nevada.

The Assistant Attorney General of Tennessee and an elderly white lawyer named Hardison from Kentucky, testified against the bill on the first day, as witnesses for Senator Connally.

On Wednesday, March 13, the last day of hearings, Connally himself testified. He placed into the record two letters from Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, president of the Southern Women's Association for the Prevention of Lynching, and a letter from a white Texas which attempted to minimize the importance of the testimony given by the Rev. Gresham Marmion, assistant rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Albans, Washington, D. C. The Rev. Mr. Marmion, a native of Texas, had testified for the bill at the first hearing held on February 7. He told how he had unsuccessfully attempted to stop a mob from lynching two Negro youths in Eagle Lake, Texas, in 1935.

Obvious chagrin and annoyance were shown by Connally, when one of his witnesses Attorney Hardison, interrupted the Senator to add to his previous testimony. The lawyer stated that a Sycamore tree stood in his native home town in Kentucky, mute testimony to the lynching of ten men, all of whom were white. Apparently the witness did not realize that this piece of testimony gave support for passage of the bill.

Connally also placed into the record a press release from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urging citizens to bring pressure on their senators to vote for cloture in order to prevent a filibuster when the bill come out on the Senate floor for a vote.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
March 27, 1940

The Anti-Lynching Bill

That politically inspired bill, the anti-lynching measure, is again scheduled for disposal by the United States senate. Once again it is probable that it will be the signal for a filibuster, as opponents of the measure resort to every possible means to block its passage.

The bill is, on its face, undesirable. It provides what might well develop into an incentive for the provocation of mob outrage and violates, perhaps more drastically than any other legislative proposal, the rights of the states to police their own internal affairs.

It is so palpably designed primarily as a vote-catcher for office holders of northern constituencies which include heavy blocks of Negro votes, that it cannot be supported on grounds of need without the most barefaced ignoring of its import and probable effect. Yet even the Negroes whose votes it is designed to capture have been deceived by its publicized purpose. The great mass of support is based upon this misleading publicity, rather than upon the actual provisions of the bill itself and the probable result if its enforcement is ever attempted.

It must be confessed, however, that the bill today stands a better chance of passage than ever before. And it is with shame the south must confess it is from the south has come the material to support the proponents of this dangerous bill.

The records of lynching, carefully kept by the famous Negro institution, Tuskegee Institute, of Alabama, reveal that the crime of lynching has almost disappeared under the force of public disgust. In 1939 there were but three lynchings in the entire country and there is every reason to believe that, if this bill is not passed, this mob blot upon the fair fame of the nation will have been eradicated.

Yet, from Georgia and from Fulton county there has come, in recent weeks, the news of outrages which themselves are neither more nor less than the criminal activities of the lyncher spirit.

The fatal flogging of Ike Gaston, that East Point barber, was nothing more nor less than a lynching. Every instance of flogging, now being disclosed before the grand jury, is one more instance of lynch law in practice. Every incident in which secret bands of men seek to take into their own hands the enforcement of law, either by "warning," by intimidation or by physical duress, is an outbreak of the same mob motivation that is behind every case of lynching.

It is but further fuel for the flames of the anti-lynch law advocates when sworn officers of the law condone flogging activities or fail to exert every effort to apprehend the guilty criminals.

It is the duty of every citizen to aid in every way possible in the enforcement of the law. It is a failure of that duty when any citizen attempts to defend or apologize for such outrages as the South Fulton floggings, or to excuse those responsible for conditions which make them possible.

And every such outrage, every such apologist for it, but plays into the hands of the anti-lynch law advocates who would legislate into the national statutes an insult to the south and a piece of deceptive, vote-catching pap for the voters of Harlem.

6450

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Bishopville, S. C., Messenger
January 18, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL PASSES HOUSE

The Gavagan anti-lynching bill which was introduced into the lower house of the national legislature, was on January 10 passed by a vote of 251 to 132, thus getting a good majority but leaving a respectable minority. The bulk of the voting against the bill was done by Southern members of the house. The passed bill goes to the upper house for its approval or disapproval. It is thought by many that it will die some kind of death in the senate. The Southern members are solid behind a movement to defeat the bill and will likely kill it through the filibuster route, if no other good way is found.

It is no doubt a peanut-politics movement. The Democratic party has taken over the negro vote, purchasing it in some way. This was done not when Grover Cleveland became president. It was done not when Woodrow Wilson was put in the White House. Up to that time such a thing as truckling to the negro vote, and for a price buying it, was scorned by the party, but now this anti-lynch bill has passed by, not a Republican house, but a large Democratic house. It has passed a Democratic house while a Democratic president with a strong pull with that same house is in the White House. So we Democrats cannot say the anti-lynch bill was thrust on the South by a Republican party, the strength of which is in the North. We as Democrats will have to admit, and with shame, that it is the work of our party, the Democratic party, of which the South furnishes biggest part of the brains and brawn. The bill is from the brain of a Northern Democrat and not a Republican member of the house. It was championed by a negro, a Democrat, the only one, a member of the house, who accused the Republican party of attempting to "buy back" the negro vote. The same negro congressman in the same speech said that all votes were for sale. He, in so many words, admits that the negro vote, being purchasable, was acquired by and became the property of the Democratic party, by purchase and it is freely admitted, especially in the South, that a part of the purchase price is the anti-lynch bill which negro leaders of the North and Northern Democrats, many of them as proved by their votes, together with a few Republicans, hope to make law.

So looking at the matter in an unbiased and unprejudiced way, we, especially Southern Democrats, must admit the bill is born of

Connally Keeps Up Opposition To Lynch Bill

The Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga
2-9-40

WASHINGTON —(SNS)—Senator Connally, Democrat, of Texas, avowed leading opponent of the proposed federal anti-lynching bill upon which hearings are being held by a senate subcommittee, continued to assert his position Thursday, protesting demonstrations by spectators who resented his slurs on those the measure would aid most.

At one demonstration, Connally protested that "It looks like the committee is going to be lynched." Most of the demonstrators were colored Americans in the audience of the subcommittee room.

WHITE MAKES CHARGE

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, presented many facts in favor of passage of the anti-lynching measure, charging some members of congress, especially southerners, with using vitriolic attacks on legislation "like this" to gain re-election.

The "gentleman from Texas" challenged the testimony of R. R. Grovey, barber shop proprietor in Houston, Texas, that colored Texans were denied the right to vote in the Lone Star state. The senator said that colored voters participated in all elections except the Democratic primary. What elections they actually participate in to any avail wasn't explained by the Texan.

RIVERS FAILED TO TESTIFY

Governor Rivers of Georgia, failed to testify in opposition to the anti-lynching bill, although Chairman Van Nuys, Democrat, Indiana, said the governor had been scheduled to testify Tuesday and Wednesday. Urgent business was given as the reason the Georgia governor failed to testify.

Connally said he hoped the Georgia governor would return for hearings later as he had a number of cases where lynchings were prevented in Georgia and that he ((Connally) wanted him to tell "this committee" about them.

Hurled back and forth before the senate subcommittee Thursday were numerous charges of election year "political pressure" over anti-lynching legislation. It was contended that the northern representatives were working for passage of the measure because of pressure from their colored voters back home while southern representatives were working against it because of their white voters "down in the states."

SENATE HEARING ON LYNCH BILL

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Hearings on the federal anti-lynching bill which passed the House Jan. 10 will begin before a Senate sub-committee of the judiciary on Feb. 6. The following senators will make up the subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee:

Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana chairman; Matthew M. Neeley West Virginia, Alexander Wiley Wisconsin, Tom Connally, Texas and Warren Austin, Vermont.

Connally Demands Hearings

Although the facts about lynching are well-known and sponsors of the bill felt it would be a waste of time to hold hearings, Senator Connally of Texas demanded hearings on the bill Connally says he is going to ask for an appropriation from the Senate to bring witnesses to testify against the bill. The Texas senator, who led the 7-week filibuster against the bill two years ago hopes to be able to block it in hearings. Predictions are made that he will bring up "stooges," including some "Uncle Tom" Negroes from Texas, who will declare the anti-lynching bill is not needed in the South.

LYNCH BILL CLASH STIRS SPECTATORS

Senators Wagner, Connally Also Challenge Each Other at Committee Hearing

WITNESS TEXAN'S TARGET

Walter White Says Measure Is Attacked for Political Ends —Crowd Is Admonished

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7. (AP)—Charges of election year "political pressure" over anti-lynching legislation were hurled back and forth today before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings on the bill recently passed by the House.

Senator Connally of Texas, an opponent of the measure, twice protested against demonstrations by spectators, most of them Negroes.

"It looks like the committee is going to be lynched," he said at one point.

Senator Van Nuys of Indiana, chairman of the subcommittee and advocate of the measure, warned the spectators against any demonstrations.

Testimony by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that some members of Congress were using "vitrolic attacks on legislation like this" to gain re-election, brought about a cross-examination by Senator Connally.

Mr. White, who has been advocating anti-lynching legislation for many years, also said that some supporters of the bill were from "seventeen pivotal States," where the Negro vote often represented "the balance of power" between the major parties. These States, he said, had 281 votes (a majority) in the electoral college which names the President, and he contended that it was correct for House and Senate members to reflect the support of white and Negro constituents who favor the anti-lynching bill.

Some questions by Senator Connally brought a protest from Senator Wagner of New York, a sponsor of the bill, that the Texan was not permitting the witness to answer fully. Senator Connally protested:

"I heard this man detail all this sewage and I don't concede the rigth of the Senator from New York to censor my questions."

Messrs. Connally and Wagner engaged in a spirited exchange later when the Texas Senator said that the anti-lynching bill was aimed only at the South and "exempts these gangsters—who vote in New York City—who go out and murder white men."

Senator Wagner disputed this, saying that the penalties against mob action "apply anywhere in the United States."

Arthur B. Springarn of New York City, a lawyer and president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, testified that lynchings in the United States threatened relations with Latin-American countries. Many Latin-American nations had a "majority of colored people, many of Negro blood," he said.

Kentucky's Greatest Daily Favors Passage Of Anti-Lynching Bill

WASHINGTON.—"I have no hesitation whatever in saying that I favor the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill."

This statement by Mark Ethridge, general manager of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal and Louisville Times was read into the record of the senate hearing on the federal anti-lynching bill February 6 by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Witnesses for and against the measure are being heard by a sub-committee of the senate judiciary committee headed by Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana.

The forthright endorsement of an executive of one of the leading daily papers in the entire South was contained in a letter which Mr. Ethridge wrote to the N. A. A. C. P. January 28 and in which he set forth six reasons for favoring federal action against lynching. The complete text of the letter follows:

Dear Mr. White:

"I have no hesitation whatever in saying that I favor the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill. That is based upon several reasons:

"1. I favor it as an affirmation that Americans as a people do not tolerate a form of barbarism that is only a little more refined than cannibalism; not as sentimental as suttee, and not as effective as pogroms.

"America may consider herself a group of states, but in the eyes of other people we are a nation, and we must assume responsibility as a nation for whatever barbaric practices occur inside our borders. We profess to be a democratic and Christian nation. If we are those things, we can afford to push aside legal hair-splitting and tub-thumping oratory, to say as a nation to the small lawless element, 'You shall not brand us as barbarians to satisfy your own blood-lust'.

"2. I favor it because the United States government owes the protection of a federal law to its humblest citizens. The guarantees under the bill of rights are extended to the persons of citizens of the United States, not to the citizens of states.

Right to Court Trial

"The accused has the right to be heard in court, and in court he has the right to confrontation, to counsel, to the preparation of a defense, to testify as he desires, and to present witnesses. Those are rights guaranteed under the federal constitution and nobody, no individual, no group, and no subdivision of government, has a right to abrogate them. Unless the humblest person does enjoy them, the bill of rights of the federal constitution becomes a mockery.

"It is fruitless to argue that the ordinary state statute covers lynching, because it is too late to talk about protecting a man in his rights after he has been killed by a mob. Lynching may be murder, but it is a form of murder that has its root in defiance of federal guarantees, and not merely in ordinary human emotions.

3.—I favor the federal bill because the states have failed to afford protection vouchsafed to American citizens under the constitution of the United States. There have been approximately 5,150 lynchings recorded since 1882.

In only 40 cases has there been action of any sort against the lynchers. There is not on record that one state officer has ever been removed from office or punished by a state for failure to protect his prisoner. In 1937 every person who was lynched was taken from officers, but not one officer was punished, although in one case the names of 17 members of the mob were known; and although at least four of the lynchings occurred in broad daylight. In only two of the cases was it possible to plead protection of southern womanhood.

Has Witnessed Lynchings

"In my capacity as reporter, I have witnessed three lynchings, and I know enough about them to know that the failure to protect the prisoner and to arrest and prosecute his lynchers is a wilful and deliberate failure on the part of officers of the law.

"To me, their failure is in essence nothing more nor less than the conspiracy of the state, whose sovereignty they represent, with its lawless element, to deprive some citizens of their fundamental rights. This is the case where human rights transcend any so-called states rights. Since officers of the law are the direct, sworn agents of the state government, then it must follow that in approximately 5,100 cases the states have not only failed to give protection, but also have actually been particeps criminis.

"4.—I favor a federal law because I must reject absolutely the theory that it is an invasion of the rights of the states. Having lived almost all my life in the deep South, I must confess with chagrin that all the prattling about states rights has usually meant that we had a right to have as much pellagra, as much hookworm, as much malaria, and as much illiteracy as we pleased, as long as we were let alone.

"If the southern states had followed the theory of states rights with integrity, there would be some validity in the argument. But what about the Smith-Hughes bill? The Smith-Lever bill? What about all the highway aid bills and the thousand and one forms of aid or relief that have been extended under the New Deal?

No New Principle

"It may be argued that the Lindbergh law and the motor vehicle law are interstate, but was not the prohibition law a direct surrender of police power to the federal government? I do not see that the federal anti-lynching law introduces any principle that is at all new. The act does not become operative until the state has abdicated its power or violated its relation to the federal government.

"5.—I favor the law because I feel it would be effective. It is well enough to argue the theory of education, but what is the answer to 1932, with 10 lynching, and 1933, with 28?

"The number of lynchings has increased with either economic adversity or prejudicial agitation. I have information which indicates that there is threatening revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the South. If that is true, the number of lynchings will go up in years when economic pressure is great, or when racketeers who collect dues for the Klan have their drives for membership.

"Education is a great force, but the whole history of lynching demonstrates that the class that lynches must have a force beyond education. I believe that the added pressure of a federal statute would make it extremely difficult for politically ambitious district attorneys of sheriffs to risk being branded as cowardly or negligent.

"6.—Finally, I favor it because I think that it is in line with enlightened opinion not only in other sections, but also in the South. .A Gallup poll showed that 72 per cent of the people of the United States and 63 per cent of the people of the South feel that they have a right and an obligation to use this last legal expedient to wipe out lynching.

"I feel that the true voice of the South is not the voice of those who filibuster against measures designed to express its humanity, but that the real voice of the South is that of the 63 per cent who look at lynching as the horrible social and racial phenomenon that it is, and think we should stop short of no legal expedient to wipe it out.

Need Right of Ballot

"I do not see how anybody who believes in a real democracy can subscribe, even by the indirection of red-hearing arguments, to the use of instruments which in the long run will destroy democracy. There can be no democracy where undue use of economic power, brutality, and intimidation are present.

"The Ku Klux Klan, which died about 15 years ago, started out whipping Negroes, but it wound up so emboldened that it was whipping white people. If anybody subscribes to the horrible theory that it is all right to whip Negroes, he must be given at least some pause by the thought that brutality has never known any racial or geographical bounds.

"We will never have a real democracy in this country until the people who are most affected by social or political measures taken in their behalf are given a right to express themselves at the ballot box. Far from having realized that ideal, we are really just now facing the proposition as to whether we shall continue to give federal government favor to an extra-legal phenomenon which in too many instances has been used to keep a great element of our people in subjection; to prevent them even from voicing their legitimate aspirations for themselves as a race and as a people.

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) "MARK ETHRIDGE."

Lynching Bill Political Move, Connally Says

Texan Scores White, Committee Witness, For Attacking Members

By the Associated Press

Charges of election year "political pressure" over antilynching legislation were hurled back and forth yesterday before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings on the bill recently passed by the House.

Senator Connally (Democrat), of Texas, opponent of the bill, twice protested at demonstrations by spectators, most of them colored, saying at one point that "it looks like the committee is going to be lynched." Senator Van Nuys (Democrat), of Indiana, chairman, warned the spectators against demonstrations.

Testimony by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that some members of Congress were using "vitriolic attacks on legislation like this" to gain re-election brought cross-examination by Connally.

Senator Connally asked White if he ascribed these political motives to the late Senator Borah for his speech against the antilynching bill at the last regular session of Congress.

Replying in the negative, White added that he preferred not to discuss the motives of a Senator recently dead.

Other questions by Connally brought a protest from Senator Wagner (Democrat), of New York, a sponsor of the bill, that Connally was not permitting the witness to answer fully.

This caused the Texas Senator to protest that "I heard this man (White) detail all this sewage and I don't concede the right of the Senator from New York to censor my questions."

6451

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

BOTH PARTIES SEEK LYNCH BILL CREDIT

Only Negro in Congress Says That Republicans Are Trying to 'Buy Back' His Race

SNAG IN SENATE EXPECTED

By HENRY N. DORRIS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13—The biennial quest for the Negro vote of Northern and Western States took a new turn this year in the House when both parties vied for the credit of passing the 1940 version of the anti-lynching bill.

Until this year advocates of such legislation were careful to deny they were after the Negro vote, but last week the House heard the only Negro member of Congress, Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, accuse the Republicans of trying to "buy back" the votes of members of his race by posing as the friend of the Negro.

The Republicans, he said, had promised the Negro many things during times when they were in power, but had never delivered. Now, said the Representative, the Negroes had come to know their friends, the Democrats, and could no longer be fooled.

Despite this open rebuke nearly all the Republicans joined Northern and Western Democrats in passing the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill and sending it to the Senate, where Southern Democrats again have threatened a filibuster, the means they have used for seventy years to prevent the measure from becoming law.

Legislation vs. Education

The House used all of three days in consideration of a measure which, had it been law during 1939, would have applied to only three cases. The Tuskegee Institute, which has compiled figures on lynchings since 1882, reported only three in 1939, six in 1938 and eight in 1937.

During the years for which the institute has compiled figures 4,697 persons were lynched in the United States, of whom 1,209 were white persons and 3,408 were Negroes. The figures show a steady decline, giving point to the argument of Southerners that the fostering of a sounder public sentiment against lynching will do far more to eradicate the crime than a statute which might stir up further racial trouble.

Probably more words are spoken, more members go on record by speeches, on an anti-lynching bill than upon anything else short of such legislation as the Neutrality Act.

The legislation rests its constitutionality on the section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees to all persons equal protection of the law and due process of law. The Gavagan measure makes it a felony for any State or local official not to make "all diligent effort" to protect a person he is supposed under the law to protect. It is also made a felony for a similar officer to fail to apprehend or prosecute members of a mob guilty of lynching. The penalty is a fine up to $5,000, imprisonment up to five years, or both.

Community Liable

The bill provides also that a State subdivision having police powers is civilly liable for a lynching within its jurisdiction if its officers or its citizens when called upon fail to "use all the powers vested in them" to protect the victim. The liability is from $2,000 to $10,000 for each victim, to be recovered by suit in Federal court, which can be brought by the Federal Government for the claimant if the claimant does not prefer to bring it through private counsel.

Before passing the bill the House struck from it a provision excluding from its scope violence in connection with a labor dispute. When the Anti-Lynching Bill was before the Senate in 1935 Justice Hugo L. Black of the Supreme Court, then a Senator, attacked the bill containing such an exemption on the ground that the measure might be stretched to cover strike violence.

Now that such an exemption has been stricken from the bill, the natural supposition is that the House desired that mobs defined as a group of "three or more persons" be made to come under its penalties, if such mobs formed during strikes or other labor disputes committed bodily injury or death to person taken from police custody.

There seems to be no disposition in the Senate at the present time to take up the Anti-Lynching Bill. As soon as it became known that the House would consider the bill this year Senator Connally of Texas made it plain that the Southerners again would tie up the Senate in another filibuster if proponents insisted upon taking it up.

The 1937 Filibuster

Senator Connally led the filibuster against the 1937 version of the legislation, tying up the Senate in practically all the special session of the Fall of 1937 and part of the regular session which began in January. With Congress trying to complete its work in time for adjournment before the nominating conventions, there would be pressure from leaders of both parties to prevent consideration of the measure, it is felt.

So the latest Anti-Lynching Bill, according to Congressional observers, will be left for dead in a committee pigeonhole when Congress adjourns sine die within a few months. And so both parties in 1942 will have the same opportunity to the Negro vote.

State Anti-Lynch Bill

An Act
As Introduced In Past Oklahoma Youth Legislature

For the better assurance of the protection of persons from mob violence and lynching, and for the punishment of persons involved in such misdemeanors.

WHEREAS: The constitution for the State of Oklahoma and the constitution for the United States provide that all citizens and persons of the State of Oklahoma and of the United States, are entitled to a just, fair, and impartial trial by jury; and

WHEREAS: Lynching is a mark of human injustice, a breach of civil rights, and imperilment of citizenship and home-making, and a retrogression of civilization and further it provides avenues for sinister, diabolical, heinous, and unwarranted mob violence which encourages un-American, immoral, unreligious, and unsocial insurrections; and

WHEREAS: Several lynchings have taken place in this State for a period of many years, and parties involved in these lynchings were not apprehended and prosecuted by local authorities, and the State failed to apprehend and prosecute these parties or local responsible officers, due to lack of statutory authority:

THEREFORE BE IT ENACTED BY THE THIRD OKLAHOMA YOUTH LEGISLATURE that:

Section 1. Any assemblage of three or more persons which shall exercise or attempt to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishment over any citizen or citizens, or other person or persons in the custody of peace officers, or suspected of, or charged with or convicted of the commission of any offense, or any person or persons whatsoever with the purpose or consequence of preventing the apprehension or trial or punishment by law of such citizen or citizens, person or persons, or for other causes, shall constitute a "MOB" within the meaning of this Act. Any such violence by a mob which results in the death, or maiming, or terrorizing or burning the home or homes of the victim or victims thereof shall constitute "Lynching" within the meaning of this Act. Such person or persons guilty of committing the act of lynching shall be punished by death; or shall be imprisoned not less than ten years in the State Penitentiary; or fined not less than $1,000; or shall be both imprisoned and

Against Lynch Law

The origin of the phrase "lynch law" is lost in historical mists. Writers have tried to trace it to Ireland and England as well as to Virginia, where during the Revolution a soldier named Charles Lynch of Lynchburg meted out stiff punishment to Tories. Whether or not he was the original "Judge Lynch," the phrase has been regarded as peculiarly American since the eighteenth century, and lynching has generally come to mean mob murder.

Since 1882, when Tuskegee Institute began its annual compilations, 4,697 persons have been lynched in the United States. Of these 3,408 were Negroes. The annual toll has declined from 231 in the peak year, 1892, to three in 1939.

Efforts to enact a Federal statute against lynch law have been made repeatedly since the Reconstruction period. Last week the House of Representatives passed its third anti-lynching bill since 1922. The vote was divided on sectional rather than party lines. For the bill were 109 Democrats, 140 Republicans, one American Labor party member and two Progressives. Against it were 123 Democrats and eight Republicans.

The Guest Writer

AntiLynching Bill

(From The Daily Hawk-Eye Gazette, Burlington, Iowa)

The South is no more proud of the number of cases of mob violence in this country than is the rest of the country. The South is justly proud of the fact that there were but three lynchings south of the Mason and Dixon Line in 1939, and proud, too, of the fact that 25 persons were saved from mobs by local law-enforcement officers doing their duty.

But the South is very decidedly against the so-called AntiLynching Bill now kicking up such a row in the Federal Congress. Much as all good citizens, North and South, deplore all forms of mob violence, it seems to us that most fair-minded people should see the South's point of view in this.

Briefly, the proposed law would permit Federal officials to go into the South, fine and imprison local officials under whose jurisdictions cases of lynching occur and imposing penalties upon the counties or other political subdivisions. This is rightfully considered an invasion of states' rights and, although many years have passed healing old wounds, the South still has vivid recollections of the horde of "carpetbaggers," "deserving politicians," who poured into the South with Federal authority in the sad, dark days following the War Between the States, to tell the Southern States how to run their affairs.

And, when it comes to protection from mob violence, the South may very well suggest that the North, permitting mobs to wreck and seize property, manhandle men who want to work without paying tribute to racketeers, do a little job of cleaning its own house.

In our humble opinion, in view of the progress made, the matter of suppressing cases of mob violence may well be left to the high-minded citizenry of the South, and we make bold to suggest that what this country needs is less, instead of more, Federal invasion of the rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities of the various states.

House Will Pass It By Good-Sized Vote, Maybe Wednesday

And Some Southerners In Upper Chamber May Let It Go By

BY W. B. RAGSDALE

WASHINGTON — (AP) — The road ahead, seen through a muddy windshield:

The House will pass the anti-lynching bill by a good-sized vote probably next Wednesday. Six hours of debate will use up most of Tuesday. Southerners see no hope of stopping the measure in the House.

This will pass the problem over to the Senate. The same touch-and-go filibuster of past sessions is expected there if the bill reaches the floor. Some Southerners, however, are tired enough of the whole mess to wish the bill might be amended and passed.

They have seen it emerge year after year, used for campaign fodder, pushed back into the legislative barn to be re-baled with a new load of hay and trundled out again. They would like to see it buried.

* * *

A REVAMPING of the labor relations law seems likely. Highly placed Democrats would like to see it done. They are none too pleased by the recordings of discord that have been played by the House committee investigating the board.

Even extreme New Dealers have suggested that a reorganization of the board be worked out to eliminate some of the members and employes whose actions have been aired by the committee. The chief fear has been that if the law be opened for amendment, Congress would go too far toward wiping out the defenses it established for labor.

The view of many Democrats now is that it would be better to risk this than to go into the presidential campaign without attempting to erase some of the complaints lodged against the board.

* * *

A NEW DEFENSE TAX, to meet the request of President Roosevelt, is not so close to enactment as might be expected at first glance.

The ways and means committee has it listed back of a measure to renew trade agreement powers. Neither Chairman Doughton (D., N. C.), nor other House leaders have any definite idea yet of the form the tax might take.

There has been talk of a percentage increase in income taxes, of some form of surplus profits tax applicable particularly to war materials, and of broadening the so-called nuisance levies which are a form of sales tax.

Any tax bill that comes to the door, however, opens up the whole tax problem. All ready for trundling in is the plan of Senator LaFollette (Prog., Wis.) for broadening the base of the income taxes so as to reach into lower salary brackets. This fact, plus the election year date printed on the calendar, will cause a lot of head scratching before any new tax bill is brought in.

AFTER ALL, Mr. Roosevelt asked Congress twice before to work out new taxes to finance farm subsidies. It went ahead and granted the subsidies, leaving the treasury to worry about where the money was to come from. It might follow the same line of thought on national defense.

* * *

A REQUIREMENT for Senate ratification of trade agreements is being proposed fairly generally by opponents to renewal of the present law.

But those who favor its continuance in its present form argue that this would amount to destruction of the law. Such an alteration would put trade agreements on the same basis as international treaties—which opponents of the present law say is the proper way to look at them.

The catch is, however, that a treaty requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate for approval. Few trade treaties are made that do not offend enough economic interests of some sort to arouse Senate opposition. And there are few who have been within earshot of the Senate for longer than a session or two who cannot recall instances in which a minority of its members by filibustering tactics have blocked the passage of legislation which, to all appearances, had the approval of a majority.

If that can be done with legislation requiring only a bare majority for passage, ask trade agreement advocates, how much more effectively could it be done with treaties requiring a two-thirds vote for approval?

SENATE COMMITTEE TOLD OF NEED FOR ANTI-LYNCH BILL

White and Negro Witnesses Declare Mob Spirit Is Still On Rampage

WASHINGTON, D. C.—White and Negro witnesses testifying in support of a federal anti-lynching bill told a Senate sub-committee of the judiciary committee at a hearing opening here February 6 that only a federal anti-lynching law would curb mob violence effectively.

Nine witnesses were scheduled to testify for the bill. They included W. J. Durham, an attorney of Sherman, Tex., who witnessed a lynching May 9, 1930, in which the courthouse of Sherman was burned down by a mob; Deanl William H. Hastie of the Howard University Law School, former United States district judge in the Virgin Islands; R. R. Grovey, Houston, Tex.; the Rev. Gresham Marmion, rector of St. Albans P. E. Church, Washington, who tried to stop the double lynching of two Negro boys in Columbus, Tex., in 1935; Dr. George F. Porter, president of Wiley junior college, Dallas, Tex.; Dr. Arthur Raper, research secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Ralph Bunce, professor of political science Howard University; Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the N. A. A. C. P., and Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

In his testimony, Walter White dealt in detail with the arguments made against the bill, especially in the House debates in January and refuted them. He asserted that lynchings had declined because of the agitation for a federal law and that failure to pass the pending bill would send the lynching total up aagin. He cited a number of undercover lynchings and asserted that the real total was far greater than the five reported ed for last year by the N. A. A. C. P.

Sees Government Endangered

Turning to the statements made in the Senate during the filibuster of 1938 that the states could and would take care of lynchings, Mr. White pointed out that eleven well-authenticated lynchings had taken place since that time and not even an arrest had been made in 10 of them, with convictions in none.

The N. A. A. C. P. secretary warned that the American form of government was endangered when mobs are not restrained.

"If I were a Communist, a Nazi or a Fascist," he declared, and wanted to destroy or weaken American Democracy, I would work unceasingly to prevent passage of anti-lynching legislation."

Mr. White told of the service of the Negro as a soldier and of the lynchings which went on while he was fighting in France "for democracy," also of the lynchings which greeted Negroes upon their return home. He warned that Negroes could not be expected to fight in any war which might develop out of present world conditions without some guarantee that they will receive some protection and democracy for themselves.

Dean Hastie dealt with the constitutional aspects of the legislation.

Let's cry about it to heaven. The Senate Chamber of our country stinks with the burnt flesh of innocent black men and prostituted women—black and white.

Let's put a stop to lynching! Its weight puts and keeps white and black in the gutter. And both will always be in the gutter if either one is pushed there. They sink or swim together; rise or fall together.

Let's demand the passage of the anti- lynching bill today. Let us defend our womanhood and our manhood, too.

And one of the best ways to make a successful struggle for the anti-lynching bill, the only way, is to link it up with the right for jobs, for relief, for social security, democracy and peace.

After all, he who is truly against lynching, is for more not less democracy. He is also for more jobs, relief, etc., for Negroes. For it is the lynch terror that is used to prevent or water down the development of the struggle for our daily needs. Life poses the question of struggle, and it poses the question of the unity of white and Negro in that struggle. That is the road to the passage of the anti-lynching bill

The Antilynching Bill

IT IS EXTREMELY annoying, truly provoking that as President Roosevelt goes forth like the pure Sir Gallahad to battle for little Finland and Justice Murphy, that hero of the democratic phrase, pours blessings on the virtues of American democracy, an anti-lynching bill should reach the floor of the American Senate.

It is provoking, because the quartering, butchering and burning of Negro Americans at the stake shows that we have some Mannerisms here. Surely, Franklin Delano should go forth in shining armor to aid them—or has he already, by his silence concerning lynching?

It is annoying for nothing disturbs the throat of an orator on American democracy more than the fumes that rise from the body of a Negro man or woman. It just separates the "demo" from the "cracy" and you can't get the whole word out. I know. I've tried under those difficult conditions.

But the anti-lynching bill affords a wonderful background for the soul-stirring speeches of the Southern senators, on their unchallenged love for undefiled womanhood. How they rave.

I remember the infamous Scottsboro case. The nine innocent Negro boys were in the dock, but nobody doubted who belonged in prison as one of the white girls took the stand. She indicted the prosecution.

'My pay in the mill was $2.50 a week,' she said as she told how she was driven into a life of shame. "But I couldn't live on that. There wasn't nothin' else to do but sell myself to the boys in the mill."

It is the difference between a wage which makes for prostitution and a wage which makes for the development of a morally healthy womanhood. They sell the little white girls, from the families of the poor in order to pocket the difference.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6452

Anti-Lynching Bill Amended

Representative Gavagan, of New York author of the anti-lynching bill introduced in congress at the last session, has indicated that he would strike out the provision which exempts mob violence in labor disputes from the category of "lynching."

We have an idea that he has now killed his bill.

There is no good reason for the bill, in any circumstances. As we have already pointed out, there were only three lynchings in the United States last year. Of these only two were Negroes, and of course it is alleged to be in the interest of the Negro race that the bill has been introduced.

Since responsible authorities are resisting mobs when they do attempt to stage a lynching and the crime is gradually passing out under the influence of public sentiment, it is at best a futile gesture to be passing any such legislation.

1-10-40

At worst, it would probably put a premium on lynching, since it would offer an inducement for relatives to commit this crime in order to collect the 10,000 dollars which the county in which the lynching took place would have to pay to the heirs, unless the peace officers showed due diligence in resisting the mob.

But one of the principal iniquities of the bill was its exemption of mob violence in connection with labor disputes from the classification of a lynching.

During the strikes and riots of 1937, when radicals were organizing CIO and staging sit-down strikes, there were many deaths from violence. The law-enforcement officers did not make a serious effort to suppress the rioting and Mr. Roosevelt refused to call out the military forces of the federal government as he was instructed to do when necessary under the terms of the constitution.

The victims of that kind of violence were lynched just as truly as if they had been hanged to a limb. The difference is that lynchings, generally, are actuated by some crime, whereas many of the deaths in labor disputes are the result of a refusal to allow a worker to make a living unless he pays tribute to a union.

With the exemption stricken out, it might be found that there were a great many more lynchings in the industrial cities of the North than in the South, and we may expect to see a complete change of front on the part of many former advocates of the anti-lynching bill.

Anti-Lynching Bill To Exempt Violence In Labor Disputes

Author Will Introduce Amendment; Measure Certain Of Passage

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Representative Gavagan (D., N. Y.) announced to the House today that he would move "at the proper time" to eliminate from his anti-lynching bill a provision exempting violence in connection with labor disputes.

He stated this intention at the start of debate on the measure, which would impose penalties on peace officers who permit lynchings and on the political subdivisions in which they occur.

The provision which Gavagan said he would attempt to strike out says:

"'Lynching' shall not be deemed to include violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any 'labor dispute' . . ."

Gavagan probably will offer his motion when the bill is opened to amendment tomorrow.

Only a handful of the legislators were present when the House convened an hour early in an effort to complete six hours of debate by nightfall.

Representative Wadsworth (R., N. Y.), one of the few Northern opponents of the bill, told his colleagues it could never be enforced. As the opposition's first speaker, Wadsworth was greeted by applause from Southern members.

He branded the bill "a snare and a delusion." A far better solution of the lynching problem, he asserted, is the program of education already undertaken.

He pointed out the country had 100 or more lynchings annually just a few years ago. In 1939, he said, there were only three.

The debate on the anti-lynching bill was expected to avail nothing more than to put the participants on record for political use.

Gavagan told newsmen he wished to remove the labor dispute exemption because he thought it was unnecessary. Lynching, he said, is defined in the bill an act of violence by "a mob" resulting in the death or maiming of a victim.

A "mob" is defined as "any assemblage of three or more persons which exercises or attempts to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishment."

Gavagan expressed the view that lynching violence, therefore, actually would not occur in connection with labor troubles.

He said some labor leaders had thought the provision was necessary but that he "nnderstood" they felt as he does now.

Wadsworth declared that the legislation would give the federal government power to "destroy the government of a county, the creature of a state."

"The truth is," the tall New Yorker said, "the whole thing should have died aborning."

"Its passage by the House misleads multitudes of people, who will wake up and find it a colossal fraud," he asserted. "I hate to see Congress pass legislation, whateevr its motives, that results in disillusionment."

The measure is certain of House passage, probably tomorrow. It won the right to consideration yesterday, 255 to 114, and will be sent to the Senate by about the same margin.

After that, it faces a stiff going-over from Southern senators — the same group which filibustered a similar bill to death in 1938.

The Senate, not concerned with the anti-lynching bill just yet, was in recess today, but is expected to give its blessing tomorrow to a sweeping, special study of the nation's fiscal affairs.

Senator McNary, of Oregon, the Republican leader, who blocked Senate approval of the proposition yesterday, was reported to have come to terms with Senator Harrison (D., Miss.), the author. McNary wanted the study to include national defense costs.

House Leaders Still Aloof

Harrison's proposal would set up a 24-man committee to study both the source of revenue and prospective government spending to determine whether Uncle Sam can get by this year on less money.

House leaders remained cool to the idea, principally because it would interfere with their plans to pass an appropriation bill a week for the next several weeks.

Members in close consultation with Harrison said that if the House pigeon-holed the proposition, he would introduce another resolution calling for a 12-man Senate committee study. This would permit the House to go ahead and pass its appropriations bills, while the Senate would hold them up until its investigation was completed.

In a curtain raiser to the general debate on the anti-lynching bill, the House yesterday heard Representative Cox (D., Ga.) say the measure represented a "senseless, venomous, ignorant, unreasoning hostility toward the South," which, he added, was "tired of being treated as a conquered province."

"It is the perfidious product of a mixed group," he said, "who under the guise of 'due process' and in the name of 'equal protection of the law,' seek to use the powers of this great government to humiliate, infuriate and manhandle a people who are earnestly doing their best to find a solution of the problems that beset them."

Fish Scores "Mob Violence"

Representative Fish (R., N. Y.), condemning "mob violence," demanded that his most prominent constituent, President Roosevelt, make known his stand on the bill.

"President Roosevelt," Fish said, "spoke to Congress on the state of the nation and of the world, and particularly of conditions in Europe, but failed to mention making democracy work at home by enacting an anti-lynching law . . . Why is he so strangely silent?"

Negro Raps G.O.P. Lynch Bill Drive

Advertiser

Mitchell, Proponent Of Act, Says Party Trying To Buy Votes Of Race

1-10-40

Republicans Irate

Anti-Lynching

House Passage Seems To Be Assured But Senate Doom Is Believed Likely

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—(AP)—The House heard its only negro member, Representative Mitchell (D), Illinois, hotly charge the Republican Party today with "trying to buy back the negro vote" with the pending anti-lynching bill.

His accusation, in the midst of a quiet, almost perfunctory renewal of a controversy that recurs in every Congress, started something. Several Republicans sought recognition to express their resentment and Representative Fish (R), New York caustically inquired whether the negro vote was for sale.

"Every vote in the United States is for sale," Mitchell answered. "Not for money, but for rights and justice."

Representative McDowell (R), Pennsylvania, accused Mitchell, ardent proponent of the bill, of trying to alienate the Republicans from its support but asserted that 98 per cent of his party colleagues would vote for it.

Representative Seccombe (R), Ohio, produced a letter which he said Mitchell wrote to a constituent last November agreeing to take up a matter with the WPA if the constituent could first produce a letter from his ward committeeman.

Who's Santa Claus

"That indicates," said Seccombe "who is trying to [illegible] Santa Claus and who is not, and who is trying to buy the negro vote and who is not."

Representative Burdick, (R), North Dakota, asserted that Mitchell's statement was a reason for voting against the bill but that Mitchell did not "represent the negro race in this country." He announced he would reserve judgment as to how he would vote.

Pending was the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, passed by the House previously only to encounter a Southern filibuster in the Senate. The measure would seek to curb lynching by imposing penalties upon peace officers who fail to protect prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making municipalities or counties liable to damage suits by lynching victims or their dependents.

The House is expected to pass it again tomorrow, but again it faces death in the Senate.

The arguments for and against it

Who Is Mitchell?

Representative Mitchell, negro Democrat from Chicago who startled Republican congressmen yesterday by an open attack on their support of the anti-lynching bill, is a native of Alabama, who started his career as an office boy for Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. Incidentally he was also, about the same time, a paper carrier for The Advertiser, as he recalled on a visit to Montgomery several years ago. He entered Congress by defeating the negro Republican DePriest, who was also a native Alabamian.

which had been heard in past discussions were trotted out again. Southerners and a few Northerners contended it was unworkable, unconstitutional and unenforceable. Proponents denied these statements and asserted that the bill would accomplish its purpose of preventing lynchings.

Labor Clause To Be Killed

Representative Gavagan (R), New York, author of the bill, announced that he planned to eliminate a section specifically exempting killings in the course of labor disputes. He included the section at the urging of some labor leaders, he said, but later concluded that it was unnecessary.

Arguing for the bill, Mitchell said that it involved a larger issue "than the mere stopping of a mob." The larger issue he defined as "the rights of my group."

In some places, he continued, negroes do not dare to answer "yes" or "no" to white men, but must say "yes, sir" or "no, sir." Injustice to the negro must cease, he shouted, asserting: "If you permit it, you will in some way have to pay the penalty. I know not how."

A major speech against the bill came from a Northern member, Representative Wadsworth (R), New York, who called it "a snare and a delusion." Education was the cure for lynchings, he said, pointing out that their number had decreased from 100 annually a short time ago to three in 1939.

He said the bill would give the Federal government power to "destroy" county governments, was a "fantastic" prospect and could never accomplish its purposes.

Mississippi Troops Balk Violence

PRENTISS, MISS., Jan. 9.—(AP)—National Guard troops, more than a hundred strong, today apparently had averted danger of an application of "lynch law" by townsmen here to two negroes returned for arraignment in the slaying of a former marshal.

A court appointed attorney for one defendant asked for severance of their cases and a change of venue. This delayed the arraignment while arguments continued through the afternoon before Circuit Judge J. C. Shivers.

Meanwhile at Jackson, Gov. Hugh White, who ordered the troopers to Prentiss to protect the negroes, deplored the coincidence of the Prentiss trouble and a similar incident at Knoxville, Miss., last week with the reappearance in Congress of action in support of the anti-lynching bill. This bill is bitterly opposed by officials of most Southern states as an infringement of constitutional rights.

"The last time that bill was up," the retiring Governor said, "there was a lynching at Duck Hill which was spread all over the front pages. Two negroes were killed." He said he considered the congressional bill the "product of some fellows up East trying to get votes."

Gov. White ordered in three companies of nearby national guardsmen, armed with riot guns and tear gas supplies, after Sheriff S. G. Magee last night reported to him that "feeling against the negroes was mounting" in the tense Jeff Davis County seat. White today indicated his pleasure at the promptness with which Magee had acted to prevent violent action which supporters of the anti-lynch bill might have seized upon.

Maj. T. B. Birdsong, of the guard, was in charge of the troopers who brought the two negroes here from Jackson. They had been held for a week there for safe-keeping after two attempts by mobs to seize one of the men at nearby Columbia were thwarted on New Year's Day.

He stationed his soldiers at four entrances of the courthouse during the proceedings, and reported late today there had been no trouble with the large crowd of local citizens assembled nearby.

Former Marshal J. C. Sanford was killed last Monday when, with two other white men, he blocked a highway in an effort to halt the machine of four negroes suspected of running liquor through the town. One negro, Jerome Franklin, was captured at once, and the other, Hilton Fortenberry, was caught in Honston, Texas, and returned.

Meanwhile peace officers from Natchez again picked up the trail of two other negroes, wanted for the slaying of a white man at Knoxville, and who have been sought unsuccessfully by national guardsmen for nearly a week. The guardsmen were called in after another mob threat.

Sheriff H. R. Jenkins, of Natchez, and aides left for a nearby plantation where one of the men was reported seen.

Cox Bitterly Battles Move To Bring Lynch Bill to Vote

Georgian Loses as House Discharges Committee, Making It Possible for Measure To Be Debated Today; State Delegation Stands Solidly Against Bill.

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8.—Charging that the Gavagan anti-lynching bill is designed to "outrage, injure and humiliate the south," Representative Cox, of Georgia, today vigorously opposed the passage of a special rule that would bring the measure to the floor of the house for consideration.

The rules committee, however, of which Judge Cox is the second ranking majority member, was discharged from further consideration of the bill by a vote of 256 to 114, Republicans joining northern and western Democrats to make it possible to bring the measure before the lower chamber for general debate tomorrow. The 10 members of the Georgia house delegation voted solidly against discharging the committee.

"Expression of Hostility."

"This bill," Mr. Cox told his colleagues, "is the expression of a hostility,—a senseless, venomous, ignorant, unreasoning hostility—that has existed in some quarters against the south for almost a century. At the preent moment the bill represents the combined will and scheming of a radical negro group who preach 'natural rights' and social equality; the Leftist who wants to remake America into a despotism like that of Stalinist Rusia which today is assailing brave little Finland with such futility; the Communist who seeks revolution as his opportunity for the spreading of his Godless and filthy doctrines, and who finds the negro a willing tool in his effort to wreck and ruin society as it is constituted today; the simple Idealist who is willing to try anything because he honestly believes that it will work for the social and economic betterment of the colored race; the so-called Centralist, who believes in the concentration of power at Washington and the wiping out of every vestige of state sovereignty; he who would eradicate local self-government and nationalie his people and their activities; and, more, perhaps, than any of these, the ruthless and self-seeking politician who would be perfectly willing to outrage the virtue of southern womanhood and to mongrelize a great part of his own nation as the price of securing for his own selfish and negarious purposes the negro vote."

"Bill Full of Venom."

He insisted that the bill was full of venom toward "an already abused and over-prosecuted people," and that the "south is sick and tired of being treated as a conquered province."

Continuing, he declared:

"We in the south have lived with the negro in our midst as a part of our economic and social structure for around three hundred years. The relations that exist between us are good and should not be disturbed. It does not seem possible for the people of the north to know, let alone to feel, the sense of affection and responsibility and care for the negro that we in the south feel for him in his proper place and in his proper activities."

As far as lynchings are concerned Cox said that every member of congress knew the problem had been practically solved in the south.

"Lynchings," he concluded, "have never been the result of any innate, insatiable blood lust on the part of our people. In every case in which a lynching has occurred it was necessarily preceded by some outrage."

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, of Chicago, only colored member of congress, was sitting directly in front of the Georgian as the latter attempted to show a direct tie-up between the negro and Communists.

An immediate decision in the senate on a proposal by Chairman Harrison, Democrat, Mississippi, of the finance committee, to set up a special 24-man congressional committee to study President Roosevelt's budget and then draft its own fiscal recommendations was blocked today by Minority Leader McNary, Republican, Oregon.

The Republican leader first demanded that the proposed joint committee be instructed specifically to investigate defense appropriations and "national military policy" when Senator Byrnes, Democrat, South Carolina, would not agree, McNary objected to consideration of Harrison's resolution at this time.

Although formal debate on the anti-lyching measure was deferred until tomorrow, the house heard Representative Fish, Republican, New York, who resides in President Roosevelt's home congressional district, asked why the chief executive "is so strangely silent on legislation aimed to provide for the security and safety of the lives of our own people?"

THE FEDERAL LYNCH BILL

The Good Boys in congress are again in a great lather over a pending federal anti-lynching bill." Their churns are making sop for the Negro voters in the northern cities to lap up. They are concerned primarily with political victories at the polls and not with the security of human life.

Congressman Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, the only Negro member of congress, sees through the scheme and in one of the bravest speeches ever made in the house of representatives denounced it forthrightly and intelligently. Mitchell jeopardized his political future when he made that speech. We applaud his courage but his gallantry does not surprise us, for Mitchell is a native of Alabama. Once he was Booker T. Washington's errand boy at Tuskegee Institute, once he was a carrier boy for The Advertiser. Now he is a successful lawyer in Chicago. His first great political achievement was the defeat of another Alabamian, Oscar DePriest, Negro, who some years ago made something of a spectacle of himself as a Republican member of the house.

Soon after his first election to congress, Mitchell sat in this office for a pleasant half hour and said: "I want to be an American congressman, not a Negro congressman. I love my people, to be sure, but I also love all other people, and I think it is an obligation of statesmanship to act in behalf of all the people rather than in behalf of classes."

Mitchell knows that the professional friends of his race are phoney. But he is dependent in Chicago upon a constituency that is susceptible to the wiles of the professional Do-Goods. And so it was brave of him to stand up in the parliament of this republic and denounce the pending "anti-lynching" bill.

Americans — southerners at least — are rapidly overcoming the mob spirit. In the end, without federal coercion, they will exterminate it.

6453

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Anti-Lynching Fight Affects Civil Liberties Of All, Says Walter White In Article

NEW YORK—(SNS)—The fight against lynching is the fight for civil liberties for the whole American people, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, holds in an article entitled "End Lynching!" in the January issue of EQUALITY, a monthly journal to defend democratic rights and combat intolerance, published at 220 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Appealing for support of the Gavagan-Fish Anti-Lynching Bill, Mr. White declares that "today the enemies of civil liberties in America are holding a field day.

"They are throwing caution to the winds. They are preparing the ground for wiping out the civil liberties not only of minority groups, but of the American people as a whole. And these enemies are not only in the mob but in the halls of Congress."

The writer comments on the surprise which American tourists often manifest at the horror over lynching "by other people who simply cannot understand how we can regard lynching as a naturol phenomenon of American life and label ourselves a democracy."

"And yet," he adds, "the fight waged against lynching has won many friends, people who are beginning to understand more clearly ican people as a whole, which we now that the liberties of the Amerhad taken for granted, are being whittled away by reactionaries right under our eyes."

This year-to-year decline in the number of instances of mob violence has been the rule ever since the N. A. A. C. P. began its intense activity for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law. At the same time that lynchings are on the decrease, the instances where law officials prevent mob violence are on the increase. In 1939, the lives of 25 persons were saved by officers of the law who refused to bend to the will of a mob. 1-3-40

But despite the decrease in lynchings, the importance of passing an anti-lynching law is still as great as ever. As long as one person in a decade is the victim of this uncivilized practice, there will be need for an anti-lynch law. Although the placing of the law upon the statute books cannot stop lynchings, it will bring to justice those persons guilty of mob violence and will end the era of grand jury exonerations. Federal officers will step in and find the members of the lynch mobs "unknown" to local officers in a lynch community.

The federal anti-lynching law will "bring home" to those who are apt to forget, the value of human life and will emphasize that one cannot take the life of a person, be he ever so humble, without paying a penalty at the bar of justice.

It is this principle upon which the N. A. A. C. P. bases its fight for the passage of the long-contested anti-lynching bill in the new session of Congress which opened this week. Already, 158 congressmen have pledged their support to the bill. As in previous years, the bill will be passed easily in the House of Representatives but in the Senate, Bilbo and company still are well versed in the art of filibuster.

The N. A. A. C. P. has prepared the bill and is leading the fight for its passage, but the N. A. A. C. P. cannot win the battle alone. The voters in the respective states have a civic duty to perform. The anti-lynching bill has a top place on the congressional calendar. It is scheduled to come up for vote on January 8 or shortly thereafter. Organizations and individuals this week-end should flood their congressmen with letters and telegrams urging them to vote for the anti-lynching bill.

Still Need Lynch Bill

Whether three persons were lynched in 1939, as recorded by Tuskegee institute, or five, as reported by the N. A. A. C. P., the record for the last 12 months is still below that of 1938 when six persons were lynched. It is far below the number 20 lynched in 1935.

Senate Gets Lynch Bill From House

Advertiser

Northern And Western Democrats Taxed With Championing Measure

1-11-40

Passes 252 To 131

Manchester Union

Appropriations Committee Lifts Bar Against Hike In Roosevelt's Budget

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—(AP)—The House approved one of its perennial election-year favorites, the anti-lynching bill, today and sent it to the Senate where an unyielding Southern filibuster was set to kill it.

The vote of 252 to 131 followed discussion in which Representative Rankin (D), Mississippi, asserted that the measure was "nothing but the renewal of a vicious attack on the people of the Southern States," coming not from the Republicans, he said, but from the Democrats.

All Southern efforts to amend the measure were crushed, under a massive voting combination of Republicans and Democrats from the North and West. The same fate met an effort by Representative Hoffman (R) Michigan, inveterate foe of the C. I. O., to attach provisions intended to restrict picketing.

One Change Voted

The single change accepted was offered by the author of the measure Representative Gavagan (D), New York, who represents the district of which New York City's teeming negro section, Harlem, is a part. He proposed the elimination of language making the bill inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance. Gavagan explained that the provision was unnecessary because the bill could not possibly be interpreted as applying to labor situations.

The bill—denounced by Southerners as impractical, unenforceable and unconstitutional and upheld by its supporters in the antonyms of those words—seeks to eliminate lynchings by imposing penalties on peace officers negligent in protecting their prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making the municipalities and counties liable for damages.

The principal interest and the most extended discussion centered upon an amendment by Representative Colmer (D), Mississippi, which he called the "gangster amendment." This would have made the penalties apply to gang murders.

Asserting that last year there were three lynchings in the entire United States and 272 murders in New York City, Colmer asked, "Why should we worry with a mere detail, a mere bagatelle?"

Proponents of the measure replied that the proposal was intended to "load down the bill with so many amendments that it will sink."

Race Riots In North

Race riots in the North, Rankin said, have killed more negroes "than have been killed in all the lynchings in the Southern States since the Civil War."

Representative Pace (D), Georgia making it clear that he opposed the bill, offered an amendment to exempt from the penalties counties in which lynchings occur after the victim has been brought in by the mob from elsewhere. Proponents of the bill argued that such counties could not be held liable anyway and the amendment was defeated, 57 to 79.

Representative Hobbs (D), Alabama, asserted there were 700 lynchings in the North last year, but he added, "they don't call them lynchings unless they occur in the South."

He said only one 1939 Southern case, a Florida killing, could be properly termed a lynching.

But, Hobbs contended, in New York and Chicago, "where gangster rule dominates," lynching is on the increase. He said the Gavagan bill would not apply to gang killings.

Anti-Mob Buttons Sell In 35 States

NEW YORK — The sale of NAACP anti-lynching buttons is now actively underway in thirty-five states including all of the southern states, with 109,000 buttons in circulation, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, director of the sales campaign announced last week.

"The fact that the selling of these buttons is going forward vigorously in those states where lynchings have been by no means a novelty shows that our people want to do everything in their power to help raise funds to get this anti-lynching bill passed," Mrs. Lampkin said.

Miss Florynce Kennedy Heads N.A.A.C.P. 'Stop Lynching' Button Sale

Miss Florynce Kennedy, secretary of the executive board of the auxiliary to the N.A.A.C.P. has been appointed by Carl R. Johnson, president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P., chairman of the "Stop Lynching" button sale.

The Anti-Lynching bill which has recently passed the house, will come up in the Senate soon. These "Stop Lynching" buttons are to help take care of the expenses incurred in carrying on the fight.

Twenty percent of the money received from the sale of buttons will remain in the treasury of the Kansas City branch of the N.A.A.C.P.

The "Stop Lynching" buttons may be had for 10 cents, but many persons will want to make larger contributions in proportion to their ability to do so.

Miss Kennedy said yesterday in discussing the disposing of the 500 buttons, "I feel assured that we will encounter no difficulty in disposing of the 500 buttons. Kansas Citians are essentially civic-minded and as good citizens, will not hesitate to purchase a button as an expression of their antipathy for the abominable treatment of Negroes by lawless mobs of men bent on lynching a defenseless human being. I only hope that we will be able to send for more buttons to sell."

All persons who are willing to assist in the sale of these buttons are asked to call WA. 2537 to contact Miss Kennedy or to attend the meeting of the auxiliary to the N.A.A.C.P. on Monday night, January 29, at the Y.M.C.A.

ANTI-LYNCH BUTTON SALE PASSES 90,000

NEW YORK, Jan. 25.—The nation-wide sale of anti-lynching buttons launched by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has passed the 90,000 mark, it was announced here by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary of the association, who is directing the drive.

Van Nuys to Knife 'Own' Anti-Lynch Bill

Refuses Repeated Requests of Communist Party to Speak for Bill — Keeps the Measure Buried in Sub-Committee

By Adam Lapin
(Sunday Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana wasn't disturbed by the story of the lynch mob on the Eastern Shore of Maryland which seized two Negro women last week—not disturbed enough to do something about the anti-lynching bill which is languishing in his committee.

But Van Nuys, who heads the Judiciary Subcommittee which is supposed to be considering the measure, was very much upset when he got a telegram from Earl Browder asking that two Communists be permitted to tell why their party believes lynching should be sternly outlawed and punished.

He was so angered at this request for presentation of the Communist point of view to a Congressional committee that he wouldn't even answer two wires from Browder.

Refusal to grant Pat Toohey, well-known Communist leader, and Ben Davis, member of the Daily Worker Editorial Board, a hearing before his subcommittee, fits into the entire pattern of sabotage of the anti-lynching bill by the Indiana Democrat.

GRABBED PUBLICITY

Van Nuys wouldn't answer Browder. But he didn't mind getting a little publicity out of the situation.

"I don't intend to answer Mr. Browder's telegram unless the subcommittee should decide to invite the Communists," he told the Indianapolis Times. "So far as I am concerned, I don't care a thing about the Communist Party's view regarding my bill."

It should be mentioned in passing that the Judiciary Committee permitted Allen Zoll and other well-known fascists and anti-Semites to testify in opposition to the appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court.

Although he is formally considered a co-sponsor of the bill in the Senate together with Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, Van Nuys is actually hindering passage of which he calls "my bill."

Even in 1938 he refused to speak on behalf of the anti-lynching bill or to take a vigorous stand on behalf of a piece of legislation which bears his name.

Naturally, Walter White and other leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People refused to give Van Nuys their endorsement in the November election in 1938.

Van Nuys is now retaliating by taking a more active role in knifing the anti-lynch bill.

He is cooperating with the strategy of Senator Tom Connally of Texas, leader of the reactionary southern bloc which is fighting anti-lynching legislation, in keeping the bill pigeon-holed as long as possible in the Judiciary Committee.

Instead of holding regular hearings on the bill, Van Nuys has followed the procedure of calling his subcommittee together for a day or two each week and then adjourning indefinitely.

Van Nuys has given Connally the widest lattitude in brow-beating and insulting witnesses, both Negro and white, who have appeared on behalf of the bill.

He turned down a request by Senator Mathew M. Neeley of Massachusetts that the chair insists on greater courtesy to the witnesses.

One plan which is now being considered by Van Nuys and Connally which would kill the measure even if it is reported out of the Judiciary Committee.

PLAN TO KNIFE BILL

This strategy maneuver would place the anti-lynching bill on the Senate calendar where objection by even one Senator can result in holding it up indefinitely.

While these reactionary maneuvers have been going on, there have been very few Senators indeed who have been active in speaking up on behalf of the bill and demanding action.

Administration leaders in the Senate have played into the hands of the Connally group by ignoring the whole matter. Naturally they would not want to disturb the new-found unity in the Democratic Party by having the bill come up on the floor for a fight.

Members of the Judiciary subcommittee which is supposed to be holding hearings on the bill in addition to Van Nuys are Senators Pat McCarran of Nevada Austin of Vermont, Mathew M. Neeley of West Virginia, Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin and Senator Tom Connally of Texas.

It would be a good idea to tell them that the people object to further delay on the anti-lynching bill and to remind them that Communists have a democratic right to be heard before Congressional committees.

AntiLynch Law Zealots Overdo Themselves

Proponents of the Federal Anti-Lynch Bill now pending before the Congress apparently have let their own zeal be their undoing. Last week, Walter White, negro lobbyist for the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, startled a Senate Judiciary Committee startled Bolivar County, Miss., much more when he asserted that four negroes had been lynched near Cleveland, Miss., last year with such secrecy that even the victims' relatives didn't know about it.

Nobody else knew about it either. No sooner than the news wires carried reports of the White testimony than other avenues of communication got hot with indignant, factual denials from Bolivar County authorities, others of repute, all denying the testimony.

Senator Pat Harrison hurried over to the office of Senator Connolly of Texas and the latter immediately prepared to take White back before the committee and let him prove his statement. So strong and convincing were the statements refuting the negro lobbyist that the Texas senator decided that was not necessary—that he had been discredited already.

Apparently the charges were more than even some of the strongest senatorial proponents of the antilynch measure could stomach for as the week lengthened the bill lost notable friends.

Outstanding, significant have been efforts of Southern people, Southern law enforcement agencies to eliminate lynching.

6454

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Candidate Backs Anti-Lynch Law

NOV 2 1940

Republican party leaders asked Harlemites this week to support Charles H. Roberts (above), 42, who is a candidate for Congress in the 21st District. Roberts, a businessman and certified public accountant, lives in Washington Heights. Married and the father of two children, he has been active in civic and political affairs for several years. "The anti-lynch bill will never be passed under the Roosevelt administration," Roberts says, "because the Democratic Party is controlled by Southerners. Other legislation, like abolition of the poll tax, is practically assured, if Republicans are elected to Congress. The first duty of any administration should be to put the unemployed back to work."

Democracy and the Anti-Lynch Bill

DEC 1 1940

WHILE congressmen are wasting the taxpayers' money twittling their thumbs in the nation's capitol they might concern themselves with the enactment of the anti-lynch measure which has grown thick with dust in a pigeon-hole that has been its fate during the existence thus far of the 76th Congress.

The congressmen say they have nothing to do. All the important legislation is passed. The administration has no legislation for them to pass. And lacking originality and ingenuity the congressmen would never think of introducing the bill unless someone called it to their attention. Besides, the infallible Dr. Gallup has not conducted his nation-wide poll to ascertain how the wind is blowing concerning sectional sentiment on such legislation. Somebody ought to ask the good Doctor to conduct such a poll since his actions have perhaps influenced more legislation than any other poll during the present session.

The passage of a federal law against lynching has become more than an attempt to give the federal government jurisdiction to intervene in a state where mob rule has culminated in stringing a man up to a tree, post or other appropriate object for a crime that he did or did not commit. It has come to mean a symbol of respect for Negroes. It is a symbol of democracy. The bill is the test tube by which the omnipresence of democracy is given to the most lowly of American citizens.

No longer is the constitutional issue which so befogged the measure during the lifetime of Senator Borah a reason for arguing against it. That argument had some basis before the coming of the New Deal laws which have gone much further towards curtailing "states' rights" than the anti-lynch bill proposes. For if the Federal government can intervene to keep people from starving it can intervene, by appropriate legislation, to keep them from being lynched and mobbed and burned without even the benefit of a trial. If the Federal government can tell an employer how many hours to work his help and how much he should pay his employees it can prosecute the members of a mob for depriving a man of his life without due process of law. If the Federal government can compel an employer to bargain collectively with employees according to the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, it can, by appropriate action, compel the states to protect the lives and property of its citizens and upon their failure to do so the government itself can take effective steps.

The anti-lynch bill is truly a test of democracy as it works in the world's greatest deliberative body. For it has so clearly demonstrated how a few biased senators who are still fighting the Civil War can block the measure and prevent it from coming to a vote and thus prevent the majority from exercising its right to vote on the measure.

Since the congressmen have nothing to do they might introduce the measure without interfering with so-called important legislation and spend the taxpayers' money doing something to insure unto this country and unto all its minorities a real and sincere democracy.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6455

148 Congressmen Tell N. A. A. C. P. They'll Be On Floor Of House When Anti-Lynch Bill Comes Up For Debate

Replies Still Coming In From All Over Nation In Support Of Measure

Petitions To Be Taken to Washington This Week

NEW YORK, Jan.—Among the 148 Congressmen who have told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that they will be on the floor of the House when the federal anti-lynching bill comes up for a vote on January 8. 77 are Republicans, 70, Democrats and one a member of the American Labor party.

Replies, which are still coming into the N. A. A. C. P. office, are in response to a letter sent out by the Association to Congressmen, urging them to appear on the floor of the House when the bill comes up and to vote for the bill.

Officials of the Association reiterated their call for anti-lynching petitions which have been signed, asking that they be sent to the national headquarters, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, by January . It is expected that the petitions will be taken to Washington during the first week in January for presentation to sponsors of the anti-lynching bill in the House and Senate. The list of Congressmen who have answered the N. A. A. C. P. call to date is as follows:

Democrats

CALIFORNIA: Frank Buck, Lee E. Geyer, Thomas F. Ford, Frank R. Havenner, Edward V. Izac, Charles Kramer, Jerry Voorhis.

CONNECTICUT: James A. Stanley, J. Joseph Smith.

ILLINOIS: Laurence F. Arnold, Frank W. Fries, Kent E. Keller, James McAndres, Raymond S. McKeough, Anton F. Maciejewski, John C. Martin, Edwin M. Schaefer, Leonard W. Schuetz, T. V. Smith.

INDIANA: John W. Boenne, Jr., William H. Larrabee, Louis Ludlow.

IOWA: William S. Jacobsen.

MARYLAND: William P. Cole Jr., Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. Ambrose J. Kennedy, Landsdale G. Sesscer.

MASSACHUSETTS: Lawrence J. Connery, John W. McCormack.

MICHIGAN: John Dingel, Rudolph G. Tenerowicz.

FONTANA: James F. O'Connor

MISSOURI: John J. Cochran Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.

NEW JERSEY: Ed J. Hart, William H. Sutphin.

NEW YORK: William B. Barry, Charles A. Buckley, William T. Byrne, Emanuel Celler, Thomas H. Cullen, John J. Delaney, Samuel Dickstein, James H. Fay, J. M. Fitzpatrick, Michael J. Kennedy, Eugene J. Keogh, Matthew J. Merritt, Caroline O'Day, Donald L. O'Toole, Prus L. Schwert, Andrew L. Somers.

OHIO: William A. Ashbrook Robert Crosser, Dow W. Harter Michael J. Kirwan, Robert T. Secrest.

PENNSYLVANIA: Robert G Allen, Matthew A. Dunn, Herman P. Eberharter, James P. McGranery, Francis J. Myers.

WASHINGTON: John M. Coffee, Knute Hill, Charles H. Leavy Warren G. Magnuson, Martin F Smith.

WEST VIRGINIA: Jennings Randolph, Joe L. Smith.

Republicans

CALIFORNIA: John Z. Anderson, Albert E. Carter, Bertrand W. Gearhart.

CONNECTICUT: Albert E. Austin, Thomas R. Ball, B. J. Monkiewicz.

DELAWARE: George S. Williams.

ILLINOIS:: Ralph E. Church Everett M. Dirksen, Anton J Johnson.

INDIANA: Forest A. Harness Raymond S. Springer.

IOWA: Fred C. Gilchrist, John W. Gwynne, Karl L. LeCompte Henry O. Talle.

KANSAS: U. S. Guyer, Edward H. Rees.

MASSACHUSETTS: Charles R. Clason, Robert Luee, Edith Nourse Rogers.

MAINE: James C. Oliver, Clyde H. Smith.

MICHIGAN: William W. Blackney, Fred Bradley, Clarence J. McLeod, Earl Michener, Roy O. Woodruff.

MINNESOTA: Harold Knutson

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Arthur B Jenks

NEW JERSEY: Walter S. Jeffries, Robert W. Kean, D. Lane Powers, J. Parnell Thomas, Albert L. Vreeland.

NEW YORK: Bruce Barton Frank Crowther, Fred J. Douglas Leonard W. Hall, Francis Harter Wallace E. Pierce, Lewis K. Rockefeller.

NORTH DAKOTA: William Lemke.

OHIO: George H. Bender, Clarence J. Brown, Charles H. Elston, William E. Hess, Robert F. Jones, L. L. Marshall, Harry N. Routzohn, James Seccombe, Frederick C. Smith, John M. Vorys, Dudley A. White.

OREGON: Homer D. Angell.

PENNSYLVANIA: Robert J. Corbett, George P. Darrow, J. William Ditter, Ivor D. Fenton, Louis E. Graham, Chester H. Gross, John C. Kunkel, John McDowell, Robert F. Rich, Robert L. Rodgers, Harve Tibbott, James E. Van Zandt, James Wolfenden.

RHODE ISLAND: Charles F. Risk, Harry Sandager.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Francis H. Case, Karl E. Mundt.

WEST VIRGINIA: Andrew C. Schiffler.

WISCONSIN: Joshua L. Johns, Frank B. Keefe, Reid F. Murray, Lewis D. Thill.

American Labor Party

NEW YORK: Vito Marcontonio.

F. D. R. TOLD TO SPEAK OUT ON LYNCH BILL

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN

NEW YORK, Jan. 11 (ANP)—Congressman Hamilton Fish in a message read at the Emancipation day exercises at St. Mark's Methodist church Monday afternoon said that Negroes should urge the President of the United States to use his influence for the immediate passage of the anti-lynching bill which came up for discussion on Jan. .

The letter addressed to Cleveland G. Allen, who presided at the meeting reads as follows: "I wish that you would inform your audience that I expect to lead the fight, with Representative Gavagan, for the enactment of the Gavagan-Fish Anti-Lynching bill when it comes up in the house of representatives on Jan 8, and would appreciate it if your people would write to the president of the United States and petition or ask him to come out publicly for this bill, and to use his influence in favor of the passage of this legislation.

Cites Effect on Neutrality

"Six months ago the president exerted his great influence to emasculate the Neutrality bill for the advantage of certain foreign nations. It seems that he might well use his influence, as president of the United States in behalf of the security and lives of the American people and especially the colored people by urging the immediate passage of the Anti-Lynching bill."

Other letters were read from Gov. Herbert Lehman, Congressman Bruce Barton, Judge Jane Bolin, Senator Robert Taft, Thomas E. Dewey, and John D. M. Hamilton of the Republican National committee. Mr. Hamilton in his letter said: "The colored people who were the beneficiaries of the Emancipation proclamation have proved by the worth of their citizenship, and by their great progress that Lincoln's confidence in them was not misplaced."

Vote Bait

It may be confidently expected, this being an election year, that not a few bills will be introduced into congress which are motivated by the desire to corral, for individual or for party, specific blocs of votes in the forthcoming elections. Naturally, these bills will not so state their purpose, in preamble or text, yet to the observer informed on the intricacies of politics, their supposedly hidden reason will be plain.

1-7-40

It has already been reported that the misnamed "Anti-Lynching Bill" is due for reintroduction in the house Monday. The tragedy of this is that, if it should be enacted into law and held to be constitutional—which is open to serious doubt—it could serve no effective purpose in reducing the horrible crime of mob violence yet, in all probability, would tend to increase lynchings rather than to reduce them.

As a matter of fact, the annual Tuskegee report shows there were but three lynchings in the entire country in 1939. One, of course, would be too many. A lynching is probably the most shocking reproach upon any community, a crime that leaves a stain of disgrace upon town, county, state and nation. Yet, the fact that only three such crimes occurred in 1939 is proof sufficient that the disgrace is being stamped out, the crime eradicated.

Even if the "anti-lynching bill" could do what its popular title purports, the need is almost a thing of the past.

Placing the most generous of interpretations upon the clauses of the bill, there is still absolutely no need for it. There is already ample law against lynching and, the 1939 record proves, most adequate enforcement except in the rarest of instances.

But the tragedy of the bill is that, actually it is designed not so much for its publicized purpose, but to catch a certain class of negro vote in the north and west. Caught by the title and ignorant that it actually means nothing

or less than nothing, sponsors of this bill think they will, by their sponsorship, gain many negro votes. They will, too, for it is hopeless to expect many voters, white or colored, to see behind the camouflage and recognize the shady politics behind the measure.

There will be other bills, equally open to suspicion. Bills, probably, to provide "pensions" or "benefits" or special privileges for definite groups. All, if enacted, at the expense of the taxpayers but winning the votes of the temporary beneficiaries of public largesse.

Doubtless there are some groups which properly deserve special legislative consideration. Undoubtedly, if a way could be devised to make sure that never again, through all the years, the crime of lynching should bespatter the fair fame of any American community, that way would be joyfully accepted by all good citizens.

It is not the negro race alone that is involved. Of the three lynchings of 1939, one was of a white man, two of negroes. If it was exclusively a question of race, the south would be the first section to welcome any plan which offered a fair chance of forever barring Judge Lynch from the American scene.

It is, therefore, all the more pitiable to see such political trickery as that which masquerades behind the "Anti-Lynch Bill" seek to make capital out of the laudable desire to stamp out a fearful thing. A thing no less fearful whether it occurs in south, in north, in east or west; whether its victim be white man or negro.

Pressure on 4 Racial Issues Faces Congress

Drives for Army, Labor, Civil Rights to Follow Antilynch Bill Fight

WASHINGTON

Pressure for passage of anti-lynching legislation, enactment of bills to abolish racial discrimination in the army and labor unions, and to secure civil rights in the District of Columbia, is likely to be exerted at this session of Congress which opened Wednesday.

The motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Gavagan Antilynching Bill will be called up under House rules next Monday. Adoption of the motion is certain. Passage of the bill will follow.

Senate Filibuster Likely

No such easy sledding lies ahead for the companion measure, the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper Bill, in the Senate. A filibuster of Southern Senators, aided by Senator William E. Borah (Rep., Utah) endangers Senate approval.

The argument of Southern Senators that the South is working out the lynching problem will be bolstered by the 1939 lynching record, which reached an all-time low. They will contend that this record shows that the lynching stigma is being removed from the South as a whole.

The answer of Northern Senators will be that pending Federal measures have served as a threat, which has compelled the South to take steps to prevent lynchings.

Army Segregation Attacked

One bill introduced by Representative Hamilton Fish (Rep., N.Y.) would prohibit racial discrimination in the appointment and promotion of officers or enlisted men in the army. Another would authorize the President to appoint at least two colored cadets to the United States Military Academy each year.

Both bills are still pending in the House Committee on Military Affairs, to which they were referred. Although introduced in the Seventy-fifth Congress and re-introduced in the Seventy-sixth Congress nearly a year ago, the committee has never held hearings on them.

Army units which now lack official colored representation include the Medical Corps, Dental Corps, Veterinary Corps, Nurse Corps, Corps of Engineers, Signal Corps, Chemical Warfare Service, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery Corps and Air Corps.

D.C. Rights Law Sought

Former Representative Herman P. Kopplemann of Connecticut introduced a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia in the Seventy-fifth Congress, but it was pigeon-holed.

In connection with renewal of efforts for such a law, it has been proposed that a national boycott be sought of motion picture companies which own and operate theatres here and deny colored persons the right to attend them.

Applicable in D.C.

This suggestion has been given momentum by the announced world premiere of the motion picture, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," to be held here at RKO Keith's on January 22. Although there is no segregation law in the District of Columbia, Keith's will not permit colored movie-goers to attend that theatre.

RKO is not the only offender in this regard. Warner Brothers own and operate twenty motion picture theatres in the District of Columbia which bar colored movie-goers. Loew's has three.

5 More to Supply Films

If a national boycott were begun against RKO, Warner Brothers and the film-producing company which Loew's controls, because of their policy of discrimination, there would be left five major producing companies and a number of independents whose productions would afford entertainment to the persons who refused to patronize theatres showing pictures produced by the other three major companies.

Labor Benefits Sought

With regard to the Wagner Act an amendment will be sought to prohibit the National Labor Relations Board from certifying any labor organization as the sole bargaining agency for any group of employees if the labor organization refuses membership to colored workers.

Several other minor amendments will also be sought to the Wagner Act.

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6456

The Anti-Lynching Bill

That politically inspired bill, the anti-lynching measure, is again scheduled for disposal by the United States senate. Once again it is probable that it will be the signal for a filibuster, as opponents of the measure resort to every possible means to block its passage.

The bill is, on its face, undesirable. It provides what might well develop into an incentive for the provocation of mass outrage and violates, perhaps more drastically than any other legislative proposal, the rights of the states to police their own internal affairs.

It is so palpably designed primarily as a vote-catcher for office holders of northern constituencies which include heavy blocks of Negro votes, that it cannot be supported on grounds of need without the most barefaced ignoring of its import and probable effect. Yet even the Negroes whose votes it is designed to capture have been deceived by its publicized purpose. The great mass of support is based upon this misleading publicity, rather than upon the actual provisions of the bill itself and the probable result if its enforcement is ever attempted.

It must be confessed, however, that the bill today stands a better chance of passage than ever before. And it is with shame the south must confess it is from the south has come the material to support the proponents of this dangerous bill.

The records of lynching, carefully kept by the famous Negro institution, Tuskegee Institute, of Alabama, reveal that the crime of lynching has almost disappeared under the force of public disgust. In 1939 there were but three lynchings in the entire country and there is every reason to believe that, if this bill is not passed, this mob blot upon the fair fame of the nation will have been eradicated.

Yet, from Georgia and from Fulton county there has come, in recent weeks, the news of outrages which themselves are neither more nor less than the criminal activities of the lyncher spirit.

The fatal flogging of Ike Gaston, that East Point barber, was nothing more nor less than a lynching. Every instance of flogging, now being disclosed before the grand jury, is one more instance of lynch law in practice. Every incident in which secret bands of men seek to take into their own hands the enforcement of law, either by "warning," by intimidation or by physical duress, is an outbreak of the same mob motivation that is behind every case of lynching.

It is but further fuel for the flames of the anti-lynch law advocates when sworn officers of the law condone flogging activities or fail to exert every effort to apprehend the guilty criminals.

It is the duty of every citizen to aid in every way possible in the enforcement of the law. It is a failure of that duty when any citizen attempts to defend or apologize for such outrages as the South Fulton floggings, or to excuse those responsible for conditions which make them possible.

And every such outrage, every such apologist for it, but plays into the hands of the anti-lynch law advocates who would legislate into the national statutes an insult to the south and a piece of deceptive, vote-catching pap for the voters of Harlem.

Anti-Lynch Measure Is Approved By Senate Judiciary Committee

WASHINGTON—(AP) The controversial anti-lynching bill was approved today by a 10-to-3 vote of the Senate judiciary committee.

This action sent the controversial legislation to the Senate floor. Some Southern senators already have given notice they were ready to talk the measure to death, if necessary, as they did when it came up there previously.

Senator Connally (D., Tex.), who has led opposition to the legislation, told reporters after the committee's overwhelming vote of approval:

"We're going to resist it. The Mannerheim Line will not even be a starter."

The bill which the committee approved has already been passed by the House. It provides fines and imprisonment for state officers who permit a lynching, and subjects state subdivisions to civil liability to lynch victims or their relatives.

Chairman Ashurst (D., Ariz.) announced the vote as follows:

For—Senators Neely (D., W. Va.), McCarran (D., Nev.), Van Nuys (D., Ind.), Hatch (D., N. M.), Burke (D., Neb.), O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.), Hughes (D., Del.), Austin (R., Vt.), Wiley (R., Wis.) and Ashurst.

Against—Connally, Miller (D., Ark.) and Chandler (D., Ky.).

The committee agreed to permit other senators who could not be present, among them King (D., Utah), Pittman (D., Nev.), Danaher (R., Conn.) and Taft (R., Ohio), to cast their vote later.

There was no immediate indication when Senator Van Nuys, sponsor of the legislation, would seek to call it up for Senate consideration.

Senate Puts Anti-Lynch Bill On Calendar

Committee Votes, 12-4, Pointing Way To a Filibuster

By the United Press

The Senate yesterday was pointed for what may be an epochal filibuster and political battle when the Judiciary Committee voted, 12 to 4 t oput the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill on the calendar.

The measure would penalize State and county peace officers for failing to protect prisoners from mob violence and would authorize compensation for estates of the victims if their death was due to negligence.

Face Cloture Threat

As in years past, Southern Democrats and some of their Northern colleagues are prepared to tie up the chamber indefinitely if the bill comes up for a vote. This time, however, they face the threat of cloture, which would limit debate and force a vote at a specified time.

Republican Leader Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, removed the main obstacle to cloture when he said he would not bind the minority to vote against it as they did in 1938. His stand introduced a political element heretofore lacking. This is a Presidential election year and Republicans and some Northern Democrats are not overlooking the big Negro vote.

Forced 18-Day Deadlock

Said Senator Tom Connally (Democrat), Texas, who was generalissimo of the forces which, in 1938, deadlocked the Senate for 18 days to prevent a vote:

"The Mannerheim Line won't even be a starter to the fight we'll put on."

Chairman Ashurst (Democrat), Arizona, of the committee announced its vote as follows:

For the bill—Senators Neely (Democrat), West Virginia; McCarran (Democrat), Nevada; Van Nuys (Democrat), Indiana; Hatch (Democrat), New Mexico; Burke (Democrat), Nebraska; O'Mahoney (Democrat), Wyoming; Hughes Democrat), Delaware; Austin (Republican), Vermont; Wiley (Republican), Wisconsin; Taft (Republican), Ohio, and Ashurst.

Against the bill—Connally, Miller (Democrat), Arkansas; Pittman (Democrat), Nevada, and Chandler (Democrat), Kentucky.

LYNCH BILL FACES SENATE FILIBUSTER

Committee Reports Out Disputed Measure, 12 to 4, Despite Connally's Opposition

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 24—The Senate appeared tonight to be headed toward a filibuster over the Anti-Lynching Bill unless its members proved unwilling to mar plans of leaders for an early adjournment and submitted to the cloture rule to limit debate and force a vote at a specified time.

Threat of a filibuster came from Southern Senators after the Senate Judiciary Committee voted out, 12 to 4, the measure, already approved by the House, which seeks to penalize peace officers for failing to protect prisoners and provides for damages against them and the counties they serve.

Senator Connally of Texas, who led the successful filibuster against a similar bill in the special session of 1937 and the regular session of 1938, said that the measure would be "resisted to the utmost" and that "the Mannerheim Line won't even be a starter for the fight we'll put on." Similar expressions came from others of the twenty-five Southern Senators.

Senator McNary, minority leader, stated that he would not pledge the Republicans against the cloture rule, as he did in 1938 when it lost, 42 to 46. It requires a two-thirds vote in the Judiciary Committee to report out the bill was usually a falling off in the number. Senators Ashurst, Neely, McCarran, Van Nuys, Hatch, Burke, Hughes, Democrats; Senator Connally issued the following statement:

"Feeling that the bill is a deliberate affront to the people of the Southern States and to all local and Chandler, Democrats, Republicans. Southern States and to all local State governments, Senators from the Southern States will resist and oppose its enactment to the utterthat seventy-three lynchings most. If the Federal Government

can penalize State officers and lay penalties upon county governments, the Federal Government can destroy the counties within the States and the States themselves."

Connally Rallies Opposition

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, March 25—Sentiment of the opposition to the anti-lynching bill was voiced by Senator Connally, after the committee acted.

"The bill will be resisted to the utmost," he said. He was generalissimo of the forces which, in 1939, deadlocked the Senate for eighteen days to prevent a vote. "The Mannerheim Line won't even be a starter to the fight we'll put on."

"And I," said Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, "will give them everything I've got in my shop."

Regarding cloture, Mr. Connally observed that a two-thirds vote is required to apply a limitation on debate and he said that the twenty-five Southern Senators were "willing to go all the way down the line." These, he added, would be joined by others who were unwilling to be gagged.

Senators Wagner and Van Nuys, co-authors of the bill which is a counterpart of one already passed by the House, may move for cloture.

Anti-Lynch Measure Received By Senate

WASHINGTON—(AP)—The judiciary committee sent the controversial anti-lynching bill to the Senate today as a measure intended "to supplement the efforts of the states in stamping out lynching and removing the threat of mob violence from American life."

It was problematical, however, whether the legislation would be considered at this session. Sponsors indicated they would not seek to bring it up until major appropriations bills are out of the way.

Further, Southerners are ready to engage in a lengthy filibuster if the measure is considered. They contend that the states already have solved the lynching problem and that federal action would be an invasion of states' rights.

Anti-Lynch Measure Will Die On Calendar, Is Senate Consensus

Plan Is To Keep Upper House Busy Until Time For Adjournment Comes

BY BEN GRANT

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Christian Index 4-4-40

Anti-Lynch Bill Receives Favorable Reporting

The Senate Committee has reported favorable action on the Anti-Lynch Bill, by a vote of ten to three. The Bill which has passed the House of Representatives with a large majority will soon be brought up in the Senate. Senate opposition leaders have served notice that they are ready to apply another filibuster episode to this important measure.

It cannot be doubted that fear of its passage has caused the number of atrocities of this purely "American Institution" to diminish. Before the horrible occurences completely disappear some Federal legislation must be enacted. Some day the nation will produce a type of humanitarian statesmanship that will have the courage and high sense of justice to enact laws that will outlaw such abominable crimes.

WASHINGTON — (AP) — The adjournment rush might spare the South's senators from the ordeal of talking this year's anti-lynching bill to death.

Consensus around the Senate had it that the lynch measure, biennial bugaboo of Southern legislators, would die on the calendar without even a full-blown debate.

Bills which fail to get action at this session do not hold over until next year, but die with adjournment. In 1941, the progress already made by the anti-lynching bill would be erased, and the measure would have to travel the whole tedious legislative route again.

Present goal of the administration is to adjourn early in June. The leadership is taking no chances on letting that plan be fouled by an anti-lynching filibuster.

Some legislators said the strategy apparently was to keep the Senate so busy with other legislation—that qualifying for the "must" list—that there never would be a lull for the lynch bill's friends to use in calling it up for consideration.

Sponsors kept a cautious silence, apparently guarding against a costly haste.

Southern senators, who dislike to filibuster, were hopeful the bill would die a quiet death. But they missed no bets.

The other day, Chairman Glass (D., Va.) of the Senate appropriations committee, proposed an amendment to Senate rules to require that all speeches in any appropriation debate be confined to the bill under consideration.

Senator Connally (D., Tex.), leader of anti-lynching foes, quickly objected, insisting on full and free discussion of all questions before the Senate.

He did not say so, but some believed Connally looked forward to a time when the anti-lynch bill might be stopped by a prolonged debate on the measure immediately preceding it on the Senate's legislative schedule. If that happened to be an appropriation bill, Glass' plan would preclude such strategy.

The Glass motion was not adopted.

Southerners also guarded against the lynch measure's being hung onto the end of some other bill as a rider. In fact, they kept the debate against the Hatch "pernicious politics" bill going until they received assurances the anti - lynching bill would not be coupled with it.

* * *

Chances for an expansion of the South's sugar industry appeared slim this week-end.

Although Louisiana and Florida were nearer an agreement than ever before on the terms of sugar legislation, any hope that the new-found harmony would bear fruit was blasted Friday when President Roosevelt proposed an extension of the existing sugar control act.

The session-long dispute over sugar laws brought Louisiana and Florida, the only cane sugar states, into agreement on a plan which would wipe out domestic quotas, giving to Cuba and other foreign producing areas only that part of the American market which could not be supplied by domestic beet and cane producers.

When President Roosevelt criticized that and all other proposals to change existing law, disappointed cane and beet representatives alike predicted no change in the 1937 act was likely at this session. They said extension of the law probably would be voted either this year or next January.

Filibuster On Anti-Lynch Bill May End With Adiournment

By BEN GRANT

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LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6457

F.D. Challenged on Mob Issue

Afro-American 1-13-40
Baltimore, Md.

Fish, Opening Debate on Bill, Assails His Silence

(Speech of Representative Hamilton Fish in the House of Representatives, Monday, January 8, in favor of the Gavagan-Fish Anti-Lynch Bill)

Every time a colored man or woman is lynched or burned at the stake in America, it means that the Emancipation Proclamation has been suspended and that their civil and equal rights have been destroyed under the law and the Constitution.

I have few colored people in my own district. but I would be derelict to those colored soldiers who served under my command and who paid the supreme sacrifice on the battlefields of France fighting to make the world safe for democracy if I did not raise my voice and do everything in my power to help pass a Federal anti-lynching bill in order to make America safe for their own people, their families and sons.

To Protect All Americans

The primary and paramount duty of Congress is to legislate to safeguard the security and lives of the American people, and is the reason for the existence of government. I have taken an oath of office to support and defend the Constitution, and believe I am defending it when I am trying to protect human lives in America, whether they are white or whether they are colored.

There are still some American ostriches who refuse to recognize the constitutional rights of thirteen million free colored Americans, or one-tenth of our entire population, to equal protection and due process provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

There is a definite guarantee in the Federal Constitution that no American, whether he be colored or white, shall be deprived of his life or liberty without a trial by jury or due process of law, and naturally the Congress has the power to enforce such a mandate.

F. D. Silent on Lynching

President Roosevelt spoke to Congress on the state of the nation and of the world, and particularly of conditions in Europe but failed to mention making democracy work at home by enacting a Federal anti-lynching law

President Roosevelt does not hesitate to express his views and pass moral judgments on European nations, but why is he so strangely silent on legislation aimed to provide for the security and safety of the lives of our own people?

President Challenged

I agree with the President, when he quotes the preamble to the Constitution and says our best defense is the promotion of our general welfare and domestic tranquillity.

Maintaining those views, I ask President Roosevelt to state at the Jackson Day dinner tonight where he stands on the anti-lynching bill and what he proposes to do to secure its passage in the Congress and help in establishing justice and domestic tranquillity in our own country.

Berates Nation

A nation that does not protect its own citizens is not worthy of the name. A nation that sits supinely by and permits its own citizens to be destroyed by mob violence is in no position to protest racial injustices and persecution in foreign lands.

I again ask President Roosevelt to help make effective in behalf of thirteen million loyal colored persons the fine words he uttered to Congress:

Liberty, Fair Play Wanted

"We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy, and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come."

That is precisely what the colored people in America are asking for — human liberty, reason, democracy, justice and fair play.

Antilynch Bill up for Debate in the House

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON.

Debate on the Gavagan-Fish Antilynching Bill, perennial storm center of Congress, got under way Tuesday in the House.

A roll call vote of 256 to 114 which confirmed a standing vote announced as 170 to 67, was more than sufficient to bring the legislation to the floor, requiring a petition signed earlier by 218 members.

The political lineup of those voting to bring the bill up showed 149 Republicans, 104 Democrats, two Progressives and one American-Laborite. Voting against the bill were 111 Democrats and three Republicans — James W. Wadsworth of New York; Francis J. Case of South Dakota, and J. Thorkelson of Montana.

The bill would provide up to five years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine for each officer who wilfully permitted a lynching.

Political sub-divisions in which lynchings occurred would be liable for payment of from $2,000 to $10,000 to the victim's relatives.

Speakers in behalf of the bill included Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., (Rep., N.Y.) and Representative Martin J. Kennedy (Dem., N.Y.) while Representative Eugene E. Cox (Dem Ga.) and Representative J. Bayard Clark (Dem., N.C.) were outspoken against it.

PUSH FIGHT TO PASS ANTI-LYNCH BILL, N.A.A.C.P. WARNS

Daily Worker 1-15-40
Pittsburgh

Passage in Senate Depends on Quick Action by Supporters in Exerting Mass Pressure, Walter White Declares

"We're going to have a tough fight to pass the Anti-lynching bill in the Senate. Whether or not we will win this fight depends almost entirely on the pressure that can be exerted, and exerted at once by the people back home."

This was the statement made by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as a forecast of what is to happen to the Federal Anti-lynching bill which passed the House on Wednesday, Jan. 10, by a vote of 252 to 131, and has been sent to the Senate. The statement was released here yesterday.

Mr. White urged individuals and organizations interested in pushing the passage of the bill through to:

"Write to your Senator and tell him to exert his influence to bring this about, and that you urge him to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster is started against the bill."

The secretary of the NAACP said that the association plans to corral witnesses from many of the southern states and to have them testify, when hearings are held. Many of these witnesses will come from Texas, the home state of Vice-President Garner, Senator Connally, and Representative Martin Dies. "These witnesses," he said, "will show that in Texas, which has had more than 500 lynchings to its credit since statistics were first undertaken in 1882, continues to operate as one of the key southern states where denial of civil liberties, leading to lynchings, has been most flagrant."

Minden, La., Herald
January 12, 1940

MORE IMPORTANT

In spite of the fact that 1939 reports the practice of lynching is dying out in the south, contrary over the anti-lynching bill in Congress is red hot—and it is generally admitted that it is the best method for certain congressmen to play politics with the negro vote.

Representative Mitchell, Illinois Democrat, the only negro in congress, accused Republicans of "trying to buy back the negro vote with this bill." He said the Republican party had been "making promises" to the negro for the last 75 years and was now "discredited" with the race.

Since the South has shown that it can solve the lynching problem without the Northern congressmen making them by the passage of this bill which provides federal fines and imprisonment for peace officers who fail to stop lynchings, it seems rather foolish for congress to be wrangling over this bill when there is much more important matter of trying to get the federal finances straightened.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 7, 1940

LYNCH AND ESCAPE, COMMITTEE IS TOLD

Speaker for Federal Statute Says Three States Failed to Punish Mob Members

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6 (AP).—Dr. Arthur Raper, an advocate of federal antilynching legislation, told a senate judiciary subcommittee today that officials of three southern states, Texas, Alabama and Tennessee, had failed to punish members of lynch mobs properly after he supplied them evidence.

Dr. Raper, of Atlanta, Ga., engaged in several exchanges with Senator Connally (dem., Tex.), committee member and leader of senate forces which defeated similar legislation a year ago.

The Texas senator protested there was no need for the subcommittee to investigate "every lynching" because "everybody is opposed to lynching."

"What we are here for is to discuss this bill," Connally said.

Neely Defends Doctor

This caused Senator Neely (dem., W. Va.), advocate of the measure, to suggest that the subcommittee report favorably on the bill without hearings. Neely said opponents had demanded hearings and that "proponents have a right to be heard in their own way."

Dr. Raper, who testified he had studied over 100 lynchings in the last eleven years, said he had submitted evidence on lynch mobs at Sherman, Tex.; Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Columbia, Tenn., and that officials showed little interest.

Connally commented that two persons had been sent to prison after a lynching mob burned a courthouse at Sherman.

Dr. Raper said one man received a two-year sentence, adding that "for a courthouse to be burned down and a man roasted alive, a sentence of two years is not adequate."

The witness said "two peace officers" participated in the lynching at Tuscaloosa and that he furnished evidence of this to "Thomas E. Knight, the prosecuting attorney; all justices of the state supreme court, and the governor, but nothing was done."

Dr. Raper also said he obtained the license number of a car containing a police officer near Columbia, Tenn., when a boy was lynched after "he was acquitted on a charge of attempted rape."

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Feb. 6 (AP).—Testimony of Dr. Arthur Raper, antilynching legislation advocate, before a senate judiciary committee in Washington today recalled the death of Cordie Cheek, 17-year-old Negro, on Dec. 16, 1933.

Cheek's bullet-ridden body was found hanging from a tree near Glendale, a few hours after he had been released from jail in Nashville, where he had been taken for safe-keeping after his arrest on charges of attempted assault on a 11-year-old girl.

The Negro was released by Sheriff L. A. Bauman, of Davidson county (Nashville), press accounts said, on information from Sheriff C. I. Godwin that the Maury county grand jury had returned no indictment.

Sheriff Bauman later was quoted as saying his investigation developed that Cheek was kidnaped from his uncle's home in Nashville by men in two automobiles within an hour and a half after his release.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
February 7, 1940

THREE DIXIE STATES CRITICIZED BY RAPER

Anti-Lynch Bill Advocate Says Officials 'Failed to Act Upon Evidence.'

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—(AP)—Dr. Arthur Raper, an advocate of federal anti-lynching legislation, told a senate judiciary subcommittee today that officials of three southern states, Texas, Alabama and Tennessee, had failed to punish members of lynch mobs properly after he supplied them evidence.

Dr. Raper, research secretary of the Southern Commission on Interracial Co-operation, engaged in several exchanges with Senator Connally, Democrat, Texas, committee member and leader of senate forces which defeated similar legislation a year ago.

Dr. Raper, who testified he had studied over 100 lynchings in the past 11 years, said he had submitted evidence on lynch mobs at Sherman, Texas; Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Columbia, Tenn., and that officials showed little interest.

Negro Red Stirs Lynch Bill Hearing; Senators Resent His Personal Attacks

Times 3-6

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 5—Hearings by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee on the anti-lynching bill ended today in a stormy atmosphere as Senators threatened to expel Benjamin J. Davis Jr., a Negro Communist, for injecting personalities into an appeal for the bill.

The exciting part of the session came after Davis read a statement in which he termed Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter" and denounced the "shameful tactics" of Senators Connally, Ellender and Bilbo, who have organized prior filibusters which have prevented action.

Of those who figured in the testimony, Senator Connally sat as a member of the subcommittee, but Senators Van Nuys, Austin and Wiley united in a nonpartisan denunciation of the witness for questioning the integrity of Senators.

The witness, a member of the editorial board of The Daily Worker, protested to the committee that "you seem to be trying to browbeat me."

Senator Austin, who supports the bill, asked if "this tirade" was addressed to Senators and Representatives.

"It is addressed to every one who had anything to do with smothering the bill," the witness replied.

Senator Austin retorted that he would not permit outright reflections on the honor of Senators.

Senator Van Nuys, chairman of the subcommittee, at the opening of the hearing said that testimony on behalf of Communists was being taken at the request of Earl Browder.

In a prepared statement, Davis said that the filibusterers "are but the stooges for the landlords and mill-owners who degrade white womanhood," while they "pretend they oppose this measure for the protection of 'white womanhood.'"

"More than enough votes are pledged in the Senate to pass this bill," he continued, "but the reactionaries are wilfully and maliciously delaying its coming to the floor for a vote.

"President Roosevelt's 'national unity' is expressed in his reported agreement with the 'evil old labor baiter,' Vice President Garner, to scuttle this measure. These dilatory and sabotaging practices are a contemptuous flaunting of the will of the people."

The witness was frequently interrupted and on one occasion Senator Van Nuys warned him that a Communist had once before been expelled by the subcommittee.

When the chairman voiced this warning, a policeman stationed in the room rose as if in expectation of a similar order, but the subcommittee allowed the witness to proceed.

Senator Van Nuys said no further hearings would be held for some time.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6458

Divine Campaigning Against Lynching



Father Divine and a group of his followers, invading the Times Square sector last Wednesday soliciting signatures on anti-lynching petitions, were chased from corner to corner by cops because the Divinites were blocking traffic. Photog caught the "Messiah" in his car surrounded by throngs at 41st St. and Seventh Ave. On Thursday, "Father" and 75 followers headed for Washington by motor to deliver to the Senate a petition urging passage of the anti-lynching law.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL RECEIVED WIDEST SUPPORT LAST YEAR; SAY MOB VIOLENCE INCREASED

Association Changes Legal Procedure in Equal Education Fights; File Damage And Injunction Suits in U. S. Court

NEW YORK.—What N. A. A. C. P. officials regarded as the most important development in the fight to pass a federal anti-lynching bill, took place in 1939 when representation from every liberal element in the country including both the A.F. of L. and CIO sections of organized labor, and hundreds of civic, social, religious, political, fraternal and religious groups backed the bill, according to the association's thirtieth annual report for 1939, published here last week.

With 120,000 signatures secured by the association to anti-lynching petitions and some 50,000 signatures secured by other groups, plus resolutions favoring passage of the bill by hundreds of organizations all over the country "the ground was laid for perhaps the most concerted drive behind anti-lynching legislation that the country has seen in many years," the report said.

The association lists four lynchings for 1939, all men, including one white person. Florida was the scene of two of these lynchings. Arkansas and Mississippi are credited with one each. These figures represent one less than the number announced at the end of 1938.

Because no definite clue as to the identity or manner in which he came to his death was found following an investigation, the name of Robert Eggleston was dropped from the list of 1939 lynchings, the report said. Eggleston was a white southern CIO organizer who disappeared.

What About It, Mr. Barkley

During an interview in Chicago just before the opening of the National Democratic Convention, Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley discussed the anti-lynching bill with a group of representatives of the Negro Press. Some of the reporters interpreted his remarks to mean that the bill would be voted upon this session, while others "understood" him to mean merely that the measure would be brought up. Mr. Barkley is now being called upon to clarify his position and statement: not only that, he is being urged to set a date for the debate and vote on the measure.

We hope the senator was not playing politics when he gave his word that something would be done on the bill. He knows and we know that Negro voters are keenly interested in anti-lynching legislation. He knows and we know that an unqualified promise of definite action from a friendly source on the measure, would in all probability, result in some votes for the person or party making the promises. We regret that the welfare of 13,000,000 Negroes must hinge on a political expediency, but politics is like that. What we do hope, however, is that, since the senator chooses to capitalize on the issue, that he will not break faith with those believing souls, who still take politicians at their word. Speak, Mr. Barkley. Don't keep us waiting.

Catholics Urge Dems to Support Anti-Lynch Bill

Bee
Amsterdam
7-28-40
New York
Chicago, Ill

NEW YORK, July 25—A resolution urging the Democratic National Convention, in session in Chicago, Ill., on July 15th to speed the passage of the federal anti-lynching law in the present session of Congress was adopted by the Catholic Interracial Council Conference here July 11.

The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, the present anti-lynching bill has been passed by the House of Representatives, and

"Whereas, on June 22, Elbert Williams, a Negro, was lynched in Brownsville, Tennessee—the fourth lynching for the year 1940—and

"Whereas, the present bill is now in the calendar of the United States Senate, therefore be it

"Resolved, that the Catholic Interracial Council Conferences submit to the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago the following recommendations:

"1. The Democratic platform should contain a strong plank pledging the passage of the anti-lynching bill by the Senate at the present session of Congress.

"2. There is no need for a popular referendum with regard to the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. There can be no doubt that public sentiment, as repeatedly expressed by leaders of all races and groups in all parts of the country, and as indicated by the editorial stand of the daily papers of the North as well as the South, has plainly indicated that the American people desire the enactment of a strong federal law to abolish this barbaric crime.

"3. Since actions speak louder than words, the platform committee should recommend to the President that he publicly endorse and urge the immediate enactment of the present anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress.

Lynch Foes Seat In Congress Menaced By ALP Right Wingers

Right-wingers in the American Labor Party this week disclosed plans for a bitter primary fight against nomination of Representative V. Marcantonio in the 20th Congressional District in Harlem. Marcantonio is national president of the International Labor Defense and an outspoken foe of lynching and a staunch supporter of the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

Marcantonio has been renominated by the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party, controlled by progressives, but the right-wingers who control the State organization of the ALP have voted to support Joseph Piscitello for the nomination. The right-wingers assailed Marcantonio for his opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill.

Marcantonio has also filed for the Democratic nomination, which he will contest with James J. Lanzetta, the regular Democratic nominee, whom he defeated in 1938.

In the American Labor Party, apart from the contest between the right-wingers and the progressives for virtually all Assembly, Senate, and Congressional nominations, both factions have entered slates of delegates to the State convention. The fight to wrest control of the State organization of the ALP from the right-wingers is led by the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the A.L.P. The Committee includes most of the Negro ALP leaders. It is headed by Morris Watson and Eugene P. Connolly, as chairman and director respectively.

The Progressive wing in the ALP this week showed its recognition of the needs of the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples in Harlem by nominating Hope R. Stevens, noted Negro attorney, and Oscar Garcia-Rivera, Puerto Rican leader, for the New York State Assembly.

In Washington

With

GEORGE MORRIS

Cloture Rule

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27.—During the debate on the Conscription Bill in the Senate, some of our Mississippi friends expressed themselves in language which has been preserved for the record. They demanded that Senator Harrison close the debate immediately and call for a vote.

They correctly declared that the subject had been exhausted and further discussion was futile. When a subject has been fully discussed and nothing is being added to the sum total of human knowledge, it is time to vote, in the opinion of the patriotic Mississippians.

Mississippians knew as well as anyone that the debate had continued for days after every possible angle had been exhausted, and true to their temperament began calling for a vote.

They knew, as everyone else, that at least three-fourths of the senators would vote for the bill if given an opportunity. They knew also that if two-thirds of the senators wanted to they could vote cloture, cut off debate and force the question to a final vote.

THE SENATE is the last surviving governmental forum where members are permitted to speak as long and loud, as eloquently and as inanely as they desire. The only limitation is the cloture rule, which is seldom invoked and is looked upon as a dangerous precedent to establish.

The disposition is to permit senators to speak as long as they desire, so long as it is not compulsory to listen to them or read what they say. There is usually a ball game to break the monotony, or races at one of the nearby tracks to be enjoyed while the prized right of free speech is preserved.

Within the next few weeks it is probable that Senator Wagner will call up the Antilynching Bill, so dear to his Harlem heart. Already the senator has started injecting the racial issue into the national defense discussion, at the direction of Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

At the direction of Secretary White, Senator Wagner is inquiring into alleged discrimination against enlistment of colored people in the Army. Secretary White, in a letter to Senator Wagner, which the senator inserted in the Record as his authority for becoming interested in the subject, declares that the colored people are not permitted to demonstrate their patriotism.

IT IS CHARGED that negro recruits are accepted for enlistment by recruiting officers for only two regiments, both of which are negro. Senator Wagner's attitude is that in the matter of volunteering for defense of the country there should be no racial discrimination. Apparently he would take them as they come and fill the ranks with volunteers without regard for race or color.

At present there is no specific law on the subject, and the Army uses its discretion in keeping the races separate. What Senator Wagner is planning to do is obvious. At the direction of Secretary White, he probably will introduce a bill which, if enacted, will abolish the rule and require the Army to accept enlistments as they come and put white and colored in the same organizations, the same bunks and mess kitchens.

The result of that probably will start a domestic war and temporarily distract attention from foreign wars. But the ultimate result will be to further advance racial and social equality, to which Senator Wagner has devoted himself to such extent that he has the Harlem vote practically solid.

WHEN THE ANTILYNCHING Bill comes up, our Mississippi friends may be assured of one thing. It will pass if brought to a vote. The only thing that will prevent a vote is a filibuster, for there would be only a handful of votes, and those from Southern senators against it.

There is no comparison, of course, between conscription and antilynching legislation. The country is already in the war to such extent that a well known writer feels justified in saying that Lindbergh and Henry Ford are traitors. Treason is a strong word, but the country seems to believe it is justified when applied to Lindbergh for objecting to becoming involved in war, and to Henry Ford for declining to manufacture airplane motors for Great Britain in his Detroit plant. (His Canadian plant, of course, is serving that country.) Thus, while the country is generally accepted as being at war, lynching has all but disappeared.

The need for conscription legislation was obvious, and the lack of need for antilynching legislation is equally obvious. Nevertheless, if Senator Harrison should have responded to the demand of Mississippi for cloture and cutting off debate on conscription, some other senator would have equal justification for demanding cloture during an antilynching bill debate. Of course, it is possible that Mississippians regarded passage of conscription more important than defeat of an antilynching bill, but we doubt it. In any event, they suggested a practical method for obtaining both.

A Lynch Bill Now

THE recent statement of Senate majority leader Alben W. Barkley casts doubt on the probability of the passage of a Federal anti-lynch law during this session of Congress. It would appear from his statement that so-called national defense is being taken so seriously by Washington solons that the lynch bill must be relegated to oblivion and pigeonholed with other non essential measures so far as this session is concerned. We think different. National defense means more than a preparation for battlefield activities. It is more than guns, battleships and airplanes. It is just as essential to maintain a wholesome spirit and a healthy morale as to train soldiers and sailors and aviators. For a country at war fights at a great disadvantage when its citizens suffer a lack of morale.

The aftermath of the last war ended in America when soldiers of black skin returned to their native soil for which they had risked their lives to face the lyncher's noose. The democracy for which they had fought did not shed its blessings for them. Democracy for them meant terror, lynching, race riots and inhuman indignities for the offense of wearing a soldier's uniform.

Today we are anticipating a crisis. We may again be on the battlefield. It is only fair to ask of our Congress the protection of life, liberty and happiness in accordance to the dictates of reason and the Constitution under which we live. It is in keeping with the wishes of our black soldiers who died for a democracy that they did not enjoy to ask for a check-valve on our democracy.

The anti-lynching bill, if enacted into law, will boost the spirit and morale of the Negro people and give them new hope and courage. It will give them assurance from the government that it intends to make democracy work for the colored people of the nation. The anti-lynch bill will be a sort of check-valve for democracy.

There is every hope to expect its passage now if introduced on the floor of the Senate and the House. No group of senators would now dare filibuster. That would interfere with the defense program. A cloture rule limiting debate would be passed to prevent filibustering. The time is ripe for its successful passtage.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6461

6461

Anti-Lynch Bill Fight Nears Floor

NEW YORK. — The firs hurdle on the road to get ting the federal anti-lynch ing bill to the floor of the senate was passed Wednes day, March 13, when the senate judiciary subcommittee reported the bill out favorably.

There is every indication that the bill will be reported out favorably by the full senate judiciary committee on Monday, March 18, according to Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

Mr. White made the statement while commenting on the final hearings held on the bill by the senate judiciary sub committee March 12 and 13. Within a few minutes after the close of the hearings the sub-committee brought in a report showing a 5 to 1 vote in favor of the bill. Senator Connally of Texas was the only dissenter.

Shortly after the hearings closed Mr. White had a conference with Senator Henry F. Ashurst chairman of the senate judiciary committe, in whose hands the bill now is placed. Senator Ashurst pledged full support for the bill, and gave definite assurance that it would be reported out favorably when the full committee meets on Monday.

Members of the Senate subcommittee who voted for the bill were: Frederick Van Nuys, (D) Indiana, chairman of the committee, Matthew M. Neely, (D), West Virginia Warren R. Austin (R), Vermont; Alexander Wiley, (R), Wisconsin; and Pat McCarran (D), Nevada.

The Assistant Attorney General of Tennessee and an elderly white lawyer named Hardison from Kentucky testified against the bill on the first day, as witnesses for Senator Connally.

On Wednesday, March 13, the last day or hearings, Connally himself testified. He planed into the record two letters from Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, president of the Southern Women's Associa tion for the Preention of Lynching, and a letteh from a white Texan which attempted to minimize the importance of the testimony given by the Rev. Gresham Marmion, assistant rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Albans, Washington D. C. The Rev. Mr. Marmion, a native of Texas, had testified for the bill at the first hearing held on February .7 He told how he had unsuccessfully attempted to stop a mob from lynching two Negro youths in Eagle Lake, Texas in 1935.

Obvious chagrin and annoyance were shown by Connally, when one of his witnesses Attorney Hardison interrupted the Senator to add to his previous testimony. The lawyer stated that a Sycamore tree stood in his native home town in Kentucky, mute testimony to the lynching of ten men, all of whom were white. Apparently the witness did not realize that this piece of testimony gave support for passage of the bill.

Connally also placed into the record a press release from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urging citizens to bring pressure on their senators to vote for closure in order to prevent a filibuster when the bill comes out on the Senate floor for a vote.

State Executives Promised By Connally Fail to Appear At Anti-Lnych Bill Hearin

Tennessee Attorney General Thinks Bill A Brut Invasion Of State Rights

Don't Want F.B.I. Flooding The Soutl

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Bringing up his big gu to testify against the anti-lynch bill, Senator Connally s peacefully by, questioning them carefully and cautiously as the Big Bertha has fizzled badly in presenting the case fo the Texas Senator, who besides seeking to defeat the ant lynch bill is using the fight, it is reported, in an effort to secure his election for the third term to the United States senate.

The chief witness, Ned Tipton, assistant attorney general of Tennessee, was introduced to the committee on the hearing by no less a person than Hon. Thomas McKellar of Tennessee.

And the gist of Mr. Tipton's testimony, under fire, was that death in any form is permanent, whether by lynching or by electrocution, and that the ultimate result is the same, whether a blow torch death is the fate of the victim or a bullet through the head.

Insisting that state officers are always closer to mob scenes than any federal officers could be, the witness was of the opinion that the passage of such a law at this time would serve only to increase the number of men employed in the FBI with the express purpose of arresting lynchers.

Necessitating, said Mr. Tipton the placing of federal officers in every political subdivision of the United States at a tremendous expense and the invasion of the government into state's rights, Mr. Tipton said in his learned opinion, lynching was only "homicide committed by conspiracy."

Asked what he thought the ultimate result on the community of such brutality would be, Mr. Tipton said he didn't see that there would be any effect at all. Private crime, or ordinary crime is no different from any other kind of crime and there is no distinction in the opinion of Mr. Tipton between a man being killed by one person or by a number of persons.

Sen. Connally interjected his opinion that the penalty is the same in any case where the death of a person is involved, whether by one method or another.

Mr. Tipton did manage to get in at the last moment a statement of saving grace: "Homicide by mob violence is just like any other murder. I condemn it as much as anyone else. It is not a healthy condition."

Sen. Van Nuys, acting as chairman of the committee, questioned Tipton at length, drawing from him admissions that portions of his testimony did not coincide with the text of the anti-lynching bill.

Judge Robert E. Hardison, a former assistant district attorney of Kentucky, was then brought to the stand and in a lengthy peroration with many references to legal books, he attempted to point out the unconstitutionality of the law and how it worked.

The meeting was adjourned to convene again Wednesday morning when Sen. Connally read into the record some newspaper clippings and also concluded the testimony of Judge Hardison. Sen. Van Nuys declared that the evidence would then be laid before the judiciary committee and a vote would be taken as to whether it should be brought to the floor of the senate or not.

None of the governors promised by Sen. Connally, showed up for the hearing.

New Jersey Senator Favors Lynch Bill; To Work For Passage

NEW YORK CITY — Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg (R), potential Presidential candidate of Michigan, has told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he will do everything in his power to break a Senate filibuster should one develop over bringing the anti-lynching bil to the floor of the Senate, according to an announcement made this week by Walter White, executive secretary of the organization.

NO ILLUSIONS

Expressing themselves as having no illusions about the necessity of waging a fight to the finish in order to get the bill to the Senate floor, officials of the NAACP pointed out that attention should be given to the statement made by Kenneth Crawford, Washington correspondent for the New York Post, who commented on the significance of Senator Alben Barkley's recent announcement concerning the bills which Administration leaders expect to pass during the present session of Congress. Senator Barkley is Democratic leader in the Senate. Of this prediction Crawford, in the New York Post of March 2, says:

"Barkley's prediction is notable for what it leaves out, rather than what it includes on the list of things to do. He expects that the wage-hour amendements, Wagner Act changes, anti-monopoly legislation, the anti-lynching bill and anti-alien measures will be left hanging at the close of the session."

SENATORS 'UPSET' AT LYNCH BILL HEARING BY YOUNG BEN DAVIS

Southerners Called 'Stooges' and Vice President Termed 'Labor Baiter' from Witness Stand.

WASHINGTON, March 14. (ANP)—What was to have been Senator Connally's day in the Senate sub-committee on judiciary, turned out to be another day for the anti-lynch supporters, although it had been said that Connally's wit-nesses would appear.

However, instead of Gov. E. F. D. Rivers, Ben Davis Jr., a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker of New York, took the stand and in a series of statements during the 15 minutes granted him, succeeded in angering Connally's and Senator Van Nuys' ire.

Calling the Southern Senators "stooges" and further branding Vice-President Garner as an "evil old labor baiter," Davis drew down on his head the wrath of Van Nuys chairman of the committee and one of the proponents of the bill.

"That's an insult," he shouted and struck from the record Davis description of the vice-president and the members of Congress. "You have done more harm to prevent passage of this bill than anyone who has ever appeared."

Davis, who was sharply questioned about freedom of speech and the press in Russia, protested against his questioners. Branding the filibuster of Connally as shameful, he once again succeeded in rousing Senatorial wrath, this time from the fiery Texan, who shouted to Van Nuys:

"I don't propose to be slandered by this witness."

Davis accused Congress of not being very respectful to the Negro people, going on to say that Senate opponents of the lynch bill were "stooges for landlords and mill owners who are degrading white womanhood by paying low wages in their mills."

Barkley Asked To Set Time

NAACP Offers Steps Citizens Should Take

Daily Worker 9-2-40

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—Now that the Senate judiciary committee has reported the anti-lynching bill favorably, Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, majority leader, is being asked to set a date when the bill will come up in the Senate for debate and action.

Atlanta, Ga.

Supporters of the bill were urged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to take the following steps:

1. Write Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., urging him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be considered.

2. Write to senators from their states urging them to work to bring the anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for it; also urge them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop against the bill.

3. Get as many individuals and organizations as possible to write senators urging that the anti-lynching bill be passed. Form letters, form telegrams, and printed post cards are not very effective. Letters should be individually written to have the most weight.

The NAACP also has issued an appeal for funds to help carry on the fight, pointing out that the bill now has the best chance of passing in the long history of the fight for this type of legislation.

Before leaving for Washington Thursday, March 28, to organize the political forces working for passage of the Bill, Walter White executive secretary of the NAACP termed a recent column written by Mark Sullivan, New York "Herald Tribune" columnist, the "last stand of a confirmed reactionery, a stand based on the deliberate distortion of facts, and calculated to do considerable harm to democratic goodwill, because of the author's prominence."

WHAT SULLIVAN SAID

Sullivan had said in his column dated March 28, that lynching has been diminishing for the past seventy years and declared the anti-lynching fight was being pursued without sincerity by both major parties in order to snare the Negro vote.

Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, who led the filibuster against the bill in the special session of Congress in 1937 and in the regular session in 1938, announced that passage of the bill would be "resisted to the utmost".

The vote of the judiciary committee was 12 to 4 with the following members voting favorably:

Committee Chairman Henry F. Ashurst, (D) of Arizona; N. M. Neely, (D) of West Virginia; Pat McCarran, (D) of Nevada; Van Nuys, (D) Ind.; Carl A. Hatch, (D) of New Mexico; Edward R. Burke, (D) of Nebraska; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D) of Wyoming; James H. Hughes, (D) of Delaware; George W. Norris, (Ind.) of Nebraska; Warren R. Austin, (R) of Vermont; Alexander Wiley, (R) of Wisconsin, and Robert A. Taft, (R) of Ohio. Senator Taft is a candidate for President.

Voting against the measure were: Key Pittman, (D) of Nevada; John E. Fuller, (D) of Arkansas; Connally, and A. B. Chandler, (D) of Kentucky.

Senators Taft and Pittman were absent when the ballot was taken but they had their votes recorded.

The Anti-Lynching Bill has been favorably voted out of the Senate Judiciary Committee and under the rules should be brought up in the Senate for action. One of the ways to save a lot of faces in the Senate would be to never let the Bill reach the floor of the Senate for action. It begins to be apparent that the method is being used.

Daily World 9-4-40

Atlanta, Ga.

Says an NAACP news report, "Asked when the controversal anti-lynching bill would come up, Senator Barkley avoided the question with a laughing counter-question to his interrogator."

The Anti-Lynching Bill may be a laughing matter to Senator Barkley. I doubt very seriously if the Negro vote of this country is a laughing matter to the $10,000 a year plus salaries paid to Senators and Representatives and the $75,000.00 a year plus, paid to the President and the millions of other dollars paid to other party office holders. These salaries are in the hands of many of these gentlemen because of Negro support. It is very seldom that these representatives are called upon to enact legislation of particular interest to Negroes and the Anti-Lynching Bill is no laughing matter to Negroes Negro voters in this county supported the Democratic Party in '36 and '38. The failure to pass this Anti-Lynching Bill is going to be laid directly at the door of the Democrats from President of the United States down to township trustees. Millions of Negroes throughout this country without batting an eye, plan to beat every kind of a Democrat, if this bill loses, because we know that, if democrats if this country want this Bill to pass it will pass.

Way Clear for Lynch Bill, Barkley Reminded

NEW YORK. — Insisting that the Senate Majority Leader call for the anti lynching bill at once, "now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of," Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, told Senator Barkley, this week, that we cannot make democracy a reality in America "as long as the mob rides."

SEP 2 1940

White's statement was contained in a letter sent to Barkley September 9, the day following the death of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Ga., the sixth lynching victim this year.

Nazis Not Sole Threat

"We agree," the NAACP secretary said, "that it is important to protect America from the spirit of racial bigotry and mob violence [illegible] regardless of the basis of the methods used by totalitarian powers and particularly that of Nazi Germany.

SEP 2 1940

"But while we are building ships, planes, and guns to keep Hitler out, it is imperative that at the same time we make democracy a reality in the United States, and that cannot be done as long as the mob still rides."

Tenn. Vote Terror Cited

The letter pointed to the terror against disfranchised citizens in Brownsville, Tenn., resulting in the lynching of Elbert Williams, and the tragic status of the Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis, both of whom were forced to flee their homes, because they sought the right to vote.

All the Administration forces should be rallied behind the bill, White concluded, in an effort to insure passage. by the Senate before Congress adjourns.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6462

"Vicarious Atonement"

By Mark Sullivan

The Anti-Lynch Bill

THERE IS a crime. It is a very rare crime. It has been diminishing for 70 years; and last year there were only 3 cases in the whole United States. The name of the crime is lynching. (Can anyone think of a rarer crime than that? It would be an interesting research.) 3-28-40

As it happens, there is one crime rarer still, though not one the reader is apt to think of. This rarer crime is failure of a law officer, a sheriff for example, to use due diligence to prevent or punish lynching. This is the rarest crime there is. (I do not find, in several score pages of Congressional debates, any allegation that any law officer was remiss in the 3 cases of lynching last year.)

Yet, to debate a bill giving the Federal Government jurisdiction over this rarest of crimes, this practically non-existent crime, failure of diligence—to debate that, the House has spent almost the whole of two days' sessions. And a sub-committee of the Senate has given many hours to hearings. Finally the Judiciary Committee of the Senate has voted, 12 to 4, to put the bill on the Senate calendar. Whenever it is taken up, the Senate will spend not merely hours and days on the bill, but probably weeks. For everybody knows the bill, if pressed in the Senate, will be resisted—filibustered if you wish to call it that—as long as necessary to keep it from passing. A similar bill, 2 years ago, consumed 18 days of resistance.

Why? Why all this time and commotion about a practically nonexistent crime?

WELL, THERE IS one person who should be exceptionally able to answer. The bill is supposed to be in the interest of Negroes. (Though in fact, of the three lynchings last year, one was of a white man, and something like this ratio has existed through the whole history of lynching.) There is a Negro in Congress, he represents a Chicago district, he is a Democrat, Representative Arthur W. Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell told the reason for the antilynching bill, as he saw it. He said, "the Republicans are trying to buy back the Negro vote with this bill."

Now Mr. Mitchell was correct—so far as he went. But he omitted exactly 50 per cent of what he might have said. Clue to the whole truth is to be found in Mr. Mitchell's word "back"—"buy back the Negro vote." Buy it back from whom?

The whole story can be put in a paragraph of compact history. For some 70 years the Republicans had the Negro vote, as a sentimental reward for the party's opposition to slavery. Then, in 1932, and more in 1936, many Negroes went Democratic, voted for President Roosevelt. Meantime the Negro vote had become important. Great numbers of Southern Negroes, migrating to northern cities, became a decisive factor in the elections in several States—New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois.

THIS VOTE the Republicans would like to get back. This vote the Democrats would like to keep. Hence the so-called "antilynching" bill. In Congress it was a kind of friendly competitive bidding. The bill had bipartisan sponsorship. One sponsor was a Republican, Congressman Hamilton Fish; the other was a Democrat, Congressman Gavagan; both were from New York districts.

In the competition the Republicans made, on the whole, rather the better bid. On the final roll-call, practically all the Republicans voted for the bill, all except 8. The Democrats divided, almost in half. Voting for the bill were 109 Democrats, substantially all from Northern States, where the Negro vote is important. Against the bill were 123 Democrats, mainly from the South. The complete figures were:

For the bill, 140 Republicans, 109 Democrats.

Against, 8 Republicans, 123 Democrats.

The bill is mainly, as Democratic Congressman David Terry, of Arkansas, put it, "a purely political gesture used as a colored vote getter," by both parties.

YET MORE needs to be said, decidedly. Not all the votes for the bill were sordidly political, not by any means. Many, knowing that lynching has substantially disappeared knowing that the bill could have little or no practical effect, nevertheless supported it. They did so in the spirit of what theology calls an "act of contrition," or "vicarious atonement," for past wrongs against the Negro. Others supported it in a spirit of symbolism, as a protest against still continuing discriminations against the Negro, in hotels and theaters, in some States at the polling place.

It is chiefly as a symbol, a symbol of equal civil rights, that the bill has whatever appeal it has for Negroes. They know, as well as everybody else knows, and as well as the facts tell, that lynching has practically died out. They know it is already made a crime by the laws of every State. They know it is condemned and punished by the people of the Southern States. They know that most of the Southern Democrats, who voted against the bill, did so not because they condone lynching, but because of the issue of States rights involved, because of the intrusion of Washington into local government.

That is the reason the very able and conscientious Republican Congressman James W. Wadsworth, of New York, departed from his party to oppose this bill. That is the reason previous antilynching bills were always opposed by the late Senator Borah. Whatever merit the antilynching bill may have as a humanitarian gesture, is far outweighed by its danger as a step toward centralized Federal Government, toward weakening the local self-government of States and counties.

Anti-Lynch Bill Voted Out to Senate Floor

Sen. Connally Threatens Filibuster; Vote Was 10 to 3

3-26-40

WASHINGTON, March 25 (UP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee voted 10 to 3 today to report the House-approved anti-lynching bill to the Senate floor, where it probably will face Senate filibuster.

Sen. Tom Connally, D., Tex., one of the trio opposing a favorable report on the measure, promised that it would be resisted "to the utmost."

Senators voting to report the bill favorably were Chairman Henry F. Ashurst, D., Ariz.; M. M. Neely, D., W. Va.; Pat McCarran, D., Nev.; Van Nuys, Carl A. Hatch, D., N. M.; Edward R. Burke, D., Neb.; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, D., Wyo.; James H. Hughes, D., Del.; George W. Norris, Ind., Neb.; Warren A. Austin, R., Vt., and Alexander Wiley, R., Wis.

Opposed were Sens. Connally, John E. Miller, D., Ark.; and A. B. Chandler, D., Ky.

BILBO TO STAGE FINISH BATTLE ON ANTI-LYNCH LAW

Connally Adds That Mannerheim Line Will Be Eclipsed

3-26-40

(The Associated Press)

Washington, March 25. — No sooner had the Senate judiciary committee sent anti-lynching legislation to the Senate floor today than Southern senators served notice they would do their best to talk the measure to death.

"If my wind holds out, there are two bills that are not going to pass this session—anti-lynching and suffrage for the District of Columbia," Senator Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, told reporters.

Another, Senator Connally, Democrat, Texas, who led the forces which prevented Senate passage of an anti-lynch bill in 1938, declared Finland's famed Mannerheim line would be nothing compared to the resistance the pending legislation would encounter.

Senator van Nuys, Democrat, Indiana, sponsor of the bill to provide fines and imprisonment for local officers who permit lynchings and to make local governments liable for damages to lynch victims or their relatives, agreed that the proposal was threatened with "the same trouble we had before—a filibuster."

"If we can ever get the bill to a vote it will pass; there is no question about that," Van Nuys said in an interview.

The anti-lynching legislation, which already has been approved by the House, was O. K'd, 11 to 4, by the Senate committee. Eight Democrats joined three Republicans in support of it: Chairman Ashurst, Arizona; Neely, West Virginia; McCarran, Nevada; Van Nuys; Hatch, New Mexico; Burke, Nebraska; O'Mahoney, Wyoming, and Hughes, Delaware. Austin, Vermont; Wiley, Wisconsin, and Taft, Ohio, were the Republicans.

Four Democrats voted against the bill: Senators Connally; Pittman, Nevada; Chandler, Kentucky, and Miller, Arkansas. Taft's and Pittman's votes were cast after the committee's meeting, under a committee rule permitting such procedure.

Talking with newsmen afterward, Bilbo said he would give the proponents "everything I've got in my shop." He indicated he would offer again his amendment providing that American Negroes should be transported to Africa.

Bilbo accused Father Divine, Negro religious leader, of stirring up his angels against the Mississippian. He said he had received many letters from the angels, condemning him for opposing the anti-lynching legislation and denouncing his bill to send Negroes to Africa. Some, he said, asked him why he didn't go back where he came from.

In a statement to the press Connally declared that the bill was an "insulting reflection upon the Southern states" designed to gain votes in other parts of the United States.

He said there were only two lynchings in 1939 and that the South was solving the problem "more completely than any problem with which the federal government now deals."

South Doing Job

"Why can't we be let alone when we are doing an outstanding job?" the Texan demanded.

"If the federal government can penalize state officers and lay penalties upon county governments, the federal government can destroy the counties within the states and the states themselves."

Connally complained that the judiciary committee had voted without having the bill read before the full committee, and added:

"The bill, if enacted, will not punish a single member of a mob. It will not lay penalties upon a single lyncher. It is directed at sheriffs and peace officers and citizens of counties in which lynchings may take place. Under the bill, peace officers are penalized. The relatives of any victim of mob violence may sue the county in which, or through which the victim may have been carried. heavy money penalties. There is no effort made in the bill to punish individual members of a mob.

"This bill is motivated by prejudice and political expediency."

Barkley Asked to Set Date for Taking Up Anti-Lynching Bill

WASHINGTON. — Now that the senate judiciary committee has reported the anti-lynching bill favorably, Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, majority leader, is being asked to set a date when the bill will come up in the Senate for debate and action.

Supporters of the bill were urged by the N.A.A.C.P. to take the following steps:

1. Write Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senate Office building, Washington, D. C., urging him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be considered.

2. Write to senators from their states urging them to work to bring the anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for it; also urge them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop against the bill.

3. Get as many individuals and organizations as possible to write senators urging that the anti-lynching bill be passed. Form letters, form telegrams, and printed post cards are not very effective. Letters should be individually written to have the most weight.

The N.A.A.C.P. also has issued an appeal for funds to help carry on the fight, pointing out that the bill now has the best chance of passing in the long history of the fight for this type of legislation.

Before leaving for Washington Thursday, March 28, to organize the political forces working for passage of the bill, Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. termed a recent column written by Mark Sullivan, New York Herald Tribune columnist, the "last stand of a confirmed reactionary, a stand based on the deliberate distortion of facts and calculated to do considerable harm to democratic goodwill, because of the author's prominence."

Connally To Fight Bill

Sullivan had said in his column, dated March 28, that lynching has been diminishing for the past 70 years and declared the anti-lynching fight was being pursued without sincerity by both major parties in order to snare the Negro vote.

Senator Tom Connally of Texas, who led the filibuster against the bill in the special session of Congress in 1937 and in the regular session in 1938, announced that passage of the bill would be "resisted to the utmost."

The vote of the judiciary committee was 12 to 4 with the following members voting favorably:

Committee Chairman Henry F. Ashurst, (D) of Arizona; M. M. Neely, (D) of West Virginia; Pat McCarran, (D) of Nevada; Van Nuys, (D) of Indiana; Carl A. Hatch, (D) of New Mexico; Edward R. Burke, (D) of Nebraska; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D) of Wyoming; James H. Hughes, (D) of Delaware; George W. Norris, (Ind.) of Nebraska; Warren R. Austin, (R) of Vermont; Alexander Wiley, (R) of Wisconsin, and Robert A. Taft, (R) of Ohio.

Voting against the measure were: Key Pittman, (D) of Nevada; John E. Fuller, (D) of Arkansas; Connally, and A. B. Chandler, (D) of Kentucky. Senators Taft and Pittman were absent when the ballot was taken but they had their votes recorded.

Let The Lynch Bill Pass

Daily World

Again the highest legislative body in our democracy has under consideration the proposed anti-lynching measure. The bill has been sent to the Senate floor by a favorable sub-committee report and all is ready for full attention by that body. As in the past representatives from the South, our home, have indicated that they will turn loose their fullest possible blasts against the highly controversial measure. Atlanta, Ga. 3-31-40

It is sometimes puzzling to watch our so-called democracy at work for what is intended to be the best for all its constituents. Why there should be so much opposition to a law, which if properly applied and administered would end a national disgrace, is unexplainable from many angles. No one obected when legislation against kidnaping was proposed in the national law-making chambers, or when other measures were passed to put an end to lawlessness common to our New World scheme.

Why, then, should there be such overbounding opposition to the measure to do away with mobs taking the law into their own hands and serving as jury, judge and executioners? The measure would protect white as well as colored Americans.

The NAACP is to be congratulated in maneuvering the measure thus far through the Congress. The bill has excellent chances for passage this term, regardless of the opposition.

CP telegrams, officials of the organizations said today.

Sen. Barkley Denies Comment On Measure

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

OCT 2 1940

NEW YORK—Refuting a signed story which appeared in the Chicago Defender, September 14, Senator Alben Barkley issued a statement denying that he had recently told a Negro delegation that the anti-lynching bill is a "dead horse," and has been removed as an issue from the present campaign by musual agreement of both parties concerned."

The Senate Majority Leader's statement was contained in a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People dated September 20. He wrote in response to two NAACP telegrams, asking him to deny or affirm the charge and to name the representatives of the two parties who made the agreement, if the charge was true.

Characterizing the story as a "wilful misrepresentation," the senator said: "I am amazed that any newspaper should be guilty of such an exegetical error. In the first place, I have the Anti-lynching bill and never made any such statement as that contained in your telegram to any body at any time.

"I have never discussed the Anti-lynching Bill as a political issue with anybody at any time and no agreement of any sort has either been made or even discussed so far as I know between the representatives of both political parties as to whether the Anti-lynching bill will or not be an issue in the political cam-- paign.

OCT 2 1940

"In other words, the entire statement as quoted in your telegram is without the slightest foundation and I am amazed that any publication that regards itself as responsible would be guilty of such wilful misrepresentation."

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

Neither President Roosevelt nor Wendell Willkie, both of whom were asked for [illegible] statement on the charge against Barkley, has replied to the NAA

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6463

Mitchell Charges Republicans Woo Negro Vote By Favoring Anti-Lynching Measure

SOLONS IRKED BY CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRAT

Only Race Member in Congress Meets Hot Retorts From Foes of Measure

HAMILTON FISH CAUSTIC

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (AP) — The house heard its only Negro member, Representative Mitchell (D-Ill), hotly charge the Republican party today with trying to buy back the Negro vote with the pending anti-lynching bill.

His accusation, in the midst of a quiet, almost perfunctory renewal of a controversy that recurs in every congress, started something. Several Republicans sought recognition to express their resentment and Representative Fish (R-N.Y.) caustically inquired if the Negro vote was for sale.

"Every vote in the United States is for sale," Mitchell answered. "Not for money, but for right and justice."

Representative McDowell (R.-Pa.) accused Mitchell, ardent proponent of the bill, of trying to alienate the Republicans from its support but asserted that 98 per cent of his party colleagues would vote for it.

Representative Seccombe (R.-Ohio) produced a letter which he said Mitchell wrote to a constituent last November agreeing to take up a matter with the WPA if the constituent could first produce a letter from his ward committeeman.

Mitchell Attacked

"That indicates," said Seccombe, "who is trying to play Santa Claus and who is not, and who is trying to buy the Negro vote and who is not."

Republican Burdick (R-N. D.) asserted that Mitchell's statement was a reason for voting against the bill but that Mitchell did not "represent the Negro race in this country." He announced he would reserve judgment as to how he would vote.

Pending was the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, passed by the house previously only to encounter a Southern filibuster in the senate. The measure would seek to curb lynching by imposing penalties upon peace officers who fail to protect prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making municipalities or counties liable to damage suits by lynching victims or their dependents.

The house is expected to pass it again tomorrow, but again it faces death in the senate.

The arguments for and against it which had been heard in past discussions were trotted out again. Southerners and a few Northerners contended it was unworkable, unconstitutional and unenforcable. Proponents denied these statements and asserted that the bill would accomplish its purpose of preventing lynchings.

Representative Gavagan (R-N.Y.) of the bill, announced that he planned to eliminate a section specifically exempting killings in the course of labor disputes. He included the section at the urging of some labor leaders, he said, but later concluded that it was unnecessary.

While the house debated, national guardsmen were on duty in Prentiss, Miss., to prevent what local officials feared might develop into a lynching. Crowds gathered menacingly for the arraignment of two Negroes charged with killing a peace officer and the sheriff appealed to Gov. Hugh White to send troops. He did so, expressing regret that the situation should have arisen while the bill was before the house and recalling that two years ago a lynching occurred at Duck Hill, Miss., while the bill was pending in congress.

SOUTH IS READY AGAIN TO BATTLE ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Fight Will Start in House on Same Day as Jackson Dinner

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Jan. 6.—The troublesome anti-lynching bill, come to life again Monday, grimly precluding the Democratic party's Jackson Day "harmony feast."

The annual Jackson dinner, a time when the Democratic bigwigs whoop it up for party peace, is scheduled for Monday night. That will be just a few hours after the preliminary House skirmish over the lynch bill of Representative Gavagan, Democrat, New York.

For scrapping party lines and setting South against North, this issue has no equal. Anti-lynching filibusters are traditional in the Senate.

There is little question about how the House vote will go. Some say it will be 3 to 2, some say 2 to 1, some say even 3 to 1, but Northerners and Southerners alike give Gavagan's bill an easy margin.

But there will be a fight, regardless of the inevitable outcome.

"We're going to make a record that the Senate can't ignore," said one Southerner. "But the bill is going to pass. No question about that."

The bill got its right to the floor by means of a petition signed by a clear majority of the House. That's how it happens to be the No. 1 measure for House consideration in the new session.

The schedule Monday is simply to vote on whether or not the bill should be considered, with 20 minutes of debate. Next day, assuming the vote is to take it up, the House begins six hours of argument on the bill itself.

The Senate situation is different. There, no rule limits a member's speech, and an opposition bloc is privileged—if strength holds out—to talk a bill to death.

Two years ago, Southern senators filibustered six weeks before they killed an anti-lynching bill. Senator Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, talked a week.

Senator Connally, Democrat, Texas, leader of the opposition bloc, indicates the Southerners are ready to deal with a new anti-lynching emergency. But some Southern members believed the leadership, fearful lest it prolong the session, would not permit the bill to get a place on the Senate calendar.

Briefly, the Gavagan bill would subject the sheriff or other local authority to $5000 fine or five years' imprisonment or both if he failed or neglected to "make all diligent efforts" to prevent a lynching, or if he failed to make diligent efforts to prosecute the mob.

For any lynching injury or death, the governmental subdivision would be liable to the victim or his heirs to the extent of $2000 to $10,000.

Sharply reduced estimates for flood control, rivers and harbors and other items dear to the hearts of many congressmen tempered Southern enthusiasm over the trimmed budget for fiscal 1941.

The lion's share of waterway appropriations goes South. Reading clerks had hardly finished the president's budget message before disappointed congressmen were talking about a drive to boost the flood control and river and harbor appropriations beyond the estimates.

Skeptical Republican leaders declined invitations to the Jackson Day dinner. They weren't so sure, apparently, about its being "nonpartisan."

Speaker Bankhead, Democrat, Alabama, said there would be nothing nonpartisan about his Jackson Day speech.

The speaker gets frequent Re

Spingarn Hands Senator Connally Setback In Hot Lynch Bill Debate

Courier 2-17-40 Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15.—(ANP)—Utterly free of invective, accusations and fire, but withal the most masterful presentation heard in the defense of a proposed bill, the unanswerable arguments of Arthur E. Spingarn, newly-elected president of the N. A. A. C. P., proved a stumbling block for Senator Tom Connally of Texas when Mr. Spingarn appeared before the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary committee at a hearing on the anti-lynch bill Wednesday afternoon.

Walter White produced a masterful statement which was read into the record and after much heckling and many questions of an almost browbeating character, by the senator from Texas, left the stand having spent nearly two hours under severe cross-examination in everything from law to metaphysics.

It was apparent from the outset lawyer, Senator Connally soon found he was no match for the New Yorker who has devoted time, energy and money to the cause of the N. A. A. C. P., and finally allowed Mr. Spingarn to leave the witness stand.

As the fourth witness of a highly interesting session, Mr. Spingarn presented for the consideration of the sub-committee the opinions abroad and in South America on America and lynching.

Attempting to tie up the brilliant of the hearing that Senator Connally was going to do most of the quizzing and upon his shoulders fell the burden.

Beginning Tuesday, he assailed Dr. Arthur Raeford, a scientist who had made a study of 10(lynchings trying frequently t(turn Dr. Raeford aside. Referring constantly to the fact that there were only three lynchings in the U. S. in 1939, according to figures submitted by Tuskegee institute Senator Connally used this as a yardstick through the entire proceedings.

Declaring that the South itself is solving the problem and that the present bill is an outside and unnecessary influence, Senator Connally fought with all of his resourcefulness to stave off the telling arguments and the facts presented by the witnesses for the bill.

Second witness was the Rev. Dr. Marmion, pastor of an Episcopal church here in D. C. A former Texan, who while a pastor in the state of Texas, Dr. Marmion is credited with having attempted to stop a mob from lynching two Negro boys. The boys according to Dr. Marmion were accused of the murder of a white girl, whose body had been found on the road.

Then came Dr. G. F. Porter of Dallas, president of the Dallas Branch of Wiley university. Dr. Porter told of his difficulties when he had been serving on a jury in Dallas and of how a mob had attempted to lynch him.

However, it was not until Wednesday that the real fireworks started with the Rev. Ernest C. Estell of Dallas on the stand. He told of unreported lynchings in his community in Tennessee and then later in Dallas where he had moved to pastor a church.

Following Dr. Estell came R. R. Grovell of Houston, who told of witnessing a lynching when he was a mere lad of [illegible] in the back yard of his home—how a mob came in and seized and beat into helplessness, an old man who had had trouble about paying his rent.

From here, it was a continuation of lynch stories, most of which had happened in Texas.

Then came Walter White with his finely prepared brief on the lynching situation in America.

Mr. White related stories of unreported lynchings, quoted from letters from noted white newspaper writers and editors and also offered into evidence, a study of a lynching made by a member of the sociological department of Southern Methodist university. This was not admitted in the record until the sub-committee had thoroughly investigated the report.

Referring to the testimony presented as "sewage," Mr. Connally continued his barrage of questions until Mr. White told the story of how he narrowly escaped mob violence in Dallas in 1938. This brought another barrage of questions from Mr. Connally who was attempting to show that the South was giving adequate protection when needed.

From Senator Wiley came the statement, "I am interested in destroying the spirit that makes lynching possible," while he was interrogating Mr. White on the methods of enforcing the law and what effect it would have toward preventing more lynchings.

Then came the brilliant presentation of Mr. Spingarn followed by testimony on the constitutionality of the bill by Dean William Hastie of the Howard university school of law.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
February 7, 1940

Editorial of the Day

DO WE NEED AN ANTILYNCH LAW?

(From Collier's.)

It comes out that lynching in the United States during the year 1939 hit an all-time low—three for the whole nation, with one of the victims a white man.

The news makes us wonder whether we need the antilynch legislation that bobs up in almost every session of congress, causes various lawmakers to fight the Civil War all over again with their mouths, and comes fairly close to passing but has never passed yet.

Without such a law, lynching has been cut down in this country from a peak of 231 mob murders in 1892 to the three reported last year. The thing has been accomplished by education of public opinion. Press, educators, clergy—all the forces of civic decency—have crusaded against this barbaric custom for 60 years.

Lynching seems to be definitely on the run in this country, though, of course, the total may swing above three this year or next or later.

But until and unless lynchings threaten to go a long way toward that 1892 peak of 231, we'd say it would be wise to keep up the nonpolitical crusading and sidetrack the proposed legislation. A law decreeing some reform should be the last recourse. It's far better to bring about a reform by bringing public opinion around to favoring it—and civic decency, in the matter of lynching as in all others, is better generated voluntarily inside any community than imposed from outside.

Garner Evil Labor Baiter, Negro Witness Relates

Davis Accuses Vice President Of Trying To 'Scuttle' Anti-Lynch Bill

Telegraph

WASHINGTON, March 5 (AP)—While senate sponsors of anti-lynching legislation protested that he was hurting their cause, Benjamin Davis, Negro Communist, called Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter" today and accused him of agreeing with President Roosevelt to "scuttle" the anti-lynch bill.

Davis, who identified himself as an associate editor of the Daily Worker, Communist newspaper, testified at a tumultous hearing before a senate judiciary subcommittee considering an anti-lynching bill already passed by the house. The measure would provide penalties for counties and county officials in event of a lynching.

Macon, Ga.

The Negro's remarks about the president and the vice president, and his reference to Southern members of congress as "stooges for the landlords and mill-owners who degrade white womanhood by refusing to pay them a living wage," were stricken from the hearing record by Chairman Van Nuys (D-Ind.)

3-6-40

Van Nuys, himself a sponsor of anti-lynching legislation, warned the witness repeatedly against referring to members of congress and threatened at one point to call capitol police and have him taken away.

"You crashed the gates of this committee just to try and send out Communist propaganda," Van Nuys declared. "You have done more harm to prevent passage of this bill than anyone who has ever appeared."

Before Davis was allowed to testify, Van Nuys told other senators present that Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist party, had insisted that Communist representatives be permitted to appear. The senator added:

"I don't care a rap what Earl Browder or his whole party thinks of this or any other bill."

Senator Wiley (R-Wis.) suggested that the Communist witnesses be granted 15 minutes and Senators Neely (D-W.Va.), Austin (R-Vt.) and Connally (D-Tex.) nodded approval.

64464

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Colored Communist Describes Garner as 'Evil Says Roosevelt Helped Scuttle Lynch Bill

By the Associated Press

While Senate sponsors of anti-lynching legislation protested that he was hurting their cause, Benjamin Davis, colored Communist, called Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter" yesterday and accused him of agreeing with President Roosevelt to "scuttle" the antilynch bill.

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Van Nuys Warns Him

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"I don't care a rap what Earl Browder or his whole party thinks of this or any other bill."

15 Minutes Allowed

Senator Wiley (Republican), of Wisconsin, suggested that the Communist witness be granted 15 minutes and Senators Neely (Democrat), of West Virginia, Austin (Republican), of Vermont, and Connally (Democrat), of Texas, nodded approval.

John P. Davis testified that during two months of last year "masked bands of the Ku Klux Klan rode with burning crosses through the Negro sections of Anderson and Greenville, S. C., 20 different times.

He said that a National Youth Administration camp at Lexington County, S. C., had been visited by scores of masked Klansmen, and "Negro children terrorized." He added:

"Fred V. Johnson, head of the South Carolina Klan, makes his headquarters in the office of the sheriff."

'Anti-Lynching' Move Flayed By Governor

Cheap Vote Gesture And Bureaucracy Threat, Says Dixon

Gov. Dixon yesterday issued a barbed attack on the Federal anti-lynching bill and pledged that if during his administration a lynching threatened "it would be met with whatever force was necessary" to squelch it.

He asserted further that any officer guilty of negligence in suppressing a lynching would be dealt with in uncompromising fashion.

The statement was contained in a letter to Senator Kenneth McKellar, of Tennessee, who is compiling arguments to be used in Congress. The letter in part follows:

"We do not have lynchings in Alabama. The entire power of the State government, for the past many years, has been thrown behind the effort to stop this type of crime, and it does not exist in our State.

"Should any threat of lynching occur during my administration it would be instantly met with whatever force was necessary, and should any law officer in Alabama be guilty of negligence in this regard he would be proceeded against at once . . .

"The present swing of the Federal government toward the assumption of power in the local affairs of the State is, in my opinion, an extremely dangerous one. Followed to its logical conclusion it will result in the unquestioned control by the Washington bureaucracy of the personal, private and daily affairs of every citizen of the United States wherever located. It will lessen the power of a minority to protect itself against aggression by a majority. It will remove the control of the acts of officials from the people whose servants they are supposed to be. It cannot fail to be disastrous to our American way of life and to the continued existence of the basic principles which have maintained, often against attack, the liberties of our people.

"The unanimous opinion of the people of this State is that the Wagner anti-lynching bill is advocated and pushed solely as a sectional issue and for the purpose of securing votes on the part of those who have a substantial negro element in their constituency, and our people are also convinced that enough social problems exist in the constituency of the gentlemen who are advocating this bill to consume their entire time from now on, if they devote their attention to the affairs of their constituents and not to those of people far removed from their section of the country."

ANTILYNCH ADVOCATE LASHES AT GARNER

Negro Calls Texan 'Evil Old Labor Baiter'

WASHINGTON, March 5.—(AP)—While Senate sponsors of anti-lynching legislation protested that he was hurting their cause, Benjamin Davis, negro Communist, called Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter" today and accused him of agreeing with President Roosevelt to "scuttle" the Antilynch Bill.

Davis, who identified himself as an associate editor of the Daily Worker, Communist newspaper, testified at a tumultous hearing before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee considering an Antilynching Bill already passed by the House. The measure would provide penalties for counties and county officials in event of a lynching.

The negro's remarks about the President and Vice President, and his reference to oSuthern members of Congress as "stooges for the landlords and millowners who degrade white womanhood by refusing to pay them a living wage," were stricken from the hearing record by Chairman Van Nuys (D., Ind.).

Previously, J. P. Davis, executive secretary o fthe National Negro Congress, testified that congressional approval of antilynching legislation would curb an increase in mob spirit under the Ku Klux Klan in numerous areas.

The Negro Congress spokesman said there had been activities within the year in South Carolina Miami, Atlanta, Memphis and Aberdeen, Washington. He said a decline in reported lynch deaths ailed to reveal "increased floggings and beatings."

Lynch Bill Hearing To Start Today

Walter White And Dean Hastie To Present Facts

NEW YORK — Any attempt on the part of Senator Tom Connally of Texas to emasculate the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper Federal Anti-lynching bill during the final hearings on the bill, by putting on witnesses from Texas, South Carolina and other Southern states to testify against the bill, will be met with full facts and figures, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced today.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys, chairman of the Senate Judiciary sub-committee conducting hearings on the bill, has announced that the hearings will be resumed today, Tuesday, March 1, closing either today or tomorrow.

TO REFUTE WITNESSES

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, and Dean William Hastie, of the Howard University Law School, who is chairman of the Association's national Legal committee, will be present at the hearings to refute any false statements made by Connally's witnesses, the announcement said.

Background material concerning lawless activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other types of mob violence in South Carolina and Texas will be placed in the hands of committee members and newspaper correspondents, Mr. White said. Lack of funds prevented the association's sending investigators into these states to get fuller information, he added.

A tentative survey of Senatorial reaction to the NAACP's 1940 inquiry on cloture follows:

FOR CLOTURE

DEMOCRATS: Alben W. Barkley, Ky.; Bennett Champ Clark, Mo.; Theodore F. Green, R. I.; Francis T. Maloney, Conn.; Sherman Milton, Ind.; Matthew M. Neely, W. Va.; Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Wash.; William H. Smathers, N. J.; Frederick Van Nuys, Ind.; Robert F. Wagner, N. Y.; and David I. Wash, Mass.

REPUBLICANS: W. Warren Barbour, N. J.; Arthur Capper, Kans.; James J. Davis, Pa.; and Robert A. Taft, Ohio.

NON-COMMITTAL ON CLOTURE

DEMOCRATS: Albert B. Chandler, Ky.; D. Worth Clark, Idaho; James M. Mead, N. Y.; Elbert D. Thomas, Utah; Arthur H. Vandenburg, Mich.; Henry Cabot Lodge, Mass., Burton K. Wheeler, Mont.

Among those Senators who have not yet replied to the NAACP's query, but who voted for cloture or were paired for cloture in 1938 are the following:

Alva B. Adams, Colo.; Henry F. Ashurst, Ariz.; Homer T. Bone, Wash.; Prentiss M. Brown, Mich.; Dennis Chavez, N. Mex.; Vic Donahey, Ohio; Guy M. Gillette, Iowa; Joseph F. Guffey, Pa.; Carl A. Hatch, N. Mex.; James H. Hughes, Del.; Edward C. Johnson, Colo.; Josh Lee, Okla.; James E. Murray, Mont.; Harry H. Schwartz, Wyoming; Elmer Thomas, Okla.; Harry S. Truman, Mo.

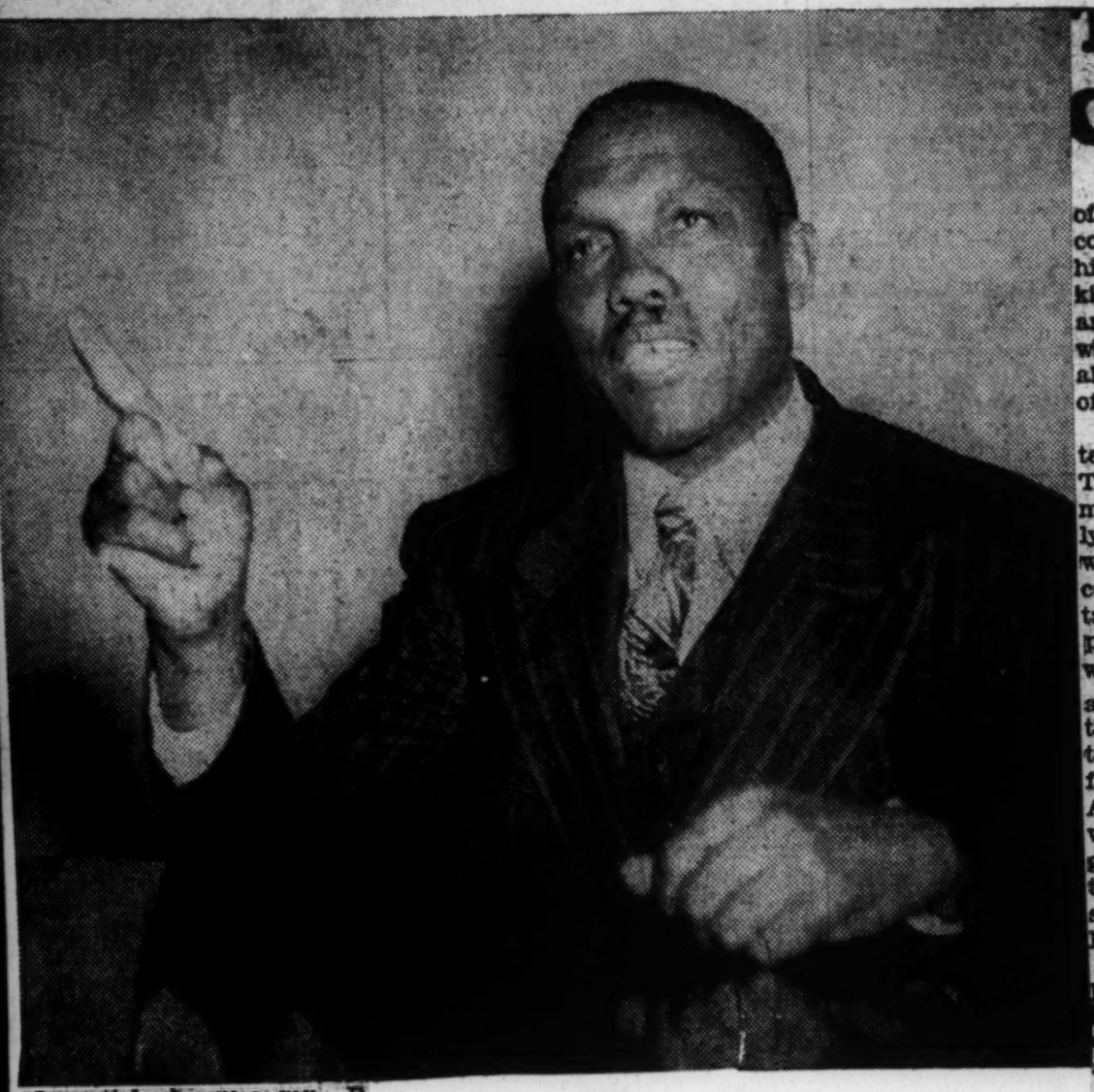
REPUBLICANS: John A. Townsend, Jr., Del.

PROGRESIVES: Robert M. La-Follette, Jr., Wis.

AGAINST CLOTURE

DEMOCRATS: Peter G. Gerry.

Disagrees With Senator Connally on Anti-Lynch Bill



Impartial observers gave R. R. GROVEY, Houston, the better of it in his repartee with Senator Tom Connally, of Texas during the hearing on the anti-lynching bill in a senate committee. Grovey, a barber at 138th street.

When Bruce became the powe[r]ful he is, he immediately move[d] a club from the middle of Ha[r]lem, it is said, upon the urgence [o]f ites who declared that white w[o]men, appeared before the sen[a]te judiciary sub-committee and said that Negroes did not enjoy civil rights in Texas and were not allowed to vote. Connally insisted that Negroes in Texas could vote in anything-

Texas Lawyer, Regular Voter For Connally, Supports Lynch Bill

NEW YORK—(SNS)—Not all of Senator Tom Connally's white constituents in Texas agree with his reactionary tactics in trying to kill the Federal Anti-lynching bill and James Davis, a prominent white attorney, of Dallas, who has always voted for Connally, is one of them.

Davis sent Connally a long letter recently pointing out to the Texas Senator that the old argument against a Federal Anti-lynching bill can no longer hold weight because "[t].....economic conditions, the changes in transportation and communications, or the processes of [ev]olution taking place within recent years, have removed all the supports and arguments that I and mine have been clinging to for more than a century, and we find that the United States of America, whether we wish it and will it or not, is one community governed by the laws enacted by the national congress, even to the smallest detail in many avenues of life....."

In the letter, a copy of which he sent to the NAACP, Mr. Davis gives the answer to those who proclaim that a decrease in lynchings shows that there is no need for federal anti-lynching legislation. On this point he says:

"....as long as there is one instance only where the mob takes charge, there is a crying need for the anti-lynching bill. The life and liberty of one individual, to him and from his standpoint, are worth as much to such an individual as the life and liberty of the 130,000,000 inhabitants of the United States."

CAPPER PUTS LETTER IN RECORD

Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, one of the authors of the federal anti-lynching bill, placed in the Congressional Record, a letter he received recently from the Rev. H. Francis McClure, minister of Brown Chapel AME Church, in Parsons, Kansas, in which the pastor stated that passage of the bill will not only benefit Negro citizens, but will stand "as a further guarantee of the rights of the American people."

Action Needed to Spike Filibuster on Anti-Lynch Bill

Full Senate Committee Hearing on Bill Due Today, As Tories Prepare to Block Measure Before It Comes to Vote on Floor

(Special to the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, March 17.—The fight to force the anti-lynching bill out of the Senate Judiciary Committee onto the floor for final debate and passage, must be intensified if the filibuster plans of Connally and others seeking to kill the bill are to be defeated.

According to Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bill will come up Monday for hearing before the full Senate Committee.

Connally and other Southern bourbons have already publicly announced that they will do everything to prevent the bill from coming tothe floor for action. Letters and telegrams should be sent by all individuals and organizations to their Senators demanding that they vote for cloture which will block the Connallys from filibustering the bill to death before it comes to the floor for a vote.

An important victory for the bill was won on March 13, when the Senate Sub-Committee reported it out favorably by a vote of 5 to 1. The big fight now is to defeat the efforts of Southern bourbons and Northern reactionary Democrats and Republicans to keep the bill off the floor by unscrupulous and parliamentary tricks.

6465

Senate Unit Hears Lynch Witnesses

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N

Walter White and Arthur B. Spingarn, white, executive secretary and president, respectively, of the NAACP, conferred with President Roosevelt at the White House, Thursday morning, following their testimony in Senate subcommittee hearings on antilynching bill.

WASHINGTON.

With eight witnesses testifying, three of them from Texas, two days of hearings on the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper Federal Antilynching Bill closed here, Wednesday, in the Senate office building's caucus room before packed audiences.

The witnesses were:

Dr. Arthur Raper, secretary of the Interracial Commission; the Rev. Greham Marmion, assistant rector of St. Albans PE Church, Washington, and a native of Texas; Dr. George F. Porter, president of Wiley Junior College, and the Rev. E. C. Estell, pastor of St. John Baptist Church, both of Dallas, Texas;

R. B. Grovey, of Houston, Texas; Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP; Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, both of New York; and Dean William H. Hastie, of the Howard University Law School Washington.

Connally Tries Browbeating

Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, arch foe of antilynching legislation, presented no witnesses, but contented himself with attempts to browbeat and intimidate persons who testified for the bill, and the use of slanderous language against the colored race.

Senator Warren Austin of Vermont was the only member of the committee who was absent throughout the hearings. Other members present, in addition to Van Nuys and Connally, were:

Senators Matthew M. Neely of West Virginia, and Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. Senators Robert F. Wagner of Nev. York and Arthur Capper of Kansas, authors of the bill with Van Nuys were also present.

College Head Tells of Own Lynching

Dr. George F. Porter, president of Wiley Junior College, threw a bombshell into the hearing on the antilynching bill when he answered Senator Connally's challenge to "name a single unpublicized lynching in 1938," with the reply, "My own."

Dr. Porter pointed to the fact that he was injured when he was thrown bodily down the steps of the Dallas, Texas, courthouse in 1938 by a mob after he had insisted on his Constitutional right of serving on a jury. The crowded caucus room applauded the college president's answer. Dr. Porter was the last witness to be heard on Tuesday.

Rector Threatened

Opening his testimony with the statement, "I have come here as a Christian to testify," the Rev. Gresham Marmion told the committee of his experience in attempting to put down a lynching in Eagle Lake, Texas, in 1935, by standing on the running board of his automobile and appealing to the mob to let the law take its course.

For trying to save the lives of the two boys, who later died as victims of this lynch mob, Dr. Marmion said he himself was threatened with being lynched.

Baptist Pastor Testifies

The Rev. E. C. Estell of Dallas, Texas, told of lynchings which he himself had witnessed.

A heated exchange of words took place between Senator Connally and R. B. Grovey, on the question of disfranchisement.

Connally vs. White

Reading a prepared statement in which he included a devastating report on a lynching survey conducted by the white Southern Methodist University, of Dallas, and a record of lynchings in the United States for 1937, through 1939, Walter White locked horns with Senator Connally almost as soon as White took the stand.

The NAACP secretary accused opponents of the bill of being motivated by political considerations, resulting in a second clash.

Police Apathy Cited

Challenged by Connally on the question of the NAACP's interest in gang killings, Mr. White contrasted the activity of police agencies in tracking down gangster killers with the apathy with which police agencies have treated the culprits responsible for lynchings.

"During 1939 in New York City," he said, "the police department reported 291 homicides but pointed out there were 248 arrests, forty-seven convictions and 132 persons still under indictment awaiting trial."

He set this picture over against the 500 to 1,000 persons who took part in eleven lynchings between 1937 and the end of 1939, with only one arrest and not a single conviction of the perpetrators of these crimes.

Hitler and Lynching

Arthur B. Spingarn, recently elected president of the association, quoted directly from Adolf Hitler's newspaper, the Volkischer Beobachter, of January 29, 1939, which chides the United States's vaunted display of democracy with a report of the 1938 antilynching filibuster in the Senate.

Connally received a retort from the NAACP president that brought applause from the audience, when he asked Mr. Spingarn whether he knew personally these things about which he was testifying. The witness responded:

"The Senator states that he is a native of Texas. But the Senator, of course, could not state this of his own knowledge that he is a native of Texas. He knew this simply because his parents told him."

Dean Hastie testified on legal aspects involved in the passage of a Federal antilynching bill. Connally did not comment.

White Witness Arouses Senator Connally's Wrath

As the first witness before the anti-lynching bill hearing on Tuesday, Dr. Arthur Raper, white, aroused the wrath of Senator Connally, when the research director of the Interracial Commission asserted that most Southerners believe that, no matter what the provocation, colored people have no right to kill a white man and therefore have no chance of being freed of such a crime.

Expressing angry amazement that a Southern white man could make such a statement, Senator Connally plagued the witness with detailed questions as to his salary, who sent him to testify, and who paid his expenses to and from Washington.

In an effort to discredit Dr. Raper's testimony, and to prove that the States are capable of combating the crime of lynching, without the aid of Federal legislation, Connally placed in the record, figures on instances of prevented lynchings. He announced that this information was supplied him by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, president of the Southern Women's Association for the Prevention of Lynching.

Do The Communists Really Want Anti-Lynching Law?

THE ILL-ADVISED and ill-timed outburst of Benjamin Davis, Jr., before the Senate committee conducting hearings on the Van Nuys federal anti-lynching bill, could not help but leave a bad taste in the mouths of supporters and opponents alike.

Senator Van Nuys, of Indiana, author of the bill, the WORLD believes, was entirely justified in his charge that Mr. Davis had done more to prevent the passage of this badly needed legislation than even its opponents who had testified against it.

One could question the motives of both Mr. Davis and the communist organization which he represents. Were his appearance and rash remarks deliberately planned to forestall a favorable hearing and eventual passage of the measure? Could he have been sincerely interested in obtaining the passage of the bill? Or was the real motive as in most instances where communists have intervened, a well-planned but extremely selfish scheme to obtain a wider audience for the dissemination of Russian-inspired propaganda?

From past observations of communist methods, the latter seems to be the more logical conclusion. It was the communists who muddled and twisted up the Scottsboro case with the result that five must now remain in prison. There are some familiar with the workings of the Alabama mind, who contend that had Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays handled the case under the auspices of the NAACP as first planned, all nine of the wouths would have long ago been freed.

But it suited the communists' purpose better to have these youngsters sacrificed as "martyrs" through which an issue could be drawn, propaganda spread, "funds" raised and additional members recruited to the spurious cause of communism.

It has always been the purpose of these paid Russian propagandists to stir up dissension, race against race, class against class section against section. It is only when dissension is rife that the few unthinking can be hoodwinked into believing communism is the salvation for the troubles at hand.

Such must have been the real motive of Mr. Davis' unfortunate appearance at the Senate hearing Tuesday. He succeeded only in further beclouding an already cloudy issue, in lending additional irritation to an already very sore spot. And for that he will receive no thanks from the millions of his race sincerely interested in seeing the Van Nuys bill become federal law.

COLLIER'S OPPOSED TO ANTI-LYNCH BILL

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK, Feb. 8—Collier's Magazine, national weekly with the second largest circulation in its field, this week joined the forces of those periodicals which oppose the passage of a Federal anti-lynching bill.

Discussing the question in its issue of February 10, Collier's charges editorially that education of public opinion has cut lynching down in this country from a peak of 231 mob murders in 1892 to three victims, one white, last year.

"Lynching seems to be definitely on the run in this country," the editorial states, though, of course, the total may swing above three this year or the next or later.

"But until and unless lynchings threaten to go a long way toward that 1892 peak of 231, we'd say it would be wise to keep up the non-political crusading and sidetrack the proposed legislation.

"A law decreeing some reform should be the last recourse. It's far better to bring about a reform by bringing public opinion around to favoring it—and civic decency, in the matter of lynching as in all others, is better generated voluntarily inside any community than imposed from inside."

Supporters of the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives this session, and now awaits action by the Senate, have pointed out, however, that polls by the Gallup Institute of Public Opinion have shown conclusively that public opinion, even in the South, favors Federal action to wipe out the evil.

Collier's position that the evil is dying out as a result of public education coincides with the contentions of Southern senators who are expected to filibuster the Gavagan bill to death in the higher house.

Senator William Borah, Republican stalwart, who played an important part in the last filibuster by contending that the legislation was unconstitutional, died recently. He had been expected to lead the fight against the bill in the Senate this term.

FOR FILIBUSTERING

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan Republican and a candidate for the nomination for President, appears to have gotten a letter from the noted "Father" Divine, in which the preacher asked the senator if he would endorse a bill making it a crime to filibuster against any bill that has been carried by a majority vote.

To this question Senator Vandenberg very vigorously and very properly, we think, replied

"I will not."

But in addition, Senator Vandenberg delivered, according to report, the following lecture to the preacher:

"Furthermore, if you will allow me to say so, you and your people should be the last to make any such suggestion. You are proposing to deliver the complete control of the government of the United States to any transient majority that comes along. I shall never agree that a majority shall be allowed to do any thing it pleases to a minority."

It would seem that Senator Vandenberg has taken advantage of the very poorly worded question propounded to him by the colorful preacher to engage in a filibuster outside of the senate chamber. The veteran senator, it seems, might have gone straight to the "milk in the cocoanut" and told "Father" Divine that, while he would not make a crime out of a filibuster, nevertheless he would be willing to take action that would bring an end to the ridiculous performance of the tail wagging the dog.

A few Old Guard Senators are preparing to do the Anti-Lynching Bill to death with another one of their silly filibusters. Senator Vandenberg knows very well that the very fact that the Senate long ago adopted a cloture rule shows that senators intended to provide a way to function as any other sensible body of men can function, despite the tactics of any obstructionist minority. He knows that all of the time any Senator has ever needed to "discuss" the Anti-Lynching Bill has been provided, and at a fearful cost in money to the American taxpayers, not to mention the fearful loss in prestige by the allegedly "greatest deliberative body in the world."

Senator Vandenberg can be assured that Negroes of the United States are less scared of ghosts than they are reported to be. They can not be frightened by the scarecrow of "transient majority" rule and what it is capable of doing to minority groups. They are more afraid of "minority rule" as represented by the mobsters who lynch men and women in the United States and are never brought to justice for their crimes.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio has taken his stand in favor of invoking the cloture rule to get the Anti-Lynching Bill passed, and although he is a mere "first-term" senator he appears to have caught on to how you go about getting things done in the Senate, despite that body's indifference to "wind-jamming," quicker than his third term colleague from Michigan.

Lynch Bill Petition Circulated at Harvard U.

An antilynching committe of 15 students yesterday launched a campaign at Howard University to have every student on the campus petition Congress to pass the antilynching bill. Members of the committee said the movement grew out of a mass meeting March 11 at which Representative Joseph A. Gavagan, of New York, spoke.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Daily Times
March 13, 1940

TEN GOVERNORS HIT ANTILYNCHING BILL

Southern State Executives Join in Attack Upon Proposed Statute

WASHINGTON, March 12 (AP).—Governors of ten states joined today in asking the senate to defeat federal antilynching legislation already passed by the house.

Their pleas were filed with a senate judiciary committee by Senator McKellar (dem., Tenn.), who said he had written governors of all "southern and border states, urging them to do everything within their powers to stop the crime of lynching."

Governors of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia joined in the request to the senate.

They said lynchings had been greatly reduced, that the proposal was an unconstitutional violation of states rights, and that the bill would do the Negro race more harm than good.

McKellar said southern states had attained "excellent results in stamping out lynchings" and commented that the governors' letters indicated honest opposition to the pending proposal. It would penalize state or local officers for failure to prevent lynchings or to prosecute lynch mobs and would impose up to $10,000 civil damages on counties or communities where lynching took place.

Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, said the lynching bill was a "threat against state sovereignty and thereby against the right of any people to conduct their own affairs."

The Alabaman said the legislation was "pushed solely as a sectional issue" by those seeking support of Negro voters." He said poverty was a much more serious problem for the Negro race than lynching.

Gov. Paul S. Johnson, of Mississippi, said the pending bill was "clearly unconstitutional." He promised to use all his powers as a state executive to "enforce the law and prevent lynchings."

From Louisiana, Gov. Earl K. Long detailed numerous successful attempts of state officers to prevent lynchings there in recent years and said the proposed law would be "an invasion of the rights of the states and a violation of the spirit of the constitution."

Gov. Prentice Cooper, of Tennessee, offered to come here and testify against the proposal.

Nat Tipton, assistant attorney-general of Tennessee for twelve years, told the judiciary subcommittee today that the south now was in control of the lynching problem and federal legislation might undo this.

Under questioning of Senator Connally (dem., Tex.), who opposes the legislation, Tipton told of recent Tennessee crimes in which local and state officers had prevented lynchings.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6466

Bankhead Presents Memorial to House

Courier

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 27—Speaker William B. Bankhead, of Alabama, presented to the House last Wednesday a memorial of the New York State Legislature, memorializing Congress to consider its resolution of March 30, urging enactment of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill.

Fr. Divine Seeks U.S. Lynch Bill

Daily World
7-13-40
Atlanta Ga.

Group Goes To Washington With Senate Petition

NEW YORK—(SNS)—In an effort to seek enactment of the proposed federal anti-lynching, Father Divine and 75 of his followers left their palatial Madison avenue "heaven" by automobile Thursday for Washington to deliver to the United States senate a petition.

Father Divine, riding in his special "heavenly limousine," led the procession of eight automobiles and a bus loaded with his "angels." Divine said he hoped to acquaint the lawmakers with the plan to unify the American republics to protect them against aggression. The delegation arrived in Washington Friday.

Birmingham, Ala. News
July 6, 1940

That Anti-Lynching Bill

Six months of 1940 have passed and there has not been a single lynching in the United States. During 1939 there were only three lynchings, and in 1938 only six.

Those members of Congress who think a federal anti-lynching law necessary should get busy and push the bill through while there are still lynchings. Soon, if the recent trend continues, their efforts will be about as necessary as a law compelling little boys to like ice cream. Even now they must feel a little bit foolish pressing for the law

Ask Roosevelt To Push Anti-Lynching Bill

Durham
Morning Herald
Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Roosevelt was urged last week to "publicly and uncompromisingly insist on action by the Senate" on the Anti-Lynching Bill, "if he would prevent the outbreaks of mob violence which disgraced America during and following the last war."

The request for Presidential pressure to secure immediate action on the bill was contained in a letter sent to Mr. Roosevelt on July 1, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The letter, which was signed by Walter White, was sent immediately upon the NAACP secretary's return from Memphis, Tennessee, where he spent three days investigating the lynching of Elbert Williams on June 22, at Brownsville, Tenn.

Sent Lynch Document

Enclosed in the letter was a copy of the NAACP secretary's report to William McClanahan, United States District Attorney, at Memphis, setting forth the whole story leading up to the finding of Williams' body in a river near Brownsville.

White advised the President that he was putting the matter squarely up to the Chief Executive for immediate action because Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley, of Kentucky, had just written the association that "because he does not believe cloture can be invoked on the anti-lynching bill, he does not propose to make any effort to get it to a vote."

The President was advised that the "lynching of Elbert Williams is the fourth since March twenty-second, the other three victims being white persons."

Lynchings Narrowly Averted

"In addition," the letter said, "there has been widespread outbreaks of mob violence in which lynching was narrowly averted from Main to Texas during recent weeks. No measure pending before Congress to preserve the democratic process is more important than the anti-lynching bill."

The President was reminded of the "outbreaks of mob violence which disgraced America during and following the last war," and advised that "Unless prompt and uncompromising action is taken at the present time to secure enactment of federal legislation to limit such mob violence, there is ample evidence that we shall have a repetition during coming months of such episodes."

At the same time the NAACP announced that a letter was sent to Senator Barkley today urging him as Majority Leader to "forget the difficulties which undobutedly will be created by a filibustering minority in the Senate and to insist on action by the Senate on the anti-lynching bill."

CITIZENS SEND THOUSANDS OF LETTERS TO CONGRESS FOR ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Call-6/14/41-Kansas City, Mo.

NEW YORK.—Because the war situation has heightened the American people's sense of danger regarding the preservation of civil liberties throughout the country, Washington correspondents point out that Congress is receiving thousands of letters demanding passage of the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill and other measures dealing with civil liberties.

This is the situation, correspondents say, despite fact that Congress has pushed back almost all legislation dealing with domestic issue in order to give defense bills the right of way.

Pointing out that the anti-lynching bill is all the more important at this time, because it represents "one of the most powerful incentives to prevent a blackout of civil liberties in the United States during the present period of war hysteria," Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., urged individuals and organizations to keep up the steady flow of letters, and telegrams through the office of Majority Leader of the Senate, Alben Barkley, calling for passage of the bill before Congress adjourns.

Democracy Not Real As Long As Mob Is Untamed

Black
Dispatch

N. A. A. C. P. Urges Senate Leader To Call Up Anti-Lynching Legislation

NEW YORK.—Insisting that the Senate Majority Leader call up the Anti-Lynching bill at once, "now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of," Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told Senator Barkley this week that we cannot make democracy a reality in America "as long as the mob rides."

White's statement was contained in a letter sent to Barkley Sept. 9, the day following the death of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LarGange, Ga., the sixth lynching victim this year.

"We agree, the N. A. A. C. P. secretary said, "that it is important to protect America from the spirit of racial bigotry and mob violence which are a part of the basis of the methods used by totalitarian powers and particularly that of Nazi Germany but while we are building ships, guns and planes to keep Hitler out, it is imperative that at the same time we make democracy a reality in the United States and that cannot be done as long as the mob still rides."

The letter pointed to the terror aroused against Negro citizens in Brownsville, Tenn., resulting in the lynching of Elbert Williams and the tragic status of, the Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis the latter, father of seven children, both of whom were forced to flee their homes. "The lynching and subsequent terrorizing of Negro citizens who sought the right to vote in Brownsville was given impetus by the continued refusal of Barkley to call up the Anti-lynching bill," White said.

Calling upon the Senate Majority Leader to rally all the administration forces behind the bill, to get action immediately, White concluded:

"We therefore again request you, as Majority Leader, to call: up the Anti-lynching bill now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of, and that every resource of the administration be put forth to the end that this bill be passed by the Senate before Congress adjourns."

Anti-Lynching B... Gets Wide Support

NEW YORK.—What N. A. A. C. P. officials regarded as the most important development in the fight to pass a federal anti-lynching bill, took place in 1939 when representation from every liberal element in the country including both the A. F. of L. and CIO sections of organized labor, and hundreds of civic, social, religious, political, fraternal and religious groups backed the bill, according to the Associations 30th annual report for 1939, published here last week.

With 120,000 segnatures secured by the Association to Anti-lynching petitions and some 50,000 signatures secured by other groups, plus resolutions favoring passage of the bill by hundreds of organizations all over the country, 'the ground was laid for perhaps the most concerted drive behind anti-lynching legislation that the country has seen in many years," the report says.

The Association lists four lynchings for 1939,all men, including one white person. Florida was the scene of two of these lynchings, Arkansas and Mississippi are credited with one each. These figures representing one less than the number announced at the end of 1938. Because no definite clue as to the identity or manner in which he came to his death was found following an investigation, the name of Robert Eggleston was dropped from the list of 1939 lynchings, the report said. Eggleston was a white southern CIO organizer who disappeared.

According to the report the N. A. A. C. P. changed its legal procedure in education cases involving equalization of teachers' salaries and opening up southern and border-state universities to Negroes "from the bringing of mandamus cases in state courts to instituting injunction proceedings and actions for damages in the federal courts." This change did much to hasten the progress of decisions in these cases to the United States Supreme Court.

In the State of Maryland, Negro teachers, it was said, received more than $200,000 increased salaries as a result of injunction proceedings instituted by the Association.

Mob Violence Increased

The reported pointed to a decided increase in the activities of lawless mobs against Negroes and an increase in the number of cases coming before the N. A. A. C. P. involving "the question of confessions extorted by force and violence which were used to convict Negroes charged with crimes."

The fight to gain the ballot received new impetus, the report, followed a United State Supreme Court decision handed down May 22, in which reversed the United State Circuit Court of Appeals in declaring unconstitutional an Oklahoma law which sought to bar Negroes from registering to vote by an indirect reference to the Grandfather clause outlawed by the high court in 1916.

Catholics Here Back Anti-Lynching Bill

(Special to the Daily Worker)

A resolution urging the Democratic National Convention, in session in Chicago beginning July 15, to speed the passage of the federal anti-lynching law in the present session of congress was adopted by the Catholic Interracial Council conference here July 11.

Catholics Urge Democrats To Pass Anti-Lynching Law

NEW YORK.—A resolution urging the Democratic National Convention in session in Chicago beginning July 15, to speed the passage of the federal anti-lynching law in the present session of congress was adopted by the Catholic Interracial Council conference here July 11.

The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, the present anti-lynching bill has been passed by the House of Representatives, and

"Whereas, on June 22 Elbert Williams, a Negro, was lynched in Brownsville, Tenn. — the fourth lynching for the year 1940—and

"Whereas, the present bill is now in the calendar of the United States senate, therefore be it

"Resolved, that the Catholic Interracial Council conference submit to the platform committee of the Democratic National convention in Chicago the following recommendations:

"1.—The Democratic platform should contain a strong plank pledging the passage of the anti-lynching bill by the senate at the present session of congress.

"2.—There is no need for a popular referendum with regard to the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. There can be no doubt that public sentiment, as repeatedly expressed by leaders of all races and groups in all parts of the country, and as indicated by the editorial stand of the daily papers of the North as well as the South, has plainly indicated that the American people desire the enactment of a strong federal law to abolish this barbaric crime.

"3.—Since actions speak louder than words, the platform committee should recommend to the president that he publicly endorse and urge the immediate enactment of the present anti-lynching bill at this session of congress."

Despite Skirmishes with the Law, Father Divine Deposits Roll of Anti-Lynch Petitions

Tagged by a bus and eight private carloads of angels singing his praise, Father Major Divine descended from his Harlem heaven into a dreary, seemingly unfriendly Washington hell on Friday and immediately found double trouble with temporal authority in blue uniform.

Father Divine with approximately 100 of his followers rolled into a rainy capital carrying a heavenly scroll with more than 250,000 names, urging enactment of the anti-lynching bill and "unification" of the 21 South American republics, which they wished to present to Congress.

In the outset, Washington police just didn't seem to have or to catch on to the spirit of "Peace, It's Truly Wonderful," and the entourage was halted as it wended its way to Capitol Hill.

Parking for one car around the Hill is a problem at any time, but when the Harlem diety and his caravan of 10 cars had the same objective, there was plenty of trouble.

Angels Learn About Parking

Police swarmed around the vehicles and the angels soon learned about parking on the Hill. Then too, there was that little thing about the banners. "Peace to You," "Pass the Anti-lynching Bill," and others which streamed from the cars. It seems that there is a law against banners and placards being displayed around the Capitol Hill. These hadn't helped to solve the parking situation.

Father Divine rode in his limousine, dressed in a blue-checked coat, with four fountain pens in his pocket, and white flannel trousers, topped off by a natty panama. Riding with him were four secretaries: John Lamb, Great Love, Victory Dove, and Sweet Love.

And to top it all, after the preliminary traffic skirmishes, Father Divine and his aides learned that Congress was unware of his coming and had adjourned. The diminutive messiah and his secretaries proceeded to the Senate Office Building through the rain.

Cameraman Takes Movies

Two angels carried four large boxes containing the petitions. Father Divine's camereman went before the angels and their leader and took movies of them as they entered the building. The ecclesiastical leader was besieged by a large number of autograph seekers. These he signed with the signature "Reverend M. J. Divine."

The petitions were taken to the office of Senator Robert Wagner (Dem., N. Y.) where they were received by Joseph Callahan, white, office assistant. His mission over, the Harlem god and followers, reentered the motorcade after posing for pictures and departed for "Heaven" in New York by way of Philadelphia and the Holland tunnel.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6467

SENATORS HEAR 2 PARTIES FLAYED BY COMMUNISTS FOR BLOCKING LYNCH BILL

Ben Davis, Toohey Break Through Gag on Testimony

BITTER CLASHES

J. P. Davis, Leader of Negro Congress, Cites Rising KKK Terror

By Adam Lapin
(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, March 5.—Two Communist Party spokesmen won their right today to testify before a Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee and tell why their Party demands immediate passage of the anti-lynching bill. 3-6-40 Daily Worker

Pat Toohey, white member of the Communist Party's National Committee, and Ben Davis, Jr., Negro member of the Daily Worker editorial board, presented a joint statement which assailed both the "democratic reactionaries and Republican hypocrites" who are trying to kill the bill.

Despite heckling, insults and frequent interruptions by Tory members of the committee, the two Communist leaders held their ground and refused to be sidetracked or brow-beaten.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, chairman of the sub-committee, threatened on one occasion to eject Davis, who read the joint statement, from the hearing room.

CALLS TACTICS "SHAMEFUL"

Davis referred to the "shameful tactics of Senator Connally, Senator Ellender, Senator Bilbo and other reactionary opponents of this bill."

Van Nuys, who has not resented the crime of lynching enough to get something done about the anti-lynching bill, of which he is a co-sponsor, flared up angrily, ordered the remark expunged from the record, and said that Davis would be thrown out if he referred to other Senators "in terms that are not respectful."

"Senator Connally hasn't been particularly respectful to the Negro people," Davis said.

"My characterization of the tactics that have been used against the bill remains," Davis replied. "I withdraw it under protest."

A few minutes later he referred to Vice-President Garner as an "evil old labor-baiter," and again Van Nuys and his colleagues hit the ceiling and had the remark expunged but did not make good their threat to eject the husky Negro editor.

HITS SOUTHERN REACTION

Another passage in the statement which Van Nuys had stricken from the record was this:

"The main opposition to the bill comes from a group whose interests dictate a continuation of the un-American and brutal conditions in the South, especially. Opposition comes from group of lynch glorifiers and reactionary Senate filibusterers who slander the Negro people and the progressive movement in the United States, who brazenly defy the express wishes of the American people."

Senators Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin and Warren Austin of Vermont, both Republicans, joined with Senators van Nuys and Tom Connally of Texas in demanding that these passages in the statement be stricken from the record.

Davis retorted that they had not shown the same sensitivity in defending the Negro people against attacks which were made on the Senate floor.

"When statements have been made in the Senate derogatory to the Negro people, I have not seen any Senators getting up and showing the same indignation which they are showing here today," he declared.

AUDIENCE THRILLED

If the reactionary Senators didn't like the statement of the Communist leaders, Negroes in the audience, many of them associated with important Negro organizations, approved of it very heartily.

They crowded around Davis and Toohey after the hearing, shook hands with them and congratulated them.

Davis and Toohey took the witness stand shortly after John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, presented a crushing refutation to the argument of those who contend that the problem of lynching had ceased to exist.

Agreement by the committee to hear the two Communist leaders represented a successful climax in a prolonged battle for free speech and for the right of Communists to testify before a Congressional Committee.

Two telegrams by Earl Browder, Communist Party secretary, asking a hearing for the two party representatives were ignored by Van Nuys.

Finally Ben Davis and Toohey arrived in Washington yesterday, conferred with Ben Stern, secretary to Van Nuys, and subsequently sent a strong letter to all members of the sub-Committee demanding that they be heard.

WIN RIGHT TO APPEAR

When the committee opened its session this morning, members had copies of the letter in front of them.

Van Nuys related the fact that Browder had asked that the Communist representatives be heard and added that as far as he was concerned he "didn't give a rap what Earl Browder and his Communist Party thinks about this legislation."

Senator Wiley moved that the Communists be heard, and Senator Mathew M. Neely of West Virginia seconded the motion.

Fifteen minutes was the time allotted to the two Communists, but as a result of questions asked of Davis and then of Toohey, they were before the committee for about an hour and fifteen minutes.

Significant about the Communist statements was the fact that it called a spade a spade, really went into the fundamentals of what is behind lynching and what is behind the opposition to the anti-lynching bill.

"Lynching is the most brutal expression of the whole system of Jim-Crowism, discrimination, segregation and persecution which has been imposed upon fifteen million Americans," the statement declared.

"While lynching and Jim-Crowism especially persecutes and denies American rights to the Negro people, they are not its only victims because the lynch mob attacks and weakens the democratic and constitutional rights of all Americans. It is a threat to an important instrument against the whole labor and progressive movement of the country."

CITE INADEQUACIES

The Communist statement pointed to the inadequacies in the anti-lynching bill such as deletion of the section which would prevent its use against unions, but added that if "additional reactionary amendments are not tacked on—this bill can serve to stimulate the whole fight for the complete liberation of the Negro people and for democracy."

Even before Ben Davis could begin reading his prepared statement, Senator Van Nuys put him through a long grilling about the Daily Worker, the Communist Party and events in the Soviet Union and in other countries.

"I don't agree with that line of questioning," Davis retorted.

"What I want to know is whether you're going to pass the anti-lynching bill," Davis said, "I answer these questions under protest. I consider them a subterfuge to keep from discussing the anti-lynching bill."

RED HERRING

When Davis was through, Toohey was asked if he had anything to add to the joint statement and he replied that he wished "to associate myself with everything that Mr. has said."

But committee members were anxious to drag out the red herring and said that they would like Toohey to answer some questions about Communism.

Before they were through the entire constitution of the Communist Party was read into the record. Toohey read the preamble and the rest was inserted.

Committee members asked all the old familiar questions about whether the Communist Party in the United States is not dominated from Moscow.

Toohey said that he considered most of these questions irrelevant but that in answering them he was trying to be "helpful" by clearing the committee up.

He explained patiently that the Communist International "is a loosely federated organization and that the Communist Party here makes its own decisions."

UPSET BY ANSWERS

Van Nuys got all upset when Toohey said that Joseph Stalin is looked up to and respected in the "world labor movement."

"Don't you know that the American working man is the best fed,

best educated, and best paid man in the world?" Van Nuys asked.

"Well, I don't know," Toohey replied. "According to President Roosevelt, one-third of the American people are ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed."

"Your remedy is the Stalinist way," Senator Wiley interjected.

"Yes, that is the Socialist way," Toohey declared. "I am for the elimination of capitalist exploitation."

Several questions were directed to Toohey about the trials of various groups of plotters against the Soviet Union.

"When these foreign spies and provocateurs are executed by the people of the Soviet Union there is a lot of indignation," he said. But apparently there is not similar indignation among some people in Congress when Negroes are lynched and beaten.

Senator Austin wanted Toohey to give him the names of Communists in Vermont.

"Oh, you'd be surprised, Senator," Toohey replied. "There are quite a few Communists in Vermont."

J. P. DAVIS SPEAKS

John Davis of the National Negro Congress told the committee that his only purpose in testifying was "to expose the fallaciousness of the reasoning of the opponents of the bill who declare that lynching as a crime is on the decline and that hence no federal legislation is necessary.

"Much has been made of late of the statement that only five—some reports say three—American citizens were murdered by brutal un-American lynch mobs in the year 1939. This is offered as testimony that lynching is no longer a problem of national importance."

"It is our contention," the Negro Congress leader declared, "that persons in this fashion either deliberately or ineptly hide the real trends toward mob violence."

He declared that mob violence "took a sharp upturn trend" in 1939 if floggings, beatings and other forms of terrorization against the Negro people are considered.

Davis declared that anti-lynching legislation would deter not only outright lynching but other "pernicious" forms of mob violence.

The Negro Congress spokesman gave as an example of the increase of mob violence the fact that in October and November of 1939, "massed bands of members of the Ku Klux Klan, carrying burning crosses, rode through Negro sections of the cities of Greenville and Anderson, South Carolina, no ess than 20 times."

Davis Accused Of Hurting Lynch Bill

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—"You have done more harm to prevent passage of this bill than anyone who has ever appeared," Senator Van Nuys, of Indiana, angrily accused Benjamin Davis, Jr., of New York, a member of the editorial staff of the Communist newspaper, The Daily Worker, Tuesday at the senate hearing on anti-lynching legislation.

The Indiana Democrat senator who is chairman of the judiciary subcommittee conducting the hearing and co-sponsor of the Anti-Lynching Bill, became angry when Davis called southern senators "stooges" and Vice-President Garner an "evil old labor baiter". Senator Van Nuys yelled to Davis, "That's an insult," and struck from the committee record the witness' description of the vice-president and members of the Congress.

Attorney Davis protested against questions about freedom of speech and the press in Communist Russia.

ACCUSED OF GATE-CRASHING

"You crashed the gates of this committee just to try and send out Communist propaganda," shouted Senator Van Nuys when Davis concluded a running argument with committee members. He then hit the "harm" done to passage of the bill by Davis.

Chairman Van Nuys explained that Earl Brower, general secretary of the Communist Party, had requested testimony by party representatives, before permitting the Communist Party to testify.

"I don't care a rap of what Earl Browder or his whole party thinks of those or any other bill," Senator Van Nuys said. The four other committee members, Senator Wiley (Republican, Wisconsin), Austin (Republican, Vermont), Neely (Democrat, West Virginia) and Connally (Democrat, Texas) voted to let Davis testify under a 15-minute time limitation.

35,000 Sign C.P. Anti-Lynch Bill Petitions

Stressing the fact that the Harlem section of the Communist Party has collected 35,000 names to a petition demanding the passage of the Anti-Lynch bill, W. W. Berry, executive secretary of Upper Harlem Section of the Communist Party, demanded yesterday in a letter to President Roosevelt that he speak out in support of the bill.

"As the highest executive of our country, Berry's letter said, 'we demand that you speak out and use the influence of your office for the immediate enactment of the Federal Anti-Lynching bill, free from emasculating, reactionary, anti-labor amendments, in the interest of the enforcement of the fundamental constitutional rights of the Negro people guaranteed in the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and in the maintenance of the Bill of Rights."

Charlotte, N. C., News
March 5, 1940

Dixie Senators Called "Stooges" By Negro

Communist Assails Opponents Of Anti-Lynch Bill In Senate Hearing

WASHINGTON.—(AP)—A husky vis of New York City, threw a Senate tion into turmoil today by terming Vice-President Garner an "evil old

Senator Van Nuys, Democrat Indiana, chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee conducting the hearing and co-sponsor of the Lynching Bill, shouted at the Negro witness at one point, "That's an insult," and struck from the committee record Davis' description of the Vice-President and members of Congress.

"CRASHED GATES"

"You crashed the gates of this committee just to try and send out Communist propaganda," Van Nuys said when the Negro concluded after a running argument with committee members.

"You have done more harm to prevent passage of this bill than anyone who has ever appeared."

Davis, who testified he was on the editorial board of The Daily Worker, Communist periodical, protested against questions about freedom of speech and the press in Communist Russia.

Before permitting the Communist Party representative to testify, Chairman Van Nuys remarked that Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, had requested testimony by party representatives.

"I don't care a rap of what Earl Browder or his whole party thinks of this or any other bill," Van Nuys said. The four other committee members, Senators Wiley, Republican, Wisconsin, Austin, Republican, Vermont, Neely, Democrat, West Virginia, and Connally, Democrat, Texas, voted to let the Communist testify under a fifteen-minute time limitation.

The husky Davis launched into a tirade against Senators who have filibustered against Anti-Lynching Bills.

"The shameful tactics of Senator Connally . . ." Davis began. Connally protested, "I do not propose to be slandered by this witness," and Van Nuys warned the witness against derogatory remarks:

"Congress has not been very respectful of the Negro people," Davis replied, going on to say that Senate proponents of the Lynch Bill were "stooges for landlords and mill owners who are degrading white womanhood by paying Negro Communist, Benjamin Da- Negro hearing on anti-lynching legisla- Southern Senators "stooges" and labor baiter."

low wages in their mills."

TALKS OF KLAN

Earlier, John P. Davis, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, testified that revival of the Ku Klux Klan in many areas showed a "trend of increasing mob violence" that could be met by passage of the Lynch Bill, which would provide penalties for counties and County officers in event of a lynching.

He testified that during two months of last year "masked bands of the Ku Klux Klan rode with burning crosses through the Negro sections of Anderson and Greenville, S. C., twenty different times."

He said that a National Youth Administration camp at Lexington County, S. C., had been visited by scores of masked Klansmen and "Negro children terrorized." He added:

"Fred V. Johnson, head of the South Carolina Klan, makes his headquarters in the office of a Sheriff."

MAYBANK CAN'T COME

The witness said the Klan had been active at Miami, Fla., Memphis, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., and Aberdeen, Wash.

Governor Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, who was to testify against the bill, sent word he would not appear and would stand on a resolution adopted by the Southern Conference of Governors recently at Miami, Fla., opposing the bill.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6468

CONGRESS FACES BIG TEST ON ARMY, LYNCHING BILLS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 11.—Pressure for passage of anti-lynching legislation, enactment of bills to abolish racial discrimination in the Army and to secure civil rights in the District of Columbia, and amendment of the Wagner Act to prevent racial discrimination by labor unions is likely to be exerted at this session of Congress which opened Wednesday.

The motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill was due to be called up under House rules Monday. Adoption of the motion is certain. Passage of the bill will follow.

NO EASY SLEDDING FOR ANTI-LYNCH BILL

No such easy sledding lies ahead for the companion measure, the Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper Bill, in the Senate. A filibuster of Southern Senators, aided by Senator William E. Borah, Republican, of Utah, endangers Senate approval.

The argument of Southern Senators that the South is working out the lynching problem will be bolstered by the 1939 lynching record, which reached the all-time low of three.

They will contend that this record shows that the lynching stigma is being removed from the South as a whole.

The answer of Northern Senators will be that pending Federal anti-lynching measures have served as a threat which has compelled the South to take steps to prevent lynchings.

With respect to the national defense forces, colored persons comparatively are no better off than they were before passage of legislation expanding the Army and Navy.

HAMILTON FISH BILLS ARE STIL IN COMMITTEE

One bill introduced by Representative Hamilton Fish (Republican, New York), would prohibit racial discrimination in the appointment and promotion of officers or enlisted men in the military establishment. Another would authorize the President to appoint at least two colored cadets to the United States Military Academy each year.

Both bills are still pending in the House Committee on Military Affairs, to which they were referred. Although introduced in the Seventy-fifth Congress and re-introduced in the Seventy-sixth Congress nearly a year ago, the Military Affairs Committee has never held hearings on them.

There are no colored doctors in the Medical Corps, no colored dentist in the Dental Corps, no colored veterinarians in the Veterinary Corps, and no colored nurses in the Nurse Corps. There are no colored persons in the Corps of Engineers, the Signal Corps, the Chemical Warfare Service, the Field Artillery, the Coast Artillery Corps, and the Air Corps.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FOR D. C. IS SOUGHT

A new drive will be made for enactment of a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia. Former Representative Herman P. Kopplemann, of Connecticut, introduced such a bill in the Seventy-fifth Congress, but it was pigeon-holed.

In connection with renewal of efforts to secure a civil rights law for the District of Columbia,

House Passes Lynch Bill, 252 to 131.

Southerners' Moves To Amend Measure Beaten on Floor

By the Associated Press

The House approved one of its perennial election-year favorites, the anti-lynching bill, yesterday and sent it to the Senate where an unyielding Southern filibuster was set to kill it.

The vote of 252 to 131 followed a discussion in which Representative Rankin (Democrat), of Mississippi, asserted that the measure was "nothing but the renewal of a vicious attack on the white people of the Southern States," coming not from the Republicans, he said, but from the Democrats.

Amendments Beaten

All Southern efforts to amend the measure were crushed under a massive voting combination of Republicans and Democrats from the North and West. The same fate met an effort by Representative Hoffman (Republican), of Michigan, inveterate foe of the C. I. O., to attach provisions intended to restrict picketing.

The single change accepted was offered by the author of the measure, Representative Gavagan (Democrat), New York, who represents the District of which New York City's Harlem is a part. He proposed the elimination of language making the bill inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance. Gavagan explained that the provision was unnecessary because the bill could not possibly be interpreted as applying to labor situations.

The bill—denounced by Southerners as impractical, unenforceable and unconstitutional and upheld by its supporters in the antonyms of those words—seeks to eliminate lynchings by imposing penalties on peace officers negligent in protecting their prisoners from lynch-mobs and by making the municipalities and counties liable for damages.

Gangster Proposal Loses

The principal interest and the most extended discussion centered upon an amendment by Representative Colmer (Democrat), Mississippi, which he called the "gangster amendment." This would have made the penalties apply to gang murders.

Asserting that last year there were three lynchings in the entire United States and 272 murders in New York City, Colmer asked, "Why should we worry with a mere detail a mere bagatelle?"

Proponents of the measure replied that the proposal was intended to "load down the bill with so many amendments that it will sink."

Colmer Is Ironic in Debate

Observing that the bill "never fails" to come up in an election year, Colmer noted ironically that residents of Harlem are among Gavagan's constituents.

"We all want to see a Democrat represent the great Harlem district," he said. "I hope we will not dispose of this bill, because if we do we will dispose of his (Gavagan's) most potent argument for remaining in this House."

"I'll treat his remarks with the contempt that they deserve," Gavagan snorted, and proceeded to call Colmer's attention to the dispatch of National Guardsmen to Prentiss, Miss., yesterday to protect two colored men arraigned on a charge of killing a peace officer.

Rankin Retorts

Another Mississippian, Rankin retorted, that "the National Guard went down there to protect them at the expense of the State and if it had been a gang murder in New York City, they would have got no protection."

After denouncing the bill as a "renewal of a vicious attack on the white people of the South," Rankin said it was an effort "to placate a few Negro Communists who infest those galleries."

Carolina Group Supports Anti-Lynching Bill

(Special to the Sunday Worker)

GREENSBORO, N. C., Jan. 12.—Reflecting widespread support for the federal anti-lynching bill in the South, the North Carolina League for Progressive Democracy has just made public a strong resolution for the measure.

Judge Ira R. Humphreys, of Reidsville, chairman of the League's Committee on legislation, released the resolution.

"A majority of North Carolina newspapers and a great majority of North Carolina citizens are in support of the bill," Judge Humphreys stated. The resolution follows:

"The ghastly crime of lynching has cost well over 5,000 lives in this country since 1882; lynching is an instrument of terror used in the exploitation of both negro and white workers and farmers; the states have demonstrated their inability or unwillingness to cope with the problem alone, and have thereby shown the necessity for federal aid in stamping out these bloody outrages. Therefore be it resolved that the N. C. L. P. D. urges that the 11 Congressmen and two senators from this state vote in favor of the federal anti-lynching bill."

Atlanta Ga. Journal
March 12, 1940

TEN GOVERNORS JOIN FIGHT ON LYNCHING BILL

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP). Governors of ten states joined Tuesday in asking the Senate to defeat federal anti-lynching legislation already passed by the House.

Their pleas were filed with a Senate judiciary committee by Senator McKellar (Democrat, Tennessee) who said he had written governors of all "Southern and border states urging them to do everything within their powers to stop the crime of lynching."

Governors of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia joined in the request to the Senate.

They said lynchings had been greatly reduced, that the proposal was an unconstitutional violation of states' rights, and that the bill would do the Negro race more harm than good.

158 Congressmen Pledge To Vote For Anti-Lynching Bill On Jan. 8

With Congressmen from seven states adding their names to the roster this week, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced that a total of 158 members of the House have indicated that they will be on the floor when the Gavagan-Fish federal Anti-lynching bill comes up for a vote January 8th.

The total to date including the names of Gavagan and Fish, co-sponsors of the bill, includes 84 Republicans, 73 Democrats, and 1 member of the American Labor Party. The list of additional Congressmen is as follows:

ILLINOIS, Chauncey W. Reed.
MICHIGAN, Paul W. Shafer.
MINNESOTA, H. Carl Anderson.
NEW YORK, James A. O'Leary.
OHIO, Thomas A. Jenkins, Earl R. Lewis.
PENNSYLVANIA, J. Harold Flannery.
WISCONSIN, John C. Schafer.

The Association announcement also included a statement pointing to the fact that Washington political commentators are in substantial agreement with the N. A. A. C. P. in predicting that the bill will pass the House, but run the gauntlet of another filibuster in the Senate. However these commentators point out that the National Administration because of the importance of the Negro vote in 1940, will be pushed by scores of national organizations to lend its weight to passage of the bill. Perhaps the best expression of the commentator viewpoint is expressed by G. Gould Lincoln, who wrote the following in the Washington Evening Star, December 23:

"Even more serious for the Democratic leadership, however, may be the anti-lynching bill which is due to come up in the House January 8. It is expected to pass that body as it has in the past. When it gets to the Senate the tug of war will come.

"Southern Democrats have filibustered similar measures to death on several occasions. The administration leadership will be called upon at the coming session by important Negro organizations to put all its strength back of the measure and force it through. Since the Negro vote in many of the Northern and Western states is material, and since the New Deal administration has come to rely upon that vote, the pressure will be very great."

Asheville N. C. Citizen
January 6, 1940

THIS MORNING

By John Temple Graves II

"Encumbers him with help."

* * * *

How unfortunate for Mr. Gavagan and Mr. Fish that in the very week of the vote on their federal anti-lynching bill the Tuskegee Institute people should release their annual statistics on lynchings! The number in 1939 was not 500—that is the annual number of homicides in the great city of New York which is the pride of Mr. Gavagan's and Mr. Fish's state. The number was not 500,000—that is the annual number of crimes in that same city. No, the number was so much smaller than either of these that it hardly makes a statistic. The number of lynchings in all of the United States in 1939, dear readers, according to the carefully gathered records of Tuskegee Institute, was exactly three!



GRAVES

* * * *

Some will say that for Tuskegee to publish this figure within a few days of the vote on the Gavagan-Fish bill indicates a lack of teamwork somewhere. But our understanding of the sensible and enlightened Negroes who conduct that institution is that they are not playing ball on the same team at all with the people behind the Gavagan-Fish bill. They know how little honesty there is in the bill, what a product it is of unscrupulous politics and uncomprehending sentimentality north of the Potomac, how much more harm it is likely to do the Southern Negro than good.

* * * *

Three lynchings in 1939, six in 1938, eight in 1937, eight in 1936, twenty (a record for recent years) in 1935! And for this comparatively insignificant number of crimes race relations in the South are to be embittered in a passionate debate; the task of the Negro's real friends in the South is to be multiplied; the signal is going to be given to Negro-baiters, night riders, self annointed saviors and fascistic reactionaries from the Potomac to the Rio Grande; the federal government is going to be asked to interfere with rights of states; and the well-known Democratic Party is going to be exposed to the only quarrel that can split it wide open in the once solid South! If there had been 500 lynchings—as many as there were unlawful killings in New York City—the federal bill would nevertheless have been unwise. In the circumstances, it amounts to tragi-comedy.

* * * *

The hope of justice for the Negro in the South lies with the people of the South, and with them alone. Progress is being made. It is being made too slowly, perhaps, and inexcusably late, but it is the only progress that can be made at all. And the Southern liberals who are bringing it about are crippled each year by this futile, dishonest, destructive federal anti-lynching bill. They are as handicapped by their brothers of the name North of the Potomac as by the people who hate, fear, oppress and hide behind the Negro in the South.

* * * *

We are told that the Gavagan-Fish bill will pass the House and be filibustered to death in the Senate. But the harm isn't in the danger of its passing. It is in the passion of the debating and the spectacle of division, sentimentality and dishonesty. It is in the necessary aggravation of race hate and sectional antagonism. It is in the threat of a new political line-up along race lines in the South.

* * * *

Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is an intelligent, high-minded, hard-working Negro. He works so hard sometimes, in fact, that he fails to stop, look and listen. He is working that way for the Gavagan-Fish bill. Otherwise he would not be quoting with satisfaction a Washington political commentator's report that "since the Negro vote in many of the Northern and Western states is material, and since the New Deal Administration has come to rely upon that vote, the pressure (for passage of the bill) will be very great." Satisfaction for any Negro or friend of the Negro in a report like that is short-sighted indeed. It is short-sighted because the situation reported can one day split the South all to pieces. Split it not in the healthy ways it needs to be split but in the awful way of race against race. And when and if that happens, the great sufferer will be that major portion of Walter White's race which lives in the Southern states.

Reported Removed As Issue

Daily Worker
Atlanta, Ga.

Willkie And Roosevelt Also Refuse to Answer

SEP 27 1940

NEW YORK—(SNS)— Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley this week failed to affirm or deny a signed story carried in the CHICAGO DEFENDER which quoted him as having told a Negro delegation that the anti-lynching bill is a "dead horse" to the present session of Congress and that the bill has been "removed as an issue from the present campaign by mutual agreement of both parties concerned."

Barkley was asked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whether the story was true, in a telegram sent to him.

The N. A. A. C. P. later sent him a second wire. No reply has been received to date. He also asked to name the Republican and Democratic leaders who had entered into an agreement to remove the bill as a campaign issue, if the DEFENDER story quoted him correctly.

WIRE PRESIDENT

Telegrams advising them of the matter and asking for an answer were also sent to President Roosevelt, Republican Presidential Candidate, Wendell Willkie; his running mate, Senator Minority Leader, Charles L. McNary; and House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., who is managing Willkie's presidential campaign.

Neither President Roosevelt nor Wendell Willkie has replied to the telegram Senator McNary said in reply: "I have no knowledge of any agreement whereby the Anti-lynching bill was 'removed as an issue from the present campaign by mutual agreement of both parties concerned'. You know I have always supported this legislation and you also know that the legislative program is prepared by the majority party."

MARTIN TO REPLY

Representative Martin's secretary told the NAACP in a letter, that the House Minority Leader would reply to the question when he returned to Washington.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6469

President Roosevelt Challenged By Congressman Hamilton Fish Of New York To Declare His Stand On Anti-Lynching Bill

Exciting Colloquy with Congressman Mitchell of Illinois Regarding Negro Employment Under New Deal

Clarksdale 3-29-40

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Congressman Hamilton Fish, of New York, in a recent ... colloquy with Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, challenged President Roosevelt to declare his stand on the Anti-Lynching bill now pending in the Senate.

The challenge came when Mr. Mitchell, only colored democrat in Congress, was eulogizing the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt. The New York congressman inquired of Mr. Mitchell where the President stands on the ... from East, Middle and West Tenn. ot enlighten him.

"We know", said Mr. Fish, "where the President of the United States stands on all racial and religious questions in foreign lands, but we should like to know where he stands on enacting an Anti-Lynching Bill at the present time in the United States of America. He has been strangely silent about that, a matter which vitally affects the security of some 13 million colored people in America.

"One word from the White House" he said, "and that Bill would come flying through the Senate and be enacted into law. Day after day we hear about President Rosevelt's views affecting foreign lands, but when it comes to making democracy safe in America and safe for 13,000,000 colored people, he is strangely silent. The White House continues to be silent as a tomb when the colored people ask for an endorsement of the Gavagan-Fish Anti Lynching Bill".

With reference to Mr. Mitchell's statistics regarding employment of Negroes under the New Deal, the New York Congressman asked if it is not true that a far larger numer of colored persons remain unemployed after seven years of the New Deal, in proportion to population than any other group in America; and if it is not true that the colored people have suffered more under the New Deal because of unemployment than any other single group. Again, Mr. Mitchell was unable to enlighten him.

"I am convinced", Mr. Fish said that there have been more unemployed Negroes during the past seven years than ever before in our history.

Entering the colloquy, Congressman John C. Schafer of Wisconsin, also propounded a question or two. He pointed out that Mr. Mitchell had boasted about the virtues of the New Deal as they affect the people of the colored race."

"I wanted to ask him", he continued, "whether he realizes that below the Mason and Dixon line, which is in complete control of the New Deal, they drive the colored people away from the polls and will not even let them vote? They also make our colored citizens ride in Jim Crow cars" etc. . . .

Mr. Fish resumed with a few more questions, inquiring as to how many colored men in America have been appointed to high offices under the New Deal, whether any colored men have been appointed to high office in the Southern States, and what colored men have been appointed to important offices in states north of the Mason and Dixon line. "Under Republican administrations", he said, "the colored people did receive important appointments in Washington and in the South as well as in the North".

Further, the New York Congressman wanted Mr. Mitchell, along with his praise of the New Deal, and what it is doing for the colored people, to put in the Congressional Record the number of colored persons holding important jobs in the different agencies and bureaucracies of the Government.

When Mr. Mitchell confessed he was unable to answer the questions that had been put to him, Mr. Fish countered with the remark that the New Deal has made abundant promises to the colored people but about all they have received is more abundant debts deficits, and unemployment. He also said the colored people want permanent jobs to provide adequately for their families and not relief at 50 cents a day.

"The New Deal for seven lean years", he continued, "has failed to give them permanent jobs and the only way I know of for them to once again become employed at the American standard of wages and living is through the election of a Republican President. The gentleman from Illinois has made a speech about employment among the colored people and yet does not know how many are unemployed. That is the most important political and economic issue confronting his group".

The Illinois Congressman had refused to yield to Congressman Fish and Congressman Schafer for questioning during his presentation of a statement, written for the purpose of showing that the New Deal has given widespread employment to colored men and women during the past seven years.

The statement, undoubtedly prepared for propaginda purposes, to be franked at the expense of the Government, that is, at the expense of tax-payers, including colored tax payers, in apparently designed to explain the failures of New Deal agencies particularly their mishandling of colored beneficiaries in the South, where the great masses of the Negro population live, and those living in the great cities of the North.

YWCA Supports Anti-Lynch Bill In Final Session

Daily Worker

Convention Also Backs Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill; Debate on War Ends with Clear Call for America to Remain at Peace

By Louise Mitchell
(Daily Worker Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., April 16.—The fight against war loans and credits was resumed this morning at the Young Women's Christian Association convention here when a resolution opposing military, economic and financial aid to belligerents was reported out by the Resolutions Committee for vote on the last day.

In spite of yesterday's convention action on Public Affairs, which was interpreted as leaving the door open for aid to the Allies, a group of delegates insisted that the resolution as presented was not necessarily inconsistent with the present program of the YWCA. They pointed out that since "economic and financial pressure to check" nations waging aggressive wars had always meant sanctions, it must now logically mean withholding economic and financial support from both sides, each equally guilty of "aggressive war."

However, the resolution was finally defeated by a plea that the matter had already been acted upon but not until the peace groups told the delegates that the YWCA must work to keep America out of war if it was to fulfill its function as a democratic, Christian organization.

SUPPORT ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Many resolutions were passed, most outstanding of which were in favor of the anti-lynching bill and the Geyer Bill which opposes the poll-tax. A telegram was sent to Congressman Walker urging him to bring the Geyer Bill out of committee and onto the floor of Congress. Another resolution condemned the segregation and discrimination against Negroes and requested that the National Board appoint a commission to gather material based on the experiences of local Associations on the effects of segregation and discrimination in the Associations and community life and to report it to the next convention.

Speakmg for the Committee on the Report of the National Board, Mrs. William H. Chambers pointed out that the convention realized the acuteness of youth problems and showed a real desire to work for their solution.

During the morning a vote of thanks was given the younger members of the organization for their earnest and intelligent discussion of all problems before the convention.

Throughout the day delegates were preparing to leave for their respective destinations. During the afternoon, the closing address was made by Mrs. Austin L. Kimball with acceptance of charge by Mrs John French. The convention was formally adjourned this afternoon.

Mrs. Harrison Elliot is the president to the next convention and Miss Mamie E. Davis, Negro YWCA leader of Philadelphia, was chosen secretary to the next convention.

FOR AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

Rose Troiano, retiring president of the National Industrial Council told the gathering that the industrial girls' completed program reflects these objectives: security employment, marriage, civil liberties and peace.

Through the use of a questionnaire, the industrial council was able to determine that "the Assembly had definite convictions on a number of current issues. In connection with their desire for economic security and jobs for all, we reaffirmed our desire to cooperate with young people, not only in other sections of the YWCA but with youth everywhere who face unemployment and to that end we will continue to cooperate with the American Youth Congress for the passage of the American Youth Act. Our household employes want to be included in the provision of the wages and hours law and the Federal Social Security and State Unemployment Compensation acts.

"The Assembly definitely was opposed to the present attempt to destroy the effectiveness of the Wagner Act by amendments such as proposed by the Smith Committee majority."

DEFEND RIGHTS

She repeated the industrial girls' peace program in opposition to governmental war loans and credits to warring nations and its opposition to peace-time legislation for war-time industrial mobilization which would nullify democratic procedures and set up dictatorial control over manpower, labor, industry and public services.

The young speaker told the convention that it was labor who fought the wars and it was labor who suffered most as a result of wars. It was therefore vital to the YWCA and democracy **"that the rights of those who toil be guaranteed. Minority groups of every complexion will suffer if labor is strangled."**

Another youthful speaker representing the business and professional girls in the YWCA spoke of the need for adequate legislation for wage standards.

"We are faced with discrimination against the minority groups in the business and professional constituency," she stated. "We are stirred and disturbed by the treatment of, and lack of opportunity for our Negro, Jewish, Oriental and other nationality or race groups."

She attacked the discriminatory poll-tax and reaffirmed her group's belief in the American Youth Congress.

How You Can Aid Anti-Lynch Bill

Call 4-26 to Kansas City

1. Write or wire Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, Senate office building, Washington, and ask him to set a date when the anti-lynching bill will be brought up for a vote. Register your protest in advance against any filibuster.

2. Write the two senators from your state at the Senate office buiding, Washington, D. C., asking them to work to bring the bill up for a vote, to fight against any filibuster, and to vote for the bill. Urge them to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster should develop.

3. Get your club, union, church, lodge or other organization to write letters or send a resolution to Senator Barkley and to your two senators. Get influential and prominent persons in your community to write also.

MINORITY

ALMOST a month has passed since the Senate Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 12 to 4, reported favorably to the United States Senate the Wagner-Casper-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill.

However, all efforts to have Senator Alben W. Barkley, Majority Leader of the Senate, indicate when the bill will be brought up for a vote have been futile.

Signs are not lacking that the bill will be sidetracked and thus lose the preferred position which it had on the calendar at the beginning of the present session of Congress, unless the 'folks back home" put pressure on their Senators and on the Majority Leader to set a date when the bill will be brought up for a vote.

Write your senator today. Get your church, club or lodge to pass and forward resolutions urging your senators to do two things: (1) bring the bill up for a vote; and (2) vote for cloture (limitation of debate), if a filibuster should develop.

Polls show more than 60 of the 96 senators favor the bill and that a clear majority of the public favors its passage. A small group of 'irreconcilables" should not be permitted to thwart the will of the majority.

Prevents Passage of Anti-Lynching Bill

Chicago Speech Puts Senate Chief Out On Limb

(Editor's note: Smith was the correspondent for The Amsterdam News who covered Senator Barkley's speech in Chicago. The Senator now has denied making certain reported pledges, and Smith in turn reminds him of them by publishing here the full text of the stenographic record of his talk, from which Chicago and Omaha weeklies also took excerpts running a similar story.)

By J. ROBERT SMITH
(Staff Correspondent)

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Whether it was mere political gesture or the sight of a crowded 8th Regiment Armory housing about 3,000 colored Democratic voters that made Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley rush out on a limb, it's hard to determine, but regardless of his recent repudiation to the NAACP, this writer still maintains that the Kentuckian stated before the National Colored Democratic Association which met in Chicago, July 14, "that the anti-lynch bill will be brought up and be voted upon before this Congress adjourned."

In a recent letter to the NAACP, the Senator is quoted as saying in part, "I have not seen any of the newspapers that quoted what I had to say because I spoke extemporaneously, but the quotation which you use in your letter is inaccurate."

The Senator declared that he said, "he entertained the hope that the bill might be voted on during the present Congress." He is also quoted as saying that he made no promise that it would be voted on or taken up.

Press Tricked Barkley

Fearing a possible kickback, members of the press who attended the convention and were sitting right at the feet of the Senator at the press table, had agreed to use a stenographic record of his address instead of their notes.

Gazing down at the press table many times, the Senator saw that the newspapermen were relaxing, smoking, but he was unaware that behind him on the same platform was one of Chicago's crack criminal reporters who is employed in a competent court of record in saying in part, "I have not seen any of the newspapers that that city, taking word for word, for the press, his most soothing speech.

Not only was the address of Senator Barkley recorded, at that special meeting, but also the speeches made by Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, former Postmaster General James Farley and others.

When the Senator declared "that the bill will be brought up and be voted upon, etc." and not "that he entertained the hope, etc." the 8th Regiment Armory rocked with applause, making it necessary for him to pause for a while before continuing his blitzkrieg speech.

When he also went out on the limb going on record as against the payment of poll tax and he was in favor of Negroes being included in all branches of the armed forces of the United States, the house went wild.

The Senator's address, which was in the Amsterdam News story reported to be delivered extemporaneously, was the talk of the town, he having answered many of the questions that were vital to the race.

Carried Story

When this writer made all efforts to see the Senator in St. Louis, three weeks ago to show him the story and get a statement from him, the Senator is quoted by Senator Truman's secretary as saying "that he had no time."

The following is the full text of the Senator's address, a copy being dug from this writer's personal files.

6470

Lynchings - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

THE POST DEFENDS THE LYNCH FILIBUSTERS

The New York Post has joined with the Republican-Democratic clique on the Senate Judiciary sub-committee in defending the reactionary filibuster against the anti-lynching bill.

In an editorial yesterday it slandered Ben Davis, Jr., Negro member of our editorial board, asserting that his testimony at the anti-lynch bill hearing was "tactless, wild and irresponsible." Davis' mild and truthful characterization of the filibuster against the bill as "shameful tactics," is attacked by the Post as a "violent denunciation of . . . Senators Connally, Ellender and Bilbo."

The Post is thus defending the vicious filibustering against the measure which has blocked its passage for the last six years, when more than 60 Senators were pledged to vote for it. The Post isn't disturbed by the insulting Ku Klux lies which such Southern Bourbons as Connally have been uttering against the Negroes on the floor of the Senate year after year. It rushes to protect Bilbo who just recently had the temerity to propose a lynch-inciting bill to "deport" all Negro citizens out of the country.

Connally, Bilbo and other filibusters, working with the treacherous Republicans, have kept the anti-lynching bill from coming up for a vote in the Senate for the last 15 years. In doing so they have defied the wishes of the American people, and have repeatedly turned the democratic processes of the government into an abominable travesty!

It evidently riles the Post to have a Negro, a representative of his oppressed people, forthrightly speaking face to face with Senators, urging them to pass a bill to enforce the Constitutional rights of his people. The Post claims that Davis' statements were "wild and irresponsible" (without citing a single one!), while it protects the truly wild and irresponsible slanderers of the Negro. (The lynchers will thank the Post for this defense!)

Davis, along with Pat Toohey, was the designated spokesman of the Communist Party at the hearings. The Post's insinuation that he doesn't "care" whether the anti-lynching bill is passed or not is a libel upon the Communist Party. The Communists' tireless fight for Negro rights is public record, and the attacks of Sen. Van Nuys and the Post are but fresh proof of the Communists' uncompromising devotion to Negro rights and to American democracy.

The nonsensical contention that Communist support "hurts" the bill is the same thing the Ku Klux state officials said when they wanted to lynch the Scottsboro boys and when they sought to do Angelo Herndon to death on the Georgia chain-gang.

Although the Post put in an afterthought that the bill should come to a vote, it tries to prove that there's less need for it than ever. For example, it cites as "earnest efforts" the action of the Snow Hill, Md., authorities, where a Negro woman and her daughter were kidnapped and threatened with lynching in violation of their constitutional rights—and not one prosecution has taken place!

Although paying lip-service to the anti-lynching bill, the Post is using the red-baiting arguments of the lynchers against it. It is following President Roosevelt's "national unity" policy of uniting with the reactionaries for the scrapping of civil liberties and for war. The people will have to cut through the fog of deceit and reaction which grips this bill, and dynamite it out of the Senate Judiciary Committee with their protests.

Chicago Negro Heads Spur Fight for Anti-Lynch Bill

By Carl Harris
(Special to the Sunday Worker)

CHICAGO, Ill., March 9.—Leading Chicago Negroes today threw their weight squarely behind the fight to bring the Anti-Lynching Bill to a victorious vote in the United States Senate.

Placing the responsibility for brutal lynchings on the Senators who have blocked passage of the bill, the statements followed the sharp testimony on behalf of the measure by two leading members of the Communist Party, Pat Toohey and Benjamin Davis, Jr., who spoke this week before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Chicago Negro leaders also put President Roosevelt on the spot for his failure to take a strong stand in favor of the bill.

"We cannot call our country a democracy while lynching and mob rule continue," Lillian Summers, President of the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress, told the Daily Worker today.

"The National Negro Congress will continue as it has in the past its fight for the anti-lynching bill," she said. "All forces of progress and democracy must be rallied in support of the bill."

Dr. L. B. Morrison, prominent Negro physician, declared: "I want to see the anti-lynching bill enacted not only because it would save some persons from torture and death, but also because its enactment would be a victory for the forces of decency and progress."

Said Henry Johnson, Assistant National Director of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee:

"During these days when Americanism is being flaunted across the front pages of the newspapers and echoed in the halls of Congress, the anti-lynching bill is a test of the sincerity of every Senator and Congressman in the United States as to whether he is for democracy or against it.

"If they vote for the bill, they are voting for democracy. If they vote against it they themselves are in the category of the lynchers."

Flaying the move to stifle the bill in the Senate Committee, the Reverend Harold M. Kingsley, pastor of the Good Shepherd Church, declared: "I and my congregation are heartily in favor of the anti-lynching bill and are working as hard as we can for it."

Following is the statement made by Irene Gaines, president of the Chicago Council of Negro Organizations:

"Our organization is circulating petitions asking President Roosevelt for a public statement of his stand on the anti-lynching bill and asking him to use his influence in favor of it.

"Lynching and the opposition in Congress to an anti-lynching bill are a blight on the good name of our country."

BEN DAVIS IS REBUKED FOR SENATE TIRADE

Ex-Atlanta Negro Red Told His Testimony Harms Lynch Bill

Washington, D. C., March 5 (AP).

A Negro Communist, Benjamin Davis, of New York, threw a Senate hearing on anti-lynching legislation into turmoil Tuesday by terming Southern senators "stooges" and Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter."

Davis identified himself as a former Atlanta lawyer.

Senator Van Nuys (Democrat, Indiana), chairman of the judiciary subcommittee conducting the hearing and co-sponsor of the lynching bill, shouted at the Negro witness at one point, "That's an insult," and struck from the committee record Davis' description of the vice president and members of Congress.

"You crashed the gates of this committee just to try and send out Communist propaganda," Van Nuys said when the Negro concluded after a running argument with committee members.

"You have done more harm to prevent passage of the bill than anyone who has ever appeared."

Davis, who testified he was on the editorial board of the Daily Worker, Communist periodical, protested against questions about freedom of speech and the press in Communist Russia.

Heard on Browder's Request

Before permitting the Communist Party to testify, Chairman Van Nuys remarked that Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, had requested testimony by party representatives.

"I don't care a rap of what Earl Browder or his whole party thinks of those or any other bill," Van Nuys said. The four other committee members, Senators Wiley (Republican, Wisconsin), Austin (Republican, Vermont), Neely (Democrat, West Virginia) and Connally (Democrat, Texas) voted to let the Communist testify under a 15-minute time limitation.

Davis launched into a tirade against senators who have filibusted against antilynching bills.

"The shameful tactics of Senator Connally . . . "Davis began. Connally protested, "I do not propose to be slandered by this witness," and Van Nuys warned the witness against derogatory remarks.

Calls Senators "Stooges"

"Congress has not been very respectful of the Negro people," Davis replied, going on to say that Senate opponents of the lynch bill were "stooges for landlords and mill owners who are degrading white womanhood by paying low wages in their mills."

Senator Wiley asked Davis what would happen to anyone in Communist Russia who attempted to come before a governmental hearing and slander without restraint.

Earlier, John P. Davis, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, testified that revival of the Ku Klux Klan in many areas showed a "trend of increasing mob violence "that could be met by passage of the lynch bill, which would provide penalties for counties and county officers in event of a lynching.

Mississippian Attacked

Benjamin Davis attacked the Mississippi Legislature for its handling of the free textbook system and in this connection said that Mississippi State Senator H. L. Davis "is a liar."

John P. Davis testified that during two months of last year "masked bands of the Ku Klux Klan rode with burning crosses through the Negro sections of Anderson and Greenville, S. C., twenty different times."

He said a National Youth Administration camp at Lexington County, South Carolina had been visited by scores of masked klansmen and "Negro children terrorized." He added:

"Fred V. Johnson, head of the South Carolina Klan, makes his headquarters in the office of a sheriff."

—Atlanta Journal

Greensboro, N. C., Recor
March 12, 1940

Governors From 10 States Ask Defeat Of Lynching Action

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP)—Governors of 10 states joined today in asking the senate to defeat federal anti-lynching legislation already passed by the house.

Their pleas were filed with a senate judiciary committee by Senator McKellar, Democrat, Tennessee, who said he had written governors of all "southern and border states urging them to do everything within their powers to stop the crime of lynching."

Governors of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia joined in the request to the senate.

They said lynchings had been greatly reduced, that the proposal was an unconstitutional violation of states' rights, and that the bill would do the negro race more harm than good.

McKellar said southern states had attained "excellent results in stamping out lynchings" and commented that the governors' letters indicated honest opposition to the pending proposal. It would penalize state or local officers for failure to prevent lynchings or to prosecute lynch mobs and would impose up to $10,000 civil damages on counties or communities where lynching took place.

Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
March 13, 1940

GOVERNORS ASK END LYNCH BILL

Ten Executives Join In Plea For Action By The Upper House Of Congress

WASHINGTON, March 13—Governors of 10 states joined Tuesday in asking the Senate to defeat Federal anti-lynching legislation already passed by the House.

Their pleas were filed with a Senate judiciary committee by Senator McKellar (D-Tenn) who said he had written Governors of all Southern and border states urging them to do everything within their powers to stop the crime of lynching."

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Gov. Carl E. Bailey, of Arkansas, wrote that the lynching bill sought "to correct an evil which does not exist" and that Congressional approval "would give color of official confirmation to the inflammatory slanders against the people of the South."

Gov. Bailey urged the Senate to prevent "this desecration of the constitution and humiliation of a large section of the citizenship of the United States."

The Alabamian said the legislation was "pushed solely as a national issue" by those seeking support of negro voters." He said poverty was a much more serious problem for the negro race than lynching."

Gov. Paul S. Johnson, of Mississippi, said the pending bill was "clearly unconstitutional." He promised to use all his powers as a state executive to "enforce the law and prevent lynchings."

From Louisiana, Gov. Earl K Long detailed numerous successful attempts of state officers to prevent lynchings there in recent years and said the proposed law would be "an invasion of the rights of the states and a violation of the spirit of the constitution."

Gov. Prentice Cooper, of Tennessee, offered to come here and testify against the proposal.

Nat Tipton, assistant attorney general of Tennessee for 12 years, told the judiciary subcommittee Tuesday that the South now was in control of the lynching problem and Federal legislation might undo this.

Under questioning by Senator Connally (D-Tex), who opposes the legislation, Tipton told of recent Tennessee crimes in which local and state officers had prevented lynchings.

Spurred by warnings that the United States must be prepared to defend itself without outside help the House passed and sent to the Senate Tuesday a bill to authorize a $655,000,000 expansion of the navy and its air force within the next two years.

The measure, designed to give the fleet 21 new combat ships, 22 auxiliary vessels, and 1,011 additional warplanes, went through in little more than four hours with only a flurry of opposition.

6471

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Senator's Ballot On Anti-Lynch Bill Kills His Negro Vote

Atlanta Herald 4-5-40

Atlanta Ga.

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—(SNS)—Nothing has stirred the Colored voters of Louisville and Kentucky as has the vote of Senator A. B. (Happy) Chandler on the Anti-Lynching Bill. FAR from dying down the feeling against Senator Chandler grows. A roving reporter of The NEWS asked and received expressions from men of all walks of life. They are printed below. It is safe to say Mr. Chandler will get few if any Negro votes in the Democratic primary or the general election if he gets the nomination. He has received thousand of Negro votes in the past. He will do good to get ten when he comes up again. Here are expressions from Negro citizens:

ED KELLY, former Juvenile Court Officer: "I do not think Senator Chandler merits a single Negro vote if he cannot support the Anti-lynching Bill."

JOHN HENRY PAYNE, Ritzy Inn: "Any Negro who would vote for Senator Chandler after his vote against the Anti-lynching Bill should be ashamed."

PERCY SMITH, Panama Tavern "It is a disgrace on Kentucky that one of its Senators voted against the Anti-lynching Bill. We all should vote to send Mr. Chandler back to the woods."

DR. W. H. JACKSON: "I do not think Senator Chandler means colored people any good and he will not get my vote although I have been a Democrat all my life."

DR. THEODORE BOWMAN apothecary: "I can't see how any man can be against the Anti-lynching Bill. Since Senator Chandler is, he should not get a single Negro vote."

F. L. STITH, tailor: "I cannot see how Senator Chandler can be against lynching and still not support the Anti-lynching Bill. He does not deserve a Negro vote."

REV. GEORGE A. FISHER Church of Our Merciful Saviour: "Incident to the position taken by Senator Chandler as one of the committee reporting the Anti-lynching Bill out and his failure to give consideration to many of his loyal supporters to support the Anti-lynching Bill, favorable attitudes which have developed in his interest in behalf of a full term has changed overnight. A city-wide meeting of all phases of Negro life and thought has been called for the second Sunday in May at which time action shall be taken to steer away from the Junior Senator the support of the Kentucky Negro. The outcome of a series of informal meetings of Negroes of Louisville and other parts of the state is calling of a meeting on the second Sunday in May in Louisville to discuss the advisability of setting up a state-wide committee on Negro affairs to consider four definite objectives: education, public-civic welfare, economics-industry and politics."

I. WILLIS COLE, Editor, Louisville Leader: "Senator Chandler's vote against the Anti-lynching bill was no surprise to me. Judging by his past records when he was named by Gov. Johnson to the U. S. Senate, it is my opinion that he was a poor successor to the late Senator Logan as far as Negroes are concerned.

ROBERT T. CLAXTON, business man: "The Anti-lynching bill affects colored people more than any other group. If Senator Chandler can't vote for it, we should not vote for Senator Chandler."

DR. J. A. TAYLOR, dentist "Senator Chandler could not see his way clear to vote for the Anti-lynching bill. It is to be hoped no Negro will see his way clear to vote for Mr. Chandler if and when he comes up for re-election."

LEN HALEY, Haley's Cafe: "I wouldn't vote for Chandler if he was the last man on earth, no matter what ticket he was on."

J. W. BELL, barber: "We should not vote for any man who is against an Anti-lynching bill. That goes for Senator Chandle ."

BLAINE HALL, florist: "I cannot see how any Colored man can vote for Senator Chandler after he opposed the Anti-lynching bill."

FRANK MOORMAN, F and M Service Station: "Senator Chandler lined up with Bilbo of Mississippi on the Anti-lynching bill. Kentucky Negroes should vote against Chandler as he voted against the Anti-lynching bill."

C. EWBANK TUCKER, attorney and clergyman: "The fact that Senator Chandler is alive today is due largely to the benevolences of Colored people, showered upon him in his youth. His vote in Committee against the Anti-lynch bill is unpatriotic in its most hideous form."

JOHN H. GEER, lawyer: "Senator Chandler's stand against the Anti-lynch bill runs true to form of all Southern politicians. Any other stand would have marked him as exceptional."

CLARK JEFFERSON, business man and politician: "I've been voting the Democratic ticket for 58 years. I supported Chandler in all his political races. I can't see how he can be against the Anti-lynching bill when he received 9,000 Negro votes in Louisville. We won't make that mistake again."

W. H. HINTON, lawyer: "I am surprised at Senator Chandler's opposition to the Anti-lynching bill. The reasons given by him are very poor. I don't see how he can expect any Negro support at the polls."

PRES DAVIS, politician: "As Democratic captain of the 1st precinct, Seventh Ward, I will not support Chandler in the primary or general election on account of his attitude on the Anti-lynching bill."

W. W. WILSON, Bank Messenger and Politician: "I endorse Attorney Tucker's article in the Courier-Journal. I voted three times for Mr. Chandler when he ran for Governor, twice in the primary and once in the general election. Since Mr. Chanrler is opposed to the Federal Anti-lynching bill, under no condition would I vote for him in the Democratic primary or the general election."

DR. P. O. SWEENEY, dentist and president of NAACP: "Senator Chandler by his vote on the Anti-lynching bill, has been a shock to the colored citizens of Kentucky We should give him the shock of his life in the primary and general election if he is nominated by voting and working against him."

J. A. THOMAS, Urban League: Senator Chandler's vote against the Anti-lynching bill is no surprise to me. He has always demonstrated a tendency to adhere to certain worn out Southern traditions and going to the U. S. Senate has not changed him."

S. A. BURNLEY, attor reasons given by Senator ler for voting against lynching bill show his u the position he now h

Greenville, S. C. News
July 18, 1940

Anti-Lynching Plan Approval Left Out Democratic Platform

CONVENTION HALL, Chicago, July 17.—Framers of the 1940 democratic platform tonight declined to put the Democratic party on record in favor of anti-lynching legislation.

Instead the party pledged itself to "uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color."

Strenuous efforts had been made to secure a definite statement favoring enactment of the anti-lynching bill now pending in the Senate. This action the platform committee refused to take.

In regard to negroes, the platform declared:

"Our negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education and the rehabilitation of low-income farm families. We have aided more than half a million negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color.

SENATOR RESENTS BEING FORCED INTO OPEN; SAYS N. A. A. C. P. IS 'UNFAIR'

In Sharp Letter to Majority Leader, Walter White Urges Democrats to Show Sincerity by Passing Bill

NEW YORK.— The fight to pass the federal anti-lynching bill at this session of Congress is receiving the mass support of large sections of the American people "white as well as colored," whose "resentment is steadily growing at the apparent complete failure of the Senate leadership to initiate or even contemplate the initiation of any determined effort to secure action on this bill."

This was the sentiment expressed by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a sharp letter to Senate Majority Leader, Alben W. Barkley, (D), of Kentucky, and made public by the N. A. A. C. P.

In making the letter public Mr. White said: "We are putting the issue squarely up to the Democritic leadership of congress to affirm our charges of inaction and attempts to scuttle the bill, or demonstrate its sincerly by passing this legislation."

White challenged the Senator Barkley to prove that he has lifted a finger to call up the anti-lynching bill or made any real effort to discuss ways and means of pushing the bill either with the Senate sponsors of the measure, or with the N. A. A. C. P., which is leading the fight to get it passed.

The statement was a reply to charges made by Senator Barkley in a letter dated April 2, and also made public by the N. A. A. C. P. recently, that the N. A. A. C. P. secretary had "resorted to tactics utterly contempible" and had made "untruthful" statements in describing in a previous letter, the senate leader's failure to support the bill.

Barkley also accused the N. A. A. C. P. of arousing his constituents through the Louisville Defender, a Negro weekly paper, in an effort to "build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation."

Answering the Kentucky Senator by giving a play-by-play description from the record of the N. A. A. C. P.'s efforts to get him to act during the period from the end of October, 1939 to the present, White said:

"Through our weekly press service, through communications to branches of this association and to church, labor and other organizations who are working for enactment of the anti-lynching bill, we keep those interested supplied with the week-to-week progress of this and other legislation. If supplying this information is to be interpreted by you as an attempt to 'build a fire under me by sort of local intimidation,' then we can do nothing to prevent your harboring any such belief."

Pointing out that Senator Barkley's letter "echoes the same defeatism" of those in the Congress majority who have allowed the filibusterers to proceed with their evil designs without exercising the 'slightest determination to put up any effective resistance,' the N. A. A. C. P. secretary declared, "you admit in your letter of April 22. that you are unable, at this late date in the session, to give us any information as to when the anti-lynching bill will be taken up in the Senate."

Lashing out at the disgraceful lack of fighting leadership in the senate that could rally the majority opinion in that body for the bill if it would do so. White warned the majority leader that "the criticism a great many of us, who see mob violence becoming an increasing menace to the preservation of democratic government in our country, is that those responsible for the handling of this legislation do not manifest the moral courage to oppose the brazen tactics of the minority which is fighting this bill."

Divine Enters Fight for Antilynch Bill

NEW YORK—Officials of the NAACP and other civic agencies espousing the cause of anti-lynching legislation in Congress will no doubt be happy to hear the name of their newest ally, Father M. J. Divine.

The Harlem cult leader announcing his intention of blanketing Capitol Hill with hundreds of thousands of letters, telegrams and a petition "with ten million signatures," has thrown all his angels and the resources of his far-flung kingdom into the anti-lynching movement.

5,000 Canvassers

Five thousands angels have been detailed to take signatures. The canvass is already underway from California to Maine, and even the latest Presidential nominee, Wendell L. Willkie, will be asked to sign or give his reasons.

"Thi fight will be won this time," said one of the angel canvasser covering the Harlem territory. "God is behind it. Peace, brother."

Catholics Ask Democrats To Speed Anti-Lynch Law

NEW YORK CITY—A resolution urging the Democratic National Convention, in session in Chicago beginning July 15, to speed the passage of the federal anti-lynching law in the present session of Congres was adopted by the Catholic Interracial Council Conference here July 11.

WRITER CRITICIZES SHUNTING ASIDE OF ANTI-MOB BILL

NEW YORK CITY—"The current sabotage of the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill in the United States Senate is both shocking and deplorable," says Helen Burlen in an article entitled "Rope, Faggot, and Jury," appearing in the June issue of Equality magazine, a monthly journal published to combat racial and religious intolerance.

Miss Burlin describes the recent exchange of correspondence between Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Albon W. Barkley, Senate Majority Leader in which Mr. White accused the Kentucky senator of "not lifting a finger" to get the bill out on the Senate floor.

She scores Barkley for his letter declining to give information on when the bill would be brought up, characterizing it as "remarkable for a cavalier and almost insolent tone toward the spokesman of a minority race."

The author reviews the long history of anti-lynching "run-arounds" to which fighters for passage of the bill "the spokesmen, of a patient and have been subjected, declaring that long-suffering people have a right to feel indignant not only at out spoken enemies but at alleged friends who callously subject them to this torrent of repeated frustration."

Miss Burlin adds that "there exists a more subtle form of lynching — lynching under pretense of following the forms of low." She cites two South Carolina cases which she investigated personally: one involving Benjamin Haywood, Beauford, S. C. war veteran, who was returned from Ohio and sentenced to death after 14 years of blameless life, and the other involving Arthur Patterson. and John Baker, both convicted of murder amid courtroom hysteria at McCormick, S. C., despite strong evidence of their innonence.

Miss Burlin in her article, calls for the passage at once of the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.

6472

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
February 6, 1940

"DO WE NEED AN ANTI-LYNCH LAW"?

Under the foregoing caption appeared an editorial in Collier's Weekly which contains a most conservative and sane view on the anti-lynch bill which has passed the lower House of Congress and is now in the Senate. The editorial coming from a source that has never been friendly to the South or its people, should be heeded by the members of the Senate. It is not written from a partisan point of view nor was it inspired for any purpose other than that for the benefit of the people in all sections of the nation.

That lynchings are no longer of any consequence in the way of crime, argues that "well enough should be left alone". In 1892 there were 231 lynchings in the United States. In 1939 there were only three lynchings, which shows that the people of this country no longer believe in or approve mob violence.

If Collier's Weekly sees no good or benefit to the people by enacting an anti-lynch law, then there must be some merit in its opposition to the passage of such a bill by Congress. The editorial referred to, follows:

"The news, makes us wonder whether we need the anti-lynch legislation that bobs up in almost every session of congress, causes various lawmakers to fight the Civil War all over again with their mouths, and comes fairly close to passing but has never passed yet.

"Without such a law, lynching has been cut down in this country from a peak of 231 mob murders in 1892 to the three reported last year. The thing has been accomplished by education of public opinion. Press, educators, clergy—all the forces of civic decency—have crusaded against this barbaric custom for sixty years.

"Lynching seems to be definitely on the run in the country, though, of course, the total may swing above three this year or next or later. But until and unless lynchings threaten to go a long way toward that 1892 peak of 231, we'd say it would be wise to keep up the non-political crusading and sidetrack the proposed legislation. A law decreecing some reform should be the last recourse. It's far better to bring about a reform by bringing public opinion around to favoring it—and civic decency, in the matter of lynching as in all others, is better generated voluntarily inside any community than imposed from outside."

We are glad to learn that publications north of the Mason and Dixon line no longer allow ill feeling and prejudice to control in such matters, but that they have learned to view the crime in its true light and not from a sectional point.

The passage of the bill now before the senate would prove a calamity to this country. It is directed solely at the South, and for no other purpose than to influence the negro vote for this or that candidate, and for this or that political party. The members of the Senate should rise above such cheap-clap politics and vote their convictions for what they believe to be for the best interest of all the people of the nation.

GARNER ATTACKED AS 'LABOR BAITER'

Atlanta Ga.
3-6-40

Senators Protest as Red Testifies at Anti-Lynch Hearing.

WASHINGTON, March 5.—(AP) While Senate sponsors of anti-lynching legislation protested that he was hurting their cause, Benjamin Davis, Negro communist called Vice President Garner an "evil old labor baiter" today and accused him of agreeing with President Roosevelt to "scuttle" the anti-lynch bill.

Davis, who identified himself as an associate editor of the Daily Worker, Communist newspaper testified at a tumultuous hearing before a Senate judiciary subcommittee considering an anti-lynching bill already passed by the house. He said he was formerly an attorney in Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro's remarks about the President and Vice President and his reference to southern members of Congress as "stooges for the landlords and mill owners, who degrade white womanhood by refusing to pay them a living wage," were stricken from the hearing record by Chairman Van Nuys Democrat, Indiana.

Communists Ask Voice at Hearing on Anti-Lynch Bill

Pat Toohey and Ben Davis Jr. Write Members of Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee Asking to Be Heard

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4.—Pat Toohey and Ben Davis, Jr., Communist Party leaders, today wrote to all members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee which is holding hearings on the anti-lynching bill insisting that their views on the measure be heard.

They addressed their letters to the committee members after Senator Frederick Van Nuys, chairman of the Subcommittee, had refused to answer two wires from Earl Browder requesting that the two Communist leaders be permitted to testify.

Daily Worker

Toohey is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and Davis is a member of the editorial board of the Daily Worker.

New York, N.Y.

Van Nuys although nominally one of the sponsors of the anti-lynching bill has actually been sabotaging its passage at this session.

3-5-40

The two Communist leaders declared that to deny them a chance to be heard tomorrow, when hearings on the bill probably be concluded, would be "an abridgement of free speech."

Early today Toohey and Davis conferred for some time with Bern Stern, secretary to Senator Van Nuys and to the judiciary subcommittee.

When Stern refused to make any definite commitment that they would be heard they sent the following letters to the subcommittee members:

"On February 6th, 1939, Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, wired Senator Frederick Van Nuys, chairman of the judiciary subcommittee which is holding hearings on the anti-lynching bill requesting that the undersigned be permitted to testify before the subcommittee as representatives of the Communist Party in defense of the bill. Senator Van Nuys did not see fit to answer this telegram.

"On February 12th, 1939, Mr. Browder sent a second telegram to Senator Van Nuys similar to the first repeating the request. This request was similarly ignored.

"In view of the fact that hearings on the bill are reported to end this week we respectfully insist that the point of view of the Communist Party be heard by the subcommittee. To deny us the repeated request to testify is an abridgement of free speech.

"As representatives of the Communist Party we testify for an organization which has long been in the forefront of the fight for anti-lynching legislation. We believe

that the Communist Party is the only political organization which points to the real social and economic causes of lynching, segregation, discrimination and other forms of persecution of the Negro people and has a perfect right to be heard.

CITE PRECEDENT

"The only issue facing the subcommittee, in our opinion, is whether it will accord a hearing to a legally constituted American political party despite the personal prejudices of some members of the subcommittee. We believe it to be fundamental to the democratic functioning of government that differing points of view be presented before Congressional committees. We know that the judiciary committee of the Senate has followed this practice in the past even to the extent of permitting notorious anti-Semitic propagandists to testify.

"We do not believe that the members of the judiciary subcommittee would want to take the position to accord a hearing to persons who express violent racial prejudices and then to deny a hearing to the Communist Party which is unequivocally opposed to all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination.

"Consequently we expect to be accorded the right to testify before the judiciary subcommittee March 5th."

VANDENBURG SAYS HE'LL FIGHT TO BREAK FILIBUSTER

NAACP Has No Illusions About Anti-Lynching Bill Controversy

NEW YORK. — Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg (R), of Michigan, has told the NAACP that he will do everything in his power to break a Senate filibuster should one develop over bringing the anti-lynching bill to the floor of the Senate, according to announcement made this week by Walter White, executive secretary of the organization.

On March 1, the NAACP secretary sent the following letter to the Michigan senator, who is also a figure in the 1940 Presidential nomination race:

"My dear Senator Vandenburg:

"Thank you for your very frank and honest letter of February 28.

"When the bill reaches the floor and if, as now seems likely, there is a long filibuster, may we count on you at the appropriate time to insist vigorously on continuous sessions of the Senate to break the filibuster? And may we also count on your getting as many of your associates in the Senate as possible to join in this effort?"

In a reply to Mr. White's letter, dated March 5, Senator Vandenburg said:

"The answer to your letter of March 1 is an unequivocal 'yes'."

No Illusion, Says NAACP

Expressing themselves as having no illusions about the necessity of waging a fight to the finish in order to get the bill to the Senate floor, officials of the NAACP pointed out that attention should be given to the statement made by Kenneth Crawford, Washington correspondent for the New York Post, who commented on the significance of Senator Alben Barkley's recent announcement concerning the bills which administration leaders expect to pass during the present session of Congress. Senator Barkley is Democratic leader in the Senate.

Of this prediction Crawford, in the New York Post of March 2, says:

"Barkley's prediction is notable for what it leaves out, rather than what it includes on the list of things to do. He expects that the wage-hour amendments, Wagner Acts changes, anti-monopoly legislation, the anti-lyching bill and an ti-alien measures will be left hanging at the close of the session."

'PREVIOUSLY CHECKED"

Governor Prentice Cooper, fellow-coalitionist with Senator K. D. McKellar, creates no more surprise when he endorses the Memphian's fight against the Anti-Lynching Bill than does Senator Tom Stewart, when the Junior Senator from Tennessee answers "Me, Too," after hearing how Mr. McKellar has voted in the Senate.

Cooper, McKellar and Stewart are three and inseparable on practically every issue coming before the country and, to find all three opposed to such an enlightened piece of legislation as the Anti-Lynching Bill is just additional proof of how reactionary all three of these worthies are. All three, doubtless, are just as violently opposed to a repeal of the poll tax law in Tennessee as they are to the Anti-Lynching Bill and their opposition to the "Clean Politics" proposal by Senator Hatch no doubt is also "unanimous."

The opposition of Gov. Cooper and of all of the other Southern Governors has been expected by the proponents of the Anti-Lynching Bill and has been discounted in advance. The Anti-Lynching Bill has already passed the House of Representatives. It is credited with having more than sixty Senators pledged to vote for it if it can be brought to a vote in the Senate.

All that a nation, weary of the silly filibuster that Southern reactionaries have carried on against the bill now wants, is for these men to let the measure come to a vote. They are privileged to vote against the bill with all of the enthusiasm they can command. But, if they have even a drop of "good sporting blood" in their veins they should be willing to let the bill be voted upon.

There has not been a single intelligent argument made in opposition to the Anti-Lynching Bill since it has been under discussion and that goes for the statements of the Southern Governors, including Gov. Prentice Cooper.

A Federal Law aimed at lynching is not any more of an "invasion of state rights" than the federal law against kidnaping. One is intended to protect the weak and defenseless while the other DOES protect the rich and powerful. Both are measures found necessary to cope with crimes that have disgraced the United States in the eyes of the civilized world.

The unity with which Southern politicians—the beneficiaries of power secured by disfranchising laws—oppose a federal anti-lynching law is one of the best arguments in favor of its passage. The friends of the pending bill, we hope, will not be deterred in their efforts to have it passed by any of these protests being gathered under the auspices of Senator McKellar.

Daily papers have been reporting that a white man here has been in the "numbers business." The same papers called colored men engaged in the game, "Negro numbers racketeers."

Communists Seek Lynch Bill Passage

NEW YORK, March 1—Election of a national campaign committee of 25, including four Race members, and the unanimous adoption of a resolution calling upon the American people to "exert their every influence upon the U. S. Senate to pass the anti-lynching bill highlighted the final session of the National Committee of the Communist Party as it adjourned here this week end. Most of the closing session was devoted to a discussion of the problems of the Race.

The meeting selected New York City as the place for the National Convention of the Communist party to nominate its candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States in the 1940 elections. The convention will open on Memorial day, May 30, and continue for about four days, with at least one of its sessions in Madison Square garden.

The committee meeting was keynoted by a declaration by Earl Browder, general secretary of the party, that "the issue among the American masses is no longer a third term, but a third party."

6473

Senate Cloture May Be Asked On Lynch Bill

Debate Limit Sought On Filibuster Hint; Judicial Body Approves

3-14-40

By the Associated Press

Proponents of antilynching legislation announced yesterday they would seek to invoke the Senate's drastic, seldom-used cloture rule to curtail debate if the legislation encounters a Southern filibuster.

A House-approved bill, imposing criminal penalties on peace officers who fail to use diligence in protecting prisoners and making political subdivisions liable for civil damages where lynchings occur because of official negligence, received the approval of a judiciary subcommittee, 5 to 1, during the day.

Chairman Van Nuys (Democrat) of Indiana, of the subcommittee, forecast favorable action by the full committee within two weeks and asserted that the bill would have the support of at least 65 Senators if brought to a vote.

"While I am opposed to cloture as a general proposition," Van Nuys said, "the long legislative history of this bill and the very evident popularity it has among the majority of the people justify use of cloture in this pecific instance."

Senator Wagner (Democrat), of New York, expressed the opinion that the chances of thwarting a filibuster by that means would be "very good."

Ordinarily any Senator may speak as long as he chooses, and minorities frequently are successful in blocking legislation by talking until it is dropped. Under cloture, which the Senate usually is reluctant to apply, no Senator may speak more than an hour nor more than once. A two-third vote is required to put it into effect.

Senator Connally (Democrat), of Texas, who cast the only subcommittee vote against the legislation, told reporters that Southern members would "resist its passage with all the endurance and fortitude of which they are capable." Asked whether this meant a filibuster, he replied, "You can draw your own conclusions."

Since 1922 similar bills have been before Congress four times, each time being killed by filibustering tactics.

SENATE BODY VOTES ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Constitution

Proponents Will Seek To Curtail Debate on the Legislation

3-14-40

WASHINGTON, March 13.—(AP) Proponents of anti-lynching legislation announced today they would seek to invoke the senate's drastic, seldom-used cloture rule to curtail debate if the legislation encounters a southern filibuster.

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CLOTURE THREATENED ON ANTILYNCHING BILL

Comment

Drastic Action Predicted To Avert Filibuster

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LYNCH BILL PASSES SENATE SUB-GROUP

Penalizing Measure Is Adopted by 5 to 1, Over Protest of Connally of Texas

HE HINTS OF FILIBUSTER

3-14-40

Full Judiciary Committee Is Expected to Send Legislation to Floor—Cloture Is Likely

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 13—The anti-lynching bill passed by the House of Representatives in January was approved today by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee by 5 to 1. The dissenter was Senator Connally of Texas. Senators Van Nuys of Indiana, Neely of West Virginia, McCarran of Nevada, Austin of Vermont and Wiley of Wisconsin favored the proposal.

The subcommittee's 'favoring report will be submitted to the full committee, which is expected to recommend the bill to the Senate.

This and similar bills have been storm centers at the Capitol for the last three years. The pending bill, for example, was taken out of the hands of the House Judiciary Committee and forced to the floor by a discharge petition, which has to be signed by 218 members.

A similar measure, providing for penalties against States and counties in which police officers are negligent in permitting lynching of prisoners, was introduced in the House at the beginning of the session in 1937 by Representative Gavagan of New York. It was forced to the floor by discharge petition and passed the House on April 15 by 277 to 120.

The Senate Judiciary Committee recommended the bill but it lay dormant on the Senate calendar until the late Senator Copeland of New York proposed it as an amendment to the train limit bill. It was tabled after three days of debate.

Senator Wagner of New York next brought the question before the Senate. His motion to take the bill up was debated for five days and agreement was finally reached to take it up at the next session, on Jan. 6, 1938.

This decision led to one of the longest filibusters in recent Congressional history. The bill was debated for thirty legislative days, a total of 140 hours and thirty minutes, but finally was laid aside on motion of Senator Barkley, majority leader.

Opinion Is Given By Co-Author

Full Statement Follows Hearing On Mob Bill

3-19-40

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS)—An indication that the Federal Anti-lynching bill has the full support of the majority of Senators, was voiced by Senator Robert F. Wagner, one of the authors of the bill, in a statement issued at the close of Senate Sub-committee hearings on the bill.

The full statement issued by Wagner, explaining his own stand, and the relationship of the fight for this bill to the international situation follows:

"The favorable report of the Anti-lynching bill by the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, immediately upon the close of hearings today, is a gratifying indication of the overwhelming support for the bill in the Senate. In these times, when democracy is on trial throughout the civilized world, it is especially fitting and especially important to safeguard by every constitutional means the civil rights and the personal liberties of every American citizen, however humble and whatever his race or color.

"The pending bill is similar to the various anti-lynching measures which I have joined in pressing for enactment since the year 1934. For six years the issue has been discussed and debated by the Senate as fully as any issue ever presented to Congress and the American people. In that time, 73 lynchings have occurred. The number of lynchings has varied with significant regularity as the threat of legislation has seemed more or less possible of fulfillment.

"If the threat of a federal anti-lynching bill can minimize or put a temporary halt to lynching, that is the best argument or a Federal anti-lynching law. Although a comparatively small number of lynchings occurred last year, we have no assurance whatever that lynchings will continue to decline if this legislation is shelved. There must be a definite and permanent end to the barbarous practice of lynching which has held America up to ridicule and contempt among the common people of many lands.

"If we are to vindicate our proud position as the foremost example of a functioning Democracy, we must help the states to stamp out for all times the spirit of the lynching mob. It is my sincere hope and belief that this issue will be settled once and for all at this session of Congress."

Pardon Board Shapes 'Scottsboro' Case Ruling



Alabama's first full time board of pardons and paroles is shown above as it made ready to hand down a decision in the world famous "Scottsboro case," the five remaining defendants having applied for freedom. Members, shown above from left to right, are Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, Alexander Smith (chairman) and Robert M. Hill. The board has been functioning less than six months, having been appointed by Governor Dixon last fall following ratification by the people last summer of a constitutional amendment stripping the governor of all power over pardons and paroles and giving it to this independent body. When the three board members conferred with Governor Dixon for 20 minutes Thursday behind closed doors after revealing the Scottsboro decision was "almost ready," reportorial eyebrows were raised because the governor has consistently claimed a "hands off" policy. Members later in the day claimed they went to the governor merely "out of courtesy to tell him our decision before he reads it in the newspapers."

Lynching Out-of-Date, Says Senator Radcliffe

Broke Promise on Previous Mob Law, Undecided on the Present One, Favors State Rule

BALTIMORE. — "Although there are still several instances of mob violence, lynching is almost a back number," Senator George Radcliffe said at the Interracial Conference on Social and Labor Legislation, Saturday afternoon, at the New Howard Hotel.

Broke Previous Promise

The Senator stated further that he was not certain that the Federal Government should intervene in the matter, and probably more good would result if the matter was left entirely up to the States.

Following his talk, the Senator, who voted against the antilynching bill in its last appearance in the Senate although he had promised citizens of the State to give it his stamp of approval, was asked what stand he intended to take when the bill made its next appearance.

Without committing himself, the Senator stated that he would make no decision until he was actually faced with the bill. In concluding, however, he said:

Doubt It Can Be Enforced

"I really believe that too much importance is being attached to the antilynching bill. Even if it should pass, there is little guarantee that the law can be enforced."

With Hartman Barber, white, secretary of the Maryland Labor League, presiding, a total of 113 delegates were registered at the first session of the conference.

Several Maryland Congressmen had been invited to the meeting to speak on their positions on social and labor legislation, but Senator Radcliffe was the only one present.

Reports are that the meeting was for the purpose of discussing questions of vital importance to labor, youth, civic groups, farm groups, and all progressive-minded persons who are interested in preserving the progress made during the New Deal.

Senator Radcliffe told those present that he was very much interested in furthering the interests of labor, because he was aware that such measures were necessary to advance the well-being of the people.

Assault On Home Rule

Members of the Senate apparently intend to indulge in another unprincipled scramble for the Negro vote. As usual, this contest will be labeled a fight against lynching. But actually the so-called anti-lynching bill is only a snare designed to bring its sponsors unearned political support at the polls.

If the bill were merely ordinary bait for voters it would be of little importance. Many such measures are passed by Congress on the eve of major political campaigns. In this instance, however, Negro votes would be purchased at a terrific cost to the American system of government.

The bill should be designated: "A measure to promote totalitarianism in the United States." Its effects would not be to prevent lynching. That barbarous practice has been virtually stamped out already. This bill could serve only to break down our dual system of government, which gives the people of the States the right of managing their own affairs, and hasten the concentration of all power in the Federal Government.

Enactment of this measure would subject State and county law-enforcement officers to Federal penalties for any failure to do their duty in lynching cases. It would penalize counties, too, for such failure of their law-enforcement officers, in flagrant disregard of the fact that counties are creatures of the States and not the Federal Government. If Congress can take over these local functions, Senator Connally points out, it can "destroy the counties within the States and the States themselves."

It is doubtful whether any legitimate excuse for such an assault upon the American system of government could be found. Certainly the lynching record of recent years offers none. Senator Wagner attempts to justify this new drive for Negro votes by a claim that 73 lynchings have occurred in the last six years. That statement is grossly misleading.

The Tuskegee Institute reports 25 lynchings during the last four years. But the really significant fact is that violent slayings of this type were reduced to three in 1939. Two victims were colored and one white. These lynchings were confined to two States. Yet the sponsors of this bill are willing to set a precedent that would jeopardize the rights of all the States to direct their own internal affairs.

Heinous as it is, lynching is no longer a serious menace. The States have now clearly demonstrated their ability to cope with it. The real question confronting the Senate in connection with this bill is whether a dangerous step toward centralized power should be sanctioned to appease a group of voters who have been much aggrieved in the past. To inject that issue into the politics-charged atmosphere of the present session is a shameful abuse of legislative responsibility.

LYNCHINGS* 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

6474

Southern Tories Make Threats to Defy Law

Anti-Negro Speeches Mark Passage in Heated Debate

By Adam Lapin
(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 10.—The House today passed the Gavagan anti-lynching bill by the decisive margin of 251 to 132.

Passage of the bill was preceded by a torrent of bitter anti-Negro oratory from Tory Southern Congressmen and by several attempts to weigh the legislation down with unworkable amendments.

One hundred and nine Democrats 140 Republicans, one American Laborite and two Progressives voted for the bill, while 123 Democrats and eight Republicans opposed it. Sixteen members were paired and 25 did not vote. There are 11 vacancies.

Supporters of the measure in the Senate are believed to have about the same two to one majority in favor of the bill as was given the measure by the House.

Despite this fact, the anti-Lynching bill faced a very serious snag as it was sent over to the Senate for consideration.

The first move to kill the bill will come in an attempt to keep it pigeon-holed until the end of the session in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Should the measure reach the floor, a group of reactionary Southerners headed by Senator Tom Connally of Texas has threatened to stage a prolonged filibuster.

The anti-lynching bill imposes penalties on state and local officials who fail in protecting persons in their jurisdiction from lynch mobs.

CIO FEARS SECTION

An amendment offered by Rep. Joseph Gavagan of New York, author of the bill, to strike out of the definition of a lynch mob a definite exemption for labor unions was the only change approved during the day.

Gavagan maintained that unions had adequate protection without the clause which he moved to strike out, but CIO officials feared that this change opened the bill up to misinterpretation by reactionary courts.

As the debate approached its close, Tory Southern Congressmen lost all restraint and unloosed a series of anti-Negro speeches as well as a bitter personal attack on Rep Gavagan.

"You are trying to placate a few Nigger Communists who are interesting the gallery," Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi shouted.

Rankin told gory stories of alleged rapes by Negroes and made an open defense of lynching.

"What would have happened in your community?" he asked, after telling one of his goriest stories.

He described the mesure as "a bill to encourage lynching and re-elect Gavagan" and said it would "encourage Negroes to chase white children from the parks."

TORIES THREATEN MORE LYNCHINGS

Several Southern opponents of the bill threatened that there would be an increase of lynchings in their community if it were passed.

"You pass this bill and the sheriff in my town will be somewhere else when a crowd gathers to lynch a Negro," Rep. W. R. Poage of Texas declared.

Rep. William M. Colmer of Mississippi attacked Gavagan sharply because he is the Congressman from Harlem with its large Nggro population.

He slandered the bill as an "attempt to rape the constitution."

Gavagan read into the record newspaper clippings from this morning newspapers which told how a lynch mob is gathering in Mississippi—home state of both Colmer and Rankin.

Active in peppering proponents of crippling amendments to the bill with questions was Rep. Vito Marcantonio, New York laborite.

Colmer introduced an amendment to make the bill apply to gangsters which was defeated by a vote of 105 to 53.

MARCANTONIO CHALLENGES COLMER

Marcantonio asked Colmer if it was not true that passage of his amendment would simply have the effect of making the entire bill unworkable.

Rep. Clare Hoffman of Michigan, one of the most bitter anti-labor Congressmen in the House, introduced a series of three amendments designed to penalize strikers who allegedly keep persons from entering industrial plants. The amendment was defeated by 87 to 54.

An amendment by Rep. Rankin to strike out the enacting clause, which would have made the bill meaningless, was defeated by 128 to 64.

CONGRESSMEN TO VOTE ON LYNCH BILL

Measure Expected to Pass House Easily; Fight Comes in Senate

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N

WASHINGTON — Originally scheduled to come up for vote in the House on Monday, January 8, the anti-lynching bill was postponed until Tuesday for consideration. Debate in the House was set for Tuesday with the vote coming Wednesday or Thursday. The bill is expected to pass the House easily. The rules prevent a filibuster there. The fight on the bill will come in the senate. Voters are urged to write their senators urging them to be present when the anti-lynching bill is voted upon and to vote against a prolonged filibuster.

NEW YORK.—Prospects for passage of the anti-lynching bill, soon to come up in the house for a vote look very hopeful, according to Walter White, secretary of the National Assolation for the Advancement of Colored People, after a two-day stay in Washington.

Outlining the immediate program for getting the bill passed in the house, Mr. White said:

"It is of the utmost importance that Congressmen be present on the floor of the house and work for passage of this bill until it wins.

"We are carrying to Washington the detailed records of each Congressman who pledged support of the bill before his election, signers of the discharge petition, and Congressional replies to our letters asking members of the House to be present when the bill comes up. In addition to this we are publishing 20,000 copies of our investigator's report on the lynching of Joe Rodgers in Canton, Miss. May 8, 1939. Rodgers was lynched after a fight with a lumber plant foreman, who first struck him with a shovel. Rodgers was later tied hand and foot and his body cut and tortured with red-hot irons before being thrown into the Pearl river.

"This report, which will be distributed to every member of Congress, newspaper editors and correspondents, and heads of national organizations throughout the country, represents the answer to those people who believe that simply because we have had just five lynchings in 1939, lynching is on the way out in this country.

"We are aware of two things when we look at present-day lynching statistics. First, while lynchings have decreased in number they have increased in barbarism. Secondly, the statistics which we have on the number of lynchings today, do not tell all of the story by any means.

"What is not brought out is the fact that mob leaders have adopted the technique of spiriting their victims away quietly and doing their dirty work without benefit of crowds or attendant publicity."

The N. A. A. C. P. secretary stressed the importance of buying anti-lynching buttons which have been distributed throughout the country "so that all who wear them may give vent to a silent protest against this barbarism and show their support of the federal anti-lynching bill."

He pointed to the attempted lynching of two colored men in Meadville, Miss., Thursday, January 4, by a mob of 100 whites, as an example of the fact that the call to stop lynching must become more articulate among more people.

The N. A. A. C. P. secretary and Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, returned to Washington Saturday, to take the lead in pushing for the passage of the bill this week.

U. S. LAW ONLY WAY TO CURB MOB VIOLENCE'

Nine Witnesses Tell Sub-Committee Need for Passage of Bill

WASHINGTON.—White and colored witnesses testifying in support of a federal anti-lynching bill told a senate sub-committee of the judiciary committee at a hearing opening here February 6, that only a federal anti-lynching law would curb mob violence effectively.

Nine witnesses were scheduled to testify for the bill. They included W. J. Durham, an attorney of Sherman, Texas, who witnessed a lynching May 9, 1930, in which the courthouse of Sherman was burned down by a mob; Dean William H. Hastie of the Howard university law school, former United States district judge in the Virgin Islands; R. R. Grovey, Houston, Texas; the Rev. Gresham Marmion, rector of St. Albans P. E. church, Washington, who tried to stop the double lynching of two Negro boys in Columbus, Texas, in 1935; Dr. George F. Porter, president of Wiley junior college, Dallas, Texas, Dr. Arthur Raper, research secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Ralph Bunche, professor of political science, Howard university; Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the N.A.A.C.P.; and Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

Refutes Arguments

In his testimony, Walter White dealt in detail with the arguments made against the bill, especially in the house debates in January and refuted them. He asserted that lynchings had declined because of

VERBAL TILT FEATURES LYNCH BILL HEARING

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—Dr. Arthur Raper, research secretary of the Commission of Interracial Cooperation, of Atlanta, Ga., engaged in a verbal tilt with Senator Connally, of Texas, Tuesday, while he testified at the senate hearing on the proposed anti-lynching measure.

The Atlantan, testifying for passage of the federal measure which would penalize local officials and political subdivisions for negligence in lynchings, told the committeemen, including Connally, that officers in three states had failed to prevent lynchings after he had warned them that such was likely in so many instances.

Connally is an avowed opponent to lynch legislation and has dedicated himself to prolonging the hearing on the lynch measure indefinitely to keep it from the Senate floor. Hearing began Tuesday, February 6.

Eight others are to testify in favor of the measure.

the agitation for a federal law and that failures to pass the pending bill would send the lynching total up again. He cited a number of undercover lynchings and asserted that the real total was far greater than the five reported for last year by the N.A.A.C.P.

Turning to the statements made in the senate during the filibuster of 1938 that the states could and would take care of lynchings, Mr. White pointed out that 11 well-authenticated lynchings had taken place since that time and not even an arrest had been made in 10 of them with convictions in none.

The N.A.A.C.P. secretary warned that the American form of government was endangered when mobs are not restrained.

A Warning On Soldiers

"If I were a Communist, a Nazi or a Fascist," he declared, and wanted to destroy or weaken American Democracy, I would work unceasingly to prevent passage of anti-lynching legislation."

Mr. White told of the service of the Negro as a soldier and of the lynchings which went on while he was fighting in France "for democracy," also of the lynchings which greeted Negroes upon their return home. He warned that Negroes could not be expected to fight in any war which might develop out of present world conditions without some guarantee that they will receive some protection and democracy for themselves.

Dean Hastie dealt with the constitutional aspects of the legislation. Mr. Spingarn testified to the effect which lynching has on the good name of America in the rest of the world and quoted several Italian and German newspapers.

Howard Students Form Anti-Lynch Group



Howard University students who have organized a committee to promote the passage of the anti-lynching bill now pending in Congress are shown on the campus as they sponsored a letter-writing campaign to Senators, this week. The coed writing in the foreground is Miss Dorothy Steele from Massachusetts. The others in the photo are: John Plummer, Charles Black, Rodman Turner, Margaret Thilburn, Everett Strother, chairman of the committee; David Chernault, Thomas Gunn, Woodrow Carter and Maurice E. Lee.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

ALABAMA

6427

Jacksonville, Ala., Record
January 12, 1940

Old Anti-Lynch Canard Up Again

As an entering wedge of disruption to party harmony right at the time when party political fences are in the process of being rebuilt the old anti-lynch bill is tops. As usual at the psycological time, when nothing could have been devised to create more ructions and party friction, the thorn in the political flesh had to bob up. The sectional bone of contention, a quarrel between the North and South may have to be talked to death again.

It remains to be seen whether enough Southern Democrats have the firmness and solidarity to stand up and slap this political ninny issue back into the discard, or whether some grizzled veteran of the Senate must chloroform it again via the gastronomics route. Last time the old sore was up for controversy, it took Senator Ellender (D La.) a solid week to talk the bill to death.

With the average lynching dropping to only two or three a year, the bringing up of this old controversial saw, has little excuse for serious consideration. But the Negro vote baiters have to have an issue to exploit a political dud, and so the anti-lynch bill all over again.

As if we didn't already have laws against lynching, and murder and arson, and horse-stealing, and auto-thievery, etc.

But by the terms of the Gavagan bill, somebody or some unit of government or something could be sued in case a lynching happens to take place. The sheriff or other local authority could be fined $5,000 or given a term of five years in jail, if he neglected to exert all possible effort to prevent said lynching.

For any lynching injury or death, the governmental subdivision would be liable to from $2,000 up to $10,000

Anti-Lynch Bill Arouses Angry Senate Debate

Texan Questions Negro As Both Sides Charge Pressure Of Politics

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—(AP)—Charges of election year "political pressure" over anti-lynching legislation were hurled back and forth today before a Senate judiciary subcommittee conducting hearings on the bill recently passed by the House.

Senator Connally (D), Texas, opponent of the bill twice protested at demonstrations by spectators, most of them negroes, saying at one point that it looks like the committee is going to be lynched. Senator Van Nuys (D), Indiana, chairman of the subcommittee and advocate of the measure, warned the spectators against any demonstrations.

Testimony by Walter White, fair-skinned negro secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that some members of Congress were using "vitriolic attacks on legislation like this" to gain reelection brought cross-examination by Connally.

"Pivotal States"

The rapid-speaking negro, who has been pushing anti-lynching legislation for many years, said that some supporters of the bill were from "seventeen pivotal States" where the negro vote often represented "the balance of power" between the major parties. White said these States had 281 votes (a plurality) in the electoral college which names the president and contended it was correct for House and Senate members to reflect the support of white and negro constituents who favor the anti-lynching bill.

Senator Connally asked White if he ascribed these political motives to the late Senator Borah for his speech against the anti-lynching bill at the last regular session of Congress.

Replying in the negative, White added that he preferred not to discuss the motives of a senator recently dead.

"Then how about Senator Norris?" Connally asked. "He's alive."

Norris (Ind.), Nebraska, also spoke against the anti-lynching bill but White said he was certain "Senator Norris was sincere."

Wagner Protests

Other questions by Connally brought a protest from Senator Wagner (D), New York, a sponsor of the bill, that Connally was not permitting the witness to answer fully.

This caused the Texas Senator to rise from his seat and protest that "I heard this man (White) detail all this sewage and I don't concede the right of the senator from New York to censor my questions."

Connally and Wagner engaged in a spirited exchange later then the Texas senator said that the anti-lynching bill was aimed only at the South and "exempts these gangsters—who vote in New York City—who go out and murder white men."

Wagner disputed this, saying the penalties against lynch mob action "applying anywhere in the United States."

Elsewhere at Capital

Meanwhile, the House voted down two attempts to sever diplomatic relations with Russia, while a Senate committee approved a $200,000,000 increase in the Export-Import Bank's capital permitting loans to Finland and China.

The House rules committee opened the way for the House to consider a measure subjecting the functioning of some 130 federal administrative agencies to review by the courts.

President Roosevelt nominated George H. Earle, former governor of Pennsylvania, and minister to Austria to be minister to Bulgaria.

John L. Lewis charged that the A. F. L. had the assistance of attorneys for "reactionary and anti-labor" corporations in drafting proposed amendments to the Wagner act, but William Green, president of the A. F. L. issued a denial in Miami, Fla.

Senator Taft (R), Ohio, announced he would not enter the Illinois presidential preference primary, as Thomas E. Dewey has done, because the primary was not binding upon delegates and he could not spare the time to campaign.

Huntsville, Ala., Times
January 11, 1940

Fraud Perpetuated

The sham anti-lynching bill passed the House yesterday afternoon, as had been expected and widely prophesied.

It went through by a thumping vote, almost two to one.

And so Democrats and Republicans alike, in North, East and West, where there are substantial blocs of negro voters, are on record before this year's elections.

The Gavagan bill is purely a political measure, designed to catch negro votes.

Any necessity for it, if it ever existed, has long since passed, for lynchings have about ceased to occur. There was only one clear cut one in all of 1939.

Now that the House has cleared its skirts for political purposes, the bill will be passed along to the Senate, where Southern Democrats either will get it pigeon-holed by a committee, or if it is brought out, will filibuster it to death.

It's getting about time for this old chestnut to be cast out, and for a more realistic attitude to be taken by poliicians of both parties in the other sections of the country.

It will be dropped when they find out that this fraudulent issue no longer has vote-getting qualities.

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser
January 11, 1940

THE FEDERAL LYNCH BILL

The Good Boys in congress are again in a great lather over a pending federal anti-lynching bill." Their churns are making sop for the Negro voters in the northern cities to lap up. They are concerned primarily with political victories at the polls and not with the security of human life.

Congressman Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, the only Negro member of congress, sees through the scheme and in one of the bravest speeches ever made in the house of representatives denounced it forthrightly and intelligently. Mitchell jeopardized his political future when he made that speech. We applaud his courage, but his gallantry does not surprise us, for Mitchell is a native of Alabama. Once he was Booker T. Washington's errand boy at Tuskegee Institute, once he was a carrier boy for The Advertiser. Now he is a successful lawyer in Chicago. His first great political achievement was the defeat of another Alabamian, Oscar DePriest, Negro, who some years ago made something of a spectacle of himself as a Republican member of the house.

Soon after his first election to congress, Mitchell sat in this office for a pleasant half hour and said: "I want to be an American congressman, not a Negro congressman. I love my people, to be sure, but I also love all other people, and I think it is an obligation of statesmanship to act in behalf of all the people rather than in behalf of classes."

Mitchell knows that the professional friends of his race are phoney. But he is dependent in Chicago upon a constituency that is susceptible to the wiles of the professional Do-Goods. And so it was brave of him to stand up in the parliament of this republic and denounce the pending "anti-lynching" bill.

Americans — southerners at least — are rapidly overcoming the mob spirit. In the end, without federal coercion, they will extirpate it.

Talladega, Ala., Daily Home
January 12, 1940

The house has passed the anti-lynching bill, but the belief is strong that it will meet a different fate in the senate. But should it become law in the long run, it would not prevent a single lynching.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
January 8, 1940

LYNCHING? ?

Republican and Democratic senators from the West and North, where the Negro vote is large, and consequently worth their sacrificing personal integrity in the seeking, should beware of the anti-lynching bill, scheduled by virtue of its preferred status, to come before the Senate for consideration Tuesday. These snide politicians have been so occupied with smearing the South with charges that where crimes committed by Negroes are involved, law and order does not prevail, they are overlooking the possibility that the anti-lynching bill, if passed, may turn around and take a bite out of the seats of their own pants.

An analysis of the three "lynchings" reported for 1939 by Tuskegee Institute, develops the fine point, not original with us, as to what constitutes a "lynching." Of the 1939 crop, two were Negroes, and one a white. One of the Negroes, charged with manslaughter in the hit and run death of a Daytona Beach, Fla., child, was in the custody of officers transporting him to jail when killed by two brothers of the child. The other Negro "lynching" took place in Arkansas, where the victim, charged with murder, resisted a posse, injured one of its members, and was subsequently killed resisting arrest.

Were these cases "lynchings?"

The third case is familiar to residents of the Wiregrass, and is entitled to classification as a "lynching." Miles W. Brown, a white man, tried and convicted of the murder of his employer, Roy Van Kleek, at Panama City, was removed from the Bay County jail by a mob and killed, in protest of the jury's recommendation of mercy, which carried a mandatory penalty of life imprisonment.

If the revenge murder of the Daytona Beach Negro was "lynching," what would be the name for the ambushing several years ago in the Kansas City station, of gangsters in the custody of Federal officers? What name could be given the famous St. Valentine's Day massacre of a few years back, which took place in Chicago during the Capone regime? That crime was not committed by a single individual, it was considered by these same Northern politicians as a "gang slaying." Had it occurred in the South, it would have surely been "lynching". Under what classification would the labor murders, reported from all sections of the industrial North, fall? Would murder at the hands of strikers or strike breakers be "lynching"?

The anti-lynching bill pased the House in the winter of 1938 by an overwhelming vote, but in February, 1939, on the threat of Southern senators to keep the Senate tied up indefinitely it was removed from the calendar in order that legislation deemed more necessary could be pushed through. By virtue of its preferred status, the bill again comes before Congress Tuesday, and Senators from States south of the Mason and Dixon line may find help from an unexpected quarter before the fight is ended. But lacking that, we still may thank our stars that such men as Pat Harrison and Tom Connally are in Washington, and will talk the thing to death, as have other Southern statesmen every time an attempt has been made to revive the bill.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 16, 1940

Another Anti-Lynching Bill

(The Alabama Journal)

THE national Congress which assembles in Washington today and listens to an address by President Roosevelt faces issues of foreign policy not equaled in gravity since the outbreak of the world war in 1914. Yet it is early apparent that the session will be devoted largely to political speaking and maneuvering.

Under our Democratic system of government Congress offers one of the favorite forums for political discussion. In a presidential year, especially at a time when lively differences arouse more than usual interest in politics, it can be expected that leaders of both great political parties will make the most of the opportunity to win the ear and attention of the nation.

A sure sign of the political trend that congressional action promises to take is the threatened immediate appearance of another anti-lynching bill. In some of the Northern constituencies where the negro vote is courted this subject seems to be a favorite political football.

It makes no difference that there is no chance to enact such law; it makes no difference that it contemplates an unprecedented invasion of the rights of states; it makes no difference that such a law would stand little chance of being upheld as to its constitutionality by the Supreme Court. The political effect is what is sought in regions where negro agitators are politically potent.

The anti-lynching bill proposes to turn over to the federal government the punishment for a crime which has been steadily and surely decreasing under the normal legal and court procedure of the states. It would permit imposition of fines upon sheriffs and counties where lynchings occur. It would single out the South for punishment when mob acts occur, but would not apply to much more mobbish and riotous acts so frequent in industrial regions.

It is too bad that the time of Congress must be taken up with this subject now when there are so many other things of importance to consider. Harsh things will be said about the South, but the South must be patient, serene in the knowledge that its progress in dealing with the problem has been steady and effective.

Voice Of The People

Expressions from readers upon topics of current or general interest are welcomed. Writing should be on one side of the paper only and should not exceed 300 words. Anonymous communications will not be printed and letter unaccompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelope will not be returned. The News reserves the right to shorten letters of excessive length.

THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

To the Editor The News:

Most of us feel that the anti-lynching bill is purely a "Reconstruction" measure. But we should permit its passage, for we are not guilty.

No governor of Alabama, as did the governor of California, has condoned lynching. And the newspapers of Alabama and the South are opposed to lynching. And it is believed that all decent Christians of the South are opposed to lynching.

Let us be as big as Robert E. Lee and put an end to the Civil War. It should hurt us no worse than it hurt Robert E. Lee, who died of a broken heart.

Let us erase the Mason-Dixon Line. If we have members of the Senate who want to continue fighting the Civil War, we ought to see that they are not reelected.

The anti-lynching bill can have no effect on us except to hurt our pride. We could retaliate by introducing a bill against gansterism, which certainly is more prevalent in the North than in the South, but let us end the Civil War.

We retaliated against the fifteenth amendment to the constitution by levying the poll tax. Let us abolish that poll tax and cease to be the laughing stock of the 40 states which do not have poll tax. Let us sign a treaty of peace in our hearts and end the Civil War.

JOHN BUNYAN ATKINS
Henagar, Ala.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 11, 1940

Mr. Gavagan Is Victorious

"THIS bill," said the sharp-tongued Mr. Rankin of Mississippi, "should be called a bill to encourage rape and reelect Gavagan."

That, in 13 brief words, is stating the case against the anti-lynching bill as aptly as it can be stated—but what difference do logic and reason make, when political expediency dictates otherwise? The bill passed the House by a vote of 252 to 131, and now it will go to the Senate for another such filibuster as we saw in 1938 or in 1922.

We have no fear that the bill will pass the Senate. Its 252-to-131 vote in the House was not as great as the vote of 277 to 120 which it got in 1937, and the Southern opposition to the measure in the Senate is just as great as ever it was.

We are deeply disappointed, however, that those who would have widened the sweep of the bill got no farther than they did. An effort to include gangster killings failed. Harlem's Gavagan led in the movement to strike out the provision which specifically made it inapplicable to labor violence, and in this he succeeded. Mr. Gavagan, however, explained that the bill could not possibly be interpreted as applying to labor situations—so there was no outburst from the "liberals" on this score.

Thus, the anti-lynching bill remains as it has always been—a purely sectional measure aimed directly at the South, with the appeasement of professional haters of the South as its chief purpose. Mr. Gavagan can now parade through Harlem on his white horse—and he can pray with every step that the Senate doesn't pass his bill—because, as a Georgian disrespectfully remarked, he wouldn't have any reason to remain in Congress if it did get passed.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 15, 1940

They Refused To Yield

WHEN the House of Representatives approved the Gavagan anti-lynching bill the other day by a vote of 252 to 131 (a margin appreciably smaller than that of 1937), it was divided as usual along sectional lines. The South contributed the vast majority of those 131 opposition votes, but at this time we would like to make public the honor roll of the day—the roll of those gentlemen who voted their convictions, rather than for policy expediency, and sided with the South.

There were 23 of these men from beyond the South who voted against that bill and when we say beyond the South, we mean in states which are definitely not Southern. We list such states as Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma as Southern on this bill, and hence their votes are listed with those 106 from the South.

Of those 23 who were not Southern, and yet voted with the South, eight were Republicans. Believe it or not, New York did better by the South than any other state in the union, with four of its Republicans—Wadsworth, Andrews, Cluett and Cole—voting against their colleague from Harlem, Mr. Gavagan. Other Republicans from the North to vote with the South were Ball of Connecticut, Burdick of North Dakota, Curtis of Nebraska and Hoffman of Michigan.

There can be no doubt but that the anti-lynching bill would never have gone as far as it did without the connivance of Northern and Western Democrats. They furnished the margin of victory, and more too, but it is heartening that there were 15 Democrats from beyond the Mason and Dixon Line who would not give their consent to the ramming of this sectional measure down the throat of the South. Three of these men—Lewis, Cummings and Taylor—came from Colorado. Two—Allen and Moser—came from Pennsylvania, without apologies to Senator Guffey. The State of Washington provided two, Hill and Leavy—while Michigan, which already provided one Republican, provided a Democrat, Hook. The others were: Lea of California; Murdock of Arizona; another Murdock of Utah; Pierce of Oregon; Scrugham of Nevada, and White of Idaho.

There were not many of these who refused to yield to the pressure which was placed upon them by those so-called "liberal" groups, but there were a few, and these few are heartening to the South.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 10, 1940

Two From The North

MR. GAVAGAN, the New York Democrat, informs us that he will move, at the proper time, to eliminate from his federal anti-lynching bill a provision exempting violence in labor disputes.

This is the most intelligent thing that has come from Mr. Gavagan since first his name became connected with this measure—and we thank him for the consideration he shows. We do wish, however, that Mr. Gavagan would go farther, and not only strike the labor exemption from the bill, but word the bill so that all deaths by labor violence would be included beyond all doubt. We have never been able to see the justice in paying a reward to the family of a rapist or a murderer who gets himself lynched by a mob, while paying nothing to the family of an innocent worker who, in defending what he conceives to be his rights, gets himself lynched by a mob.

We need have no worry, however, about the anti-lynching bill going that far. Mr. John L. Lewis would never permit it; all the "liberals" in Washington would throw up their hands in holy horror—and thus we pass on to another matter in connection with this measure. We pass on to Jim Wadsworth, one-time Republican senator from New York and now a member of the House. Mr. Wadsworth has often been mentioned as a presidential possibility, and now we see why. Mr. Wadsworth has the stuff of which statesmen are made. He thinks more of the truth than he does of political expediency. Mr. Wadsworth, in the House debate, openly protested that the federal anti-lynching bill could never be enforced. He branded the bill "a snare and a delusion," and he declared that a far better solution of the lynching problem is the educational program already undertaken. He pointed out that a few years ago, this country averaged more than 100 lynchings annually, while in 1939 there were only three.

The difference between Mr. Wadsworth and the majority of his Northern colleagues, both Republican and Democratic, is that he is interested in solving the lynching problem, rather than in using it as a perennial political football. Sometimes we lose faith in this system of ours, but the spectacle of a Wadsworth or a Borah fighting in behalf of the South—and making personal sacrifices in doing it—brings us new hope and strength.

Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
February 1, 1940

A Negro Speaks Out

Although he says at the outset he is certain he will bring down upon his head the "wrath of the whole race," R. F. Hotlzclaw, principal of the Pine Hill consolidated school, sets forth in The News-Age-Herald his opinion of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill.

Prof. Holtzclaw cites the futility of the thing and he perceives that its real object is to capture negro votes. And we seem to detect in his article a touch of resentment of the assumption by politicians that members of the negro race can be hoaxed by such a shabby trick. It is, indeed, a reflection on their intelligence. Surely all sensible men of both races must realize that the attempt to place a Federal curb on an evil that has already been overcome is wholly mischievous.

"Let us declare that common, every-day murder, stealing, adultery and a hundred other crimes are henceforth under Federal jurisdiction. They all occur more frequently than lynchings," the colored teacher says. He is entirely correct when he asserts that the way to end the remnant of the lynch-spirit that persists in the South and all other ills is to educate the people. However, it is not likely that such a sane propos-

al would gain much favor among the politicians who are pushing the Gavagan bill. Too plainly their acts declare that they have no sincere interest in the welfare of Southerners white of black—Sylacauga News.

Bessemer, Ala., Advertiser
January 12, 1940

Anti-Lynch Bill, Impossible, Unsound, Making Usual Election Appearance

The anti-lynch bill, passed the House this week, and is again heading into the shoals of sectional controversy certain to materialize in a Senate filibuster. Other than to again stir up racial antagonism, the measure can and will accomplish but little. Even its proponents believe it of questionable constitutionality, and no one can envision its enforcement except through bloodshed and unnecessary racial conflict.

The Federal government in recent years has been accused of usurping state and local perogatives to an extent not visioned by the founders of our commonwealth. But in this instance the government is not only taking over police powers of states and counties, but arrogates to itself the levying of fines and penalties against those states and counties, the fining of state and county officials, and last but not least the criminal prosecution, in a Federal court, of state and county officials.

This has never been done before. Never in the history of this nation has our Federal Government brushed aside the police authority of state officers and courts for the purpose of penalizing entire counties and political subdivisions. If the Supreme Court should uphold such a law, it would open an avenue of encroachment upon states' rights that could lead to ultimate destruction of all local court supervision.

Lynchings are always to be deplored. However, this problem is being solved by the states themselves. The numbers of lynchings have dwindled each year to around a half-dozen yearly. In the continual recurrence of anti-lynch agitation in Congress for political purposes our lawmakers are playing with a most dangerous expedient

Gadsden, Ala. Times
March 13. 1940

A New Day In A Noted Case

THE five Scottsboro negroes have been denied liberation by the Alabama board of pardon and paroles.

In a unanimous decision, the three-member board said that the negroes would not be released at this time, and Chairman Alex Smith announced that "a day of reconsideration in each case will be set in accordance with our judgment as to the response of the individual to institutional treatment."

A man familiar with conditions made the statement a few weeks ago that if the board freed these negroes, it would mean the ruination of the newly-erected system of handling pardons and paroles. We believe that statement to have been accurate, and we believe that the action of the board will be applauded by the people of Alabama.

The members of the parole board believe those five negroes to be guilty. Two of the members, after a study of the evidence, believe that all five negroes are guilty as charged in the indictment by an Alabama grand jury and as convicted by the courts of Alabama. The third member believes that some of the negroes are guilty, if not all of them, and this member hesitates to say which.

Emotion has been a chief element in this case since its outset. Emotion has played a vital part in the tirades which have been directed against Alabama for the past nine years, and we are glad to see that this new pardon and parole board is living up to the expectations of Governor Dixon by making a purely scientific approach to the case. This board has announced that hereafter it will consider any reference to these negroes as the "Scottsboro defendants" to be inaccurate. The board will consider each negro as an individual, and it will consider each case separately, with each being given a chance to show why he should be released.

In other words, this board has served notice on the world that hereafter the negroes themselves, and not the pressure which is brought to bear from the outside, will be the major consideration in their cases—and that is exactly as it should be. One or two of those negroes have good prison records; one or two only fair—and one or two have shown such viciousness that they would be a menace to any society upon which they were released. A new day has been started in these cases, which for almost a decade have vexed Alabama, and the new pardon and parole board has won the first real feather in its cap.

Birmingham, Ala. News
March 10. 1940

The Scottsboro Convicts

The three members of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles have decided unanimously to deny the parole applications of the five remaining prisoners in the so-called Scottsboro case. The board states, significantly, that it has decided against paroling them "at this time." Perhaps later they may be paroled, or some of them may be; for the board makes it clear that reconsideration of the cases will be on an individual basis.

To those Alabamians, including this newspaper, who have thought that justice and the state's own welfare would be best served by paroling these convicts, the board's decision naturally is disappointing. Yet we have no doubt that every member of the board gave the most conscientious consideration to this case and acted only on his own best judgment. The statements issued by the members of the board reveal that plainly.

It is noteworthy, too, that each member, as Chairman Alex Smith says, "reached a conclusion in these cases without interference or suggestion from either of the other two members." The unanimity of the decision is all the more impressive in view of that procedure.

The decision makes it plain also that the applications were denied primarily because in the unanimous opinion of the board members, the prisoners were not now definitely good prospects for rehabilitation; because their conduct in prison "indicates a belligerent, resentful and anti-social attitude."

It appears, then, that these five men lost their chances for parole this time for substantially the same reasons that Gov. Bibb Graves finally denied their applications in 1938, after making arrangements to parole them into the custody of Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, noted New York clergyman. Notwithstanding that Dr. Chalmers had carefully prepared for the care and supervision of the men, Gov. Graves, after talking with them, refused to release them because he was disturbed by their conduct and attitude.

This newspaper respects the board's reasons for its decision, and wishes to compliment the members for their conscientiousness. Nevertheless, we feel that in this very exceptional case the release of the men, under the special custody available, would have been not only proper, but wise from every standpoint. We hope that in due time this will be brought about on reconsideration.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

ALABAMA

6429

Anniston Ala Star
January 12, 1940

Will The Lynch Law Pass?

Senate proponents appear increasingly certain that finally the anti-lynching bill, which has been in the hair of Congress for several years now, will be passed. They have been greatly encouraged by the strong vote in its favor in the Lower House the other day.

Should the bill be passed, we like to think that President Roosevelt will put his veto upon it. If it became a law, the anti-lynching measure would set a strong precedent for the invasion of states rights.

Although we sympathize strongly with the appeal of Representative Charles D. Mitchell, Negro Congressman from Chicago, the day before the measure was endorsed by the House, we must hold to our stand that such a law is entirely unnecessary. A law which hangs heavily over our county and state law officers can do nothing to control the spirit of the mobs. The mob often can be swayed by common sense and a respect for properly constituted authorities, but an anti-lynching law will have no effect.

Mitchell made a tearful appeal to the House for "the race which has furnished the victims" for the mobs. His plea meets our sympathy, for The Star is strongly opposed at all times to the rule by mob instead of by law. It is unfortunate that racial hatred still exists to make the Negro the chief sacrifice to blood-thirsty mobs. But we feel the problem has been reduced to the proportions where state and county officers are fully capable of solving it. There may have been a time, many years ago when Negrophobes were the majority in law enforcement and executive jobs, that such a law would have been beneficial. But that time has passed, never to return. People now are more reliant that justice will prevail through legal channels and not through the insanity of mass action.

The Gadsden Times points out that the lynching problem is not essentially Southern. "The term 'lynch' is defined by Webster as follows: 'To inflict punishment upon or kill, without the forms of law, as by mobs or unauthorized persons,'" The Times says.

"Under this interpretation, and it is correct, the industrial centers of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana have been the great centers of 'lynch law' in recent years. It was in these states that the greatest punishment was inflicted upon persons 'without the forms of law' and by 'mobs or unauthorized persons.'

"Not only so, but it was in these states that defiance of the courts and of officers of the law were most pronounced and most destructive. These things being true—and they cannot be disputed—it comes with poor grace for Northern politicians to talk about 'lynch law' in the South and to assume a pious air of self-righteousness.

"For every case in which 'lynch law' found expression in the South, there were perhaps 40 where it found expression in the states named, and if the evil is to be checked the place to start is where it has been most pronounced."

It is significant that the sponsor of the present anti-lynching measure had deleted from his bill a provision dealing with labor disputes. It appears that in such cases the blood may flow as freely as it will without anyone's being held culpable.

As Representative Mitchell declared in his speech, Northern Republicans are bringing back the anti-lynching bill in an effort to abduce the great body of Negro voters in the East. They are building up a great, macabre picture of white vigilantes hunting Negroes down by the hundreds for the pleasure of watching them die an agonized death.

By such moves as this the North proves year after year that she wishes no lasting peace with the South. She continues invidious measures to alienate this section. She does not seek to understand. She does not realize that the relation of the Negro and the white man in the South has reached a more satisfactory point than in the North. They may preach their doctrines of equality but the line between the Negro and the white man is more pronounced in the North. The South takes care of her Negroes in times of sickness and privation, while the North pays no attention.

For an example of the summary way in which the North may deal with her Negro population we quote another editorial from The Gadsden Times: "The other day a Negro who was in New York dropped $1.25 on the sidewalk and the money rolled into a sewer main, disappearing from view.

"Ten bits being a whale of a lot of money to the darky—as it is to most members of the tribe—this one turned in a fire alarm, hoping the firemen would be able to retrieve the cash.

"But the cash was not recovered. Instead the Negro was arrested and given 30 days. If the thing had happened down South the crowd attracted by the fire-fighting equipment probably would have passed the hat to help the unfortunate black brother instead of cheering him on to jail."

The North has her racial question also, but sits so smugly certain that it has been answered that she makes no attempt to rectify conditions.

Our Congress can better spend its time upon some important legislation than consuming it in debate of a measure which already has been outmoded.

Anniston Ala Star
January 9, 1940

The Lynch Bill Again

Every Congress comes forth with a new version of the anti-lynching bill. So it is only customary that the 1940 version, brought up yesterday by Representative Joseph E. Gavagan, a New York Democrat, should be the order of business.

Even if passed and signed by President Roosevelt, the anti-lynch measure is one of the most worthless bits of legislation that could become law. It solves no problems, but it is a direct insult to the South.

The bill would provide that in the case of a lynching, law officers involved would be called upon to prove they were not in complicity with the lynchers.

In none of the five lynchings which occurred in the South last year were officers as much as suspected of being lax in doing their duty. And throughout the year, their avidity in holding to the law for the protection of their prisoners was evident. Our officers are responsible to the state in the event of a lynching and a state has full authority to act should an officer be found at fault. Could a federal law hope to better this situation?

The anti-lynch bill touches upon a problem which has almost been solved. Lynching has become negligible in the South today. Thus the anti-lynching bill is a tempest over nothing. It brings up a sectional feeling which Congress should avoid.

Federal authorities have no cause to meddle in the law enforcement of the separate states. Their time is well occupied with interstate affairs.

It must be admitted, however, that the anti-lynching bill has no hope of passage. Northern representatives bring it up at each session simply for political purposes, without hoping to get it approved. It is a shoddy trick and one which the South greatly resents.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
January 9, 1940

Buying Northern Negro Votes

THIS is the day upon which Representative Gavagan, of New York, is to shed crocodile tears in the House over the three examples of lynch law that arose in the South last year while conveniently ignoring the hundreds of instances in which lynch law found expression in the North during the same period.

The circumstance is interesting as showing how great a strain may be exerted by a lawmaker in swallowing a gnat while gulping a camel with the greatest of ease. The performance, however, is easily explainable because 1940 is election year and in the district where Mr. Gavagan has to run there are more negro voters than there are in the whole state of Georgia. And votes, not virtue, dictate the course in relation to the operations of Judge Lynch.

Incidentally, Mr. Gavagan is a Democrat, which serves to illumine some of the things that have been going on in Democratic circles in recent years, and more of which will be seen as the 1940 campaign unfolds.

During these years Northern politicians who wear the Democratic label has made the interesting discovery that a black vote in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois is worth more than the votes of any dozen Democrats in the South, and they have been governed accordingly. They have "sold the South down the river" because the South votes right anyway, while the black voter in the states named has to be bribed, not only with public office but with such proposals as are embraced in the anti-lynch bill. So the bribery goes forward, regardless of its effect upon the South or its invasion of the constitutional provision under which law state enforcement is made a responsibility of the states.

This willingness to affront the South and to do violence to the constitution in order to wean Northern negroes from the Republican party

may work for a time but it will last only so long as there exists the material for vote buying—and that is exhaustible. The negro voters of the North belong to the Republican party in point of conviction and by the ties of tradition, and when they are bought by the Democrats through sales of convenience the deals cannot possibly carry the elements of permanency.

In the end these Democrats of convenience will lose the votes that must be purchased year after year and meanwhile there is a remote but real possibility that they may lose some votes in the South that are not purchasable. Stalwart Southern Democrats, who are governed by principle, will not always move to the ballot box elbow-to-elbow with Northern negroes whose votes are purchasable either with pelf, political promises or pure poppycock.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
January 12, 1940

The Lynching Bill

AN anti-lynching law might within reason be a good measure and one acceptable to us if it were not for one thing. Every bill of the sore introduced is so narrow and limited in its provisions that it can only be aimed at the South. Iisn't a New York or Chicago gang killing or a violent death in a labor dispute just as punishable a murder as a lynching?

There were only three lynchings in this country last year. One in Mississippi and two in Florida. How can you compare that miserable figure with the scores of gang and labor riot killings throughout the country last year?

Very rapidly in recent years the federal government has been spreading its influence into fields where the constitution meant for state and local governments to be predominant. Witness the work relief, social security, wage and hour legislation, farm programs, and the work of all the rest of the federal government's authorities and corporations and administrations. Every time the state and the county have had to back down like Chamberlain at Munich while Washington took over.

We don't like to have anything like the anti-lynch law aimed at us. Its passage would mean the tearing down of precepts the South has lived by for 70 years. The South is against the anti-lynch bill, and Southern senators, along with Senator Borah, are in a position to talk it to death once more. We can't back down on this.—The Pickens County Herald.

Scottsboro Decision Hit By N.A.A.C.P.

In a telegram address to the Chicago Defender, Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, expressed a profound shock over the refusal of the Alabama board of pardon to parole the youths. His telegram follows:

New York, N. Y., March 11, 1940

The board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. is profoundly shocked at the refusal of the board of pardon and parole of Alabama to release the five Scottsboro defendants. Even more are we shocked at the careless statement alleging the guilt of the defendants.

This is utterly incomprehensible in view of the fact that four of the defendants convicted on precisely the same evidence were released in 1937, and the Supreme Court of the United States has twice reversed the decision of the Alabama courts, and Judge Horton, of the Alabama circuit court, set aside one verdict as being contrary to the evidence on the basis of what seemed to the judge to be the incontrovertible physical proof that there had been no rape of the two plaintiffs at the time alleged.

The refusal to release the defendants, coming almost on the ninth anniversary of the commencement of the case, disheartens all Americans who had been led to believe Alabama would do the just and decent thing. Alabama has in the past bitterly resented so-called "outside interference."

For the past several years, however, a distinguished group of Alabama citizens have been supporting the pleas of the Scottsboro defense committee for the release of the Scottsboro defendants into the custody of the committee, and led by the committee, negotiations during the past year have been carried on almost entirely by distinguished Alabamians.

The recent action of the pardon and parole board is therefore doubly serious since it constitutes such a complete repudiation of the considered opinions of their well informed citizens.

We consider this a decided setback both to better race relations throughout the country, and to the hope believers in justice throughout the world have had that through orderly and considerate negotiation, reason and good sense would take the place of bitterness, prejudice, and fear.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

6425

Supported Anti-Lynching Bill



Congressmen R. S. McKeough (left), A. W. Mitchell (center) of Illinois and J. A. Gavagan of New York shake hands after the House passes the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill by a vote of 252 to 131.

Wilson, N. C., Daily Times
January 10, 1940

LYNCHING ISSUE CAUSES UPROAR

Rep. Mitchell, Only Negro Member of House, Charges Republicans With Dragging Bill To Buy Back the Negro Vote; GOP Resentment Quickly Rises.

Washington, Jan. 10. — (AP) — The house yesterday heard its only negro member, Representative Mitchell (D-Ill), hotly charge the Republican party with "trying to buy back the negro vote" with the pending anti-lynching bill.

His accusation, in the midst of a quiet, almost perfunctory renewal of a controversy that recurs in every Congress, satrted something. Several Republicans sought recognition to express their resentment and Representative Fish (R-NY) caustically inquired whether the negro vote was for sale.

"Every vote in the United States is for sale," Mitchell answered. "Not for money, but for rights and justice."

Representative McOowell, (R-Pa) accused Mitchell, ardent proponent of the bill, of trying to alienate the Republicans from its support, but asserted that 98 per cent of his party colleagues would vote for it.

Representative McDowell, (R-Ohio) produced a letter which he said Mitchell wrote to a constituent last November agreeing to take up a matter with the WPA if the constituent could first produce a letter from his ward committeeman.

"That indicates," said Seccombe, "who is trying to play Santa Claus and who is not, and who is trying to buy the negro vote and who is not."

Representative Burdick (R-ND) asserted that Mitchell's statement was a reason for voting against the bill, but that Mitchell did not "represent the negro race in this country." He announced he would reserve judgment as to how he would vote.

Pending was the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, passed by the house previously, only to encounter a southern filibuster in the senate. The measure would seek to curb lynching by imposing penalties upon peace officers who fail to protect prisoners from lynchmobs and by making municipalities or counties liable to damage suits by lynching victims or their dependents.

The house is expected to pass it again tomorrow, but again it faces powerful southern opposition in the senate. Southerners and a few northerners today contended it was unworkable, unconstitutional and unenforceable. Proponents denied these statements and asserted that the bill would accomplish its purpose of preventing lynching.

Fooled No Longer

Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, is the only negro at present in the national congress. Speaking in the house during the recent debate on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, Mitchell declared the true purpose of the bill was to "buy back" the votes of members of his race. But, he added, negroes could "no longer be fooled."

The Republicans, said Mitchell, had promised the negroes many things during times when the G. O. P. was in power, but had never delivered. Now, he added, the negroes had come to know their friends, the Democrats, and could no longer be fooled.

The Gavagan bill presents one of the most glaring examples of misnaming in a legislative body which has frequently called proposals by any other name than what they were. It is utterly misleading to call it an "anti-lynching" bill. In the judgment of all familiar with probable reactions it is evident the bill would, if it had any effect at all on the lynching evil, tend more to encourage the crime than to lessen it. It is to be doubted, however, if it would have any effect at all.

For the truth, which everyone knows, is that lynching has almost disappeared, already, from the American picture. The Tuskegee Institute, which has carefully kept statistics on the mob crime ever since 1892, reports only three lynchings during 1939, two of negroes and one of a white man. Twenty-five threatened lynchings were blocked by the courage and firmness of officers of the law.

Thus public sentiment, changing viewpoints and better education are steadily reducing and will soon wipe out a crime that used to be the darkest blot on American history.

The Gavagan bill should, of course, be honestly labeled as negro vote bait. That is its sole intent. Its author and sponsor, Representative Gavagan, comes from a New York district with a high proportion of negro voters and his activity on behalf of the bill is thus easily explainable.

The measure, on its face, is of little importance one way or another.

But it does involve an issue so important, so vital to the future liberty of the nation, that its enactment would be little short of a new American tragedy.

For it utterly invalidates the rights of the states to police themselves and to control their own courts and law enforcement officials. It would open the way, by precedent, for a new intrusion of the federal power into states' rights and it would make possible a new deluge of thinly disguised carpetbaggers into the south.

For it provides for federal prosecution of local officers of the law in communities where lynchings occur, in federal prosecution of the community itself with heavy fines leviable, to be paid families of victims, and for other rank violations of the basic principles of independent themselves, whose votes were the intended loot of the cruelly deceptive measure, are awake to

of the measure, the truth. As their own Representative Mitchell called up for senate told his colleagues in the house, the negroes can ceedingly small. It mittee pigeonhole for

gratifying to know last becoming aware of the measure. Comparts of the country rable and unneces-

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LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

6426

Lynching Is America's Blackest Crime Says Hon. Arthur Mitchell

Mr. Mitchell of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address delivered by me:

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, I am to address you for a brief moment on the subject "The Necessity of the Passage of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law." The time allotted me today is so short it will not be possible for me to do more than merely introduce the subject and state a few facts.

Lynching is a form of lawlessness peculiar to the United States and has been practiced at some time during the past 40 years in every state of the Union except the six New England States. More than 5,000 men and women have been lynched since 1882. Almost a third of this number were white men. This is a great national evil and has brought disgrace to what we call American civilization and justice. I think it is fair to assume that out of these more than 5,000 cases of lynching there has been less than 3 percent of convictions, which means that of these murderers and mobbists practically all of them have gone without punishment, and that in the Nation today there are walking around in freedom perhaps thousands of persons who have committed murder in its most vicious form and have never been called upon to answer to the laws of the country.

While lynching knows no section of the country, the largest number of victims during the past 40 years have been in perhaps 12 or 13 states. I wish to give you these statistics showing the number of persons lynched from 1882 to 1930, by States and by races, dealing only with States where more than 100 persons were lynched during that period of time:

Alabama—Whites, 46; Negroes, 296. Total, 342.

Arkansas—Whites, 64; Negroes 230. Total 294.

Florida—Whites, 25; Negroes, 241. Total, 266.

Georgia — Whites, 34; Negroes 474. Total, 508.

Kentucky—Whites, 62; Negroes 151. Total, 213.

Louisiana—Whites, 60; Negroes 328. Total 388.

Mississippi — Whites, 45; Negroes, 500. Total, 545.

Missouri — Whites, 53; Negroes 63 ..., 116.

Oklahoma — Whites 116; Negroes, 44. Total, 160.

South Carolina — Whites, 5; Negroes, 154. Total, 159.

Tennessee — Whites, 44; Negroes, 196. Total, 250.

Texas—Whites, 143; Negroes, 349. Total, 492.

Virginia—Whites, 16; Negroes, 88. Total 104.

Total — Whites, 513; Negroes, 3,314. Grand total, 3,827.

Many of these states have passed legislation directed against this evil. Virginia particularly passed an antilynching law in 1928, and there has been no lynching in that State since the passage of this measure, although some of the blackest crimes of the country have been committed in that State; but the officers and the communities have not indulged in this crime and have let the law take its course, and who can say that the State of Virginia has suffered any loss by reason of the fact that it, by its own hands, has wiped out this form of lawlessness—at least for the present?

Many Governors of Southern States have declared themselves unalterably opposed to the crime of lynching and have been outspoken in their denunciation of mobs. Prominent among these will be found the names of former Governor O'Neill of Alabama; Governor Graves, the present Governor of Alabama; John Pollard, former Governor of Virginia; O. Max Gadner, former Governor of North Carolina; John G. Richards, former Governor of South Carolina; L. G. Hardman, former Governor of Georgia; Flem D. Sampson, former Governor of Kentucky; Dan Moody, former Governor of Texas; the late Senator Huey P. Long, former Governor of Louisiana. It is interesting to note the statement made by Governor Long, which I here quote: "I have been Governor of this state for 2 years, and not one, white or black, has been lynched during that time. The policy of my administration has been to compel an observance of the law on both sides. That is, there be no pardon except the authority of the State; that is, that the Sate administers all "revenge" of the law after due process. I recently refused to be bludgeoned into setting an early date for a hanging to avoid a lynching, taking the stand that the customary delays would apply to all and that the State would not be pushed by a threat of violence. There was no lynching."

Organizations of white women in the following states have declared against mob violence and in favor of the passage of an antilynching law: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. I have reason to believe that practically all of the opposition to the passage of a law in the Seventy-fifth Congress will come from Members of Congress who believe that this is a matter for the States, and any Federal law on this subject will be unconstitutional, and therefore are unwilling to commit themselves to a Federal law directed against it. They say lynching is murder and should be dealt with as such. Lynching is different from the crime of murder in this respect: In murder one or more individuals take life, generally for some personal reason. In lynching a mob sets itself up in place of the State and acts in place of the processes of law to mete out death as a punishment to a person accused of a crime. The mob sets itself up as a judge, jury and executioner. In murder the accused merely violates the law of the State. In lynching the mob arrogates to itself the powers of the State and the functions of the Government. It is therefore not only against the act of killing that the Federal Government should exercise its powers but also the act of the mob in arrogating to itself the functions of the State and substituting its actions for the due processes of law.

If the other States in which lynchings have been committed exercised the same vigilance in the enforcement of law that Virginia has exercised during the past 10 years, there would probably be no excuse for urging the passage of this bill at this time; but inasmuch as these States have neglected to do it as a matter of protection of human life and a protection of the Government itself, it is the duty of the Federal Government to enact this law which I claim is thoroughly constitutional, as the fourteenth amendment provides in part I quote: "Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equa protection of the law." Under the equal-protection clause it is perfectly clear to me that the Federal Government has the right to step in where these states have failed to protect human life and make good this constitutiona guaranty.

At this time no piece of legislation before Congress is more important to the protection of the lives, safety, and welfare of the citizens than an antilynching bill. So great is the national concern as regards lynching that the President has felt called upon to denounce this "vile form of collective murder" and to berate its apologists. Thus a number of years ago, following the lynching of two youths at San Jose, Calif., when the Nation was shocked and indignant over the endorsement by the then Governor of that State of mob ruthlessness, President Roosevelt denounced lynching as "collective murder" and declared: "We do not excuse those in high or low places who condone lynch law."

One of the pledges I made when I was elected to the Congress was that I would use all of the influence and power I could command to see that either the seventy-fourth or Seventy-fifth Congress pass an antilynching bill. I introduced such a bill immediately after I was sworn in as Congressman. This bill did not pass during the Seventy-fourth Congress—not even a hearing was held. Last Thursday, after a hearing, the judiciary Committee favorably reported my antilynching bill H. R. 2251.

This bill will be enacted into law this week provided the Rules Committee will give a rule, which thus far we have failed to get. The Gavagan bill, which has been placed on the calendar through 218 Members of the House signing a discharge petition, will come up later next week, should 2251 not pass or should it be called up. I believe that I have the best bill among the 59 which have been introduced in the House this session of Congress. I should like to see my bill become law, but as I have said repeatedly and as I said to an officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People March 20:

"I expect to vote for whatever antilynching bill we are able to get before the House. Naturally, I am more interested in the passing of my own bill than in any other bill; but the authorship of the bill means little to me as compared with the importance of the legislation itself."

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

D.C.

6424

The Anti-Lynching Bill

Political left-jab of the week came during the debate in the House over the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, passed by a 252-131 roll-call vote.

Debate on the floor was largely tuned at first to the constitutionality of a bill which makes it a federal felony for State or local officials to fail to protect prisoners from mob violence. Cloakroom conversations were concerned with far different considerations. As the time for voting neared less lofty ideas were voiced on the floor. Southern opponents to the measure threw charges of vote-buying at its northern supporters. Democrats said that some Republicans were trying to force an embarrassing filibuster in the Senate, similar to that which killed a former bill in 1938.

Administrative floor leaders found themselves caught in a pincer. House passage was a political "must", but bound to upset their legislative aims when the bill reached the Senate. Probable solution appears to be a plan to delay Senate consideration until other measures can safely precede the filibuster threat.

Though business on the calendar of either chamber moved slowly and deliberately, eleven bills were sent to the President. Senators and Representatives were not idle in their nearby offices. Bills are being whipped into shape for early presentation, voting blocs are taking shape for legislative tests to come and plans are being drawn to expedite matters so that adjournment can be reached early enough for political fence-mending.

He Might Study The Bill

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: I was deeply shocked to read your editorial of January 9, in which you attacked the anti-lynching bill, saying, among other things, that "there is no reason for pressing the bill, at this time.

The fight for civil liberties is always important. The Washington Post itself, in condemning recently Murphy's violation of civil rights and legal procedure, took part in this fight. Yet you state now that because lynching has practically disappeared, this particular legislation to prevent mob violence is not necessary.

If the number of lynchings last year had been only one—one American whose life was snuffed out by organized gangsters acting in collusion with authorities—there would still be a powerful argument for the passage of the anti-lynching bill.

Even if lynching has decreased, antilynching legislation is still a vital need. Foremost among the many reasons for the necessity of such a law is the fact that the threat of lynching has been one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the feudal landlords of the South, used to prevent organization of the "poor whites" and Negroes, and to force them to accept their lot without complaint.

Thus lynch law has deprived millions of Americans—white as well as Negro—of all semblance of civil rights. The right to decent pay, regulated hours, the ballot—yes, the very right to bodily freedom—all have been crushed under the heel of Judge Lynch.

The American toilers will never rest until antilynching legislation is a law, until all Americans are free to walk the streets with their heads high, without fear of segregation, economic and physical oppression, and insecurity.

CLARENCE D. GUREWITZ.
Washington, Jan. 11.

Majority Approve Anti-Lynching Bill

Strongest Support Comes From Northern Members of Democratic Party, Greatest Opposition From Southern Voters

By American Institute of Public Opinion.

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 24.—As Congress ploughs its way toward adjournment in time for the national conventions, political observers are watching to see what the Senate will do with one of the most controversial pieces of legislation on its desk—the Gavagan bill to discourage lynchings.

Passed by the House after a sharp debate, the Gavagan bill faces either quiet pigeon-holing in the Senate or a rough-and-tumble filibuster by Southern members if it reaches the floor. Because the latter course might raise awkward strains within the Democratic Party on the eve of the Democratic National Convention, many political observers think the bill will be pigeon-holed.

The question is—How much public demand is there for anti-lynching legislation of the Gavagan bill's type?

To measure American sentiment on the question, the American Institute of Public Opinion has interviewed a scientifically selected cross-section of men and women in every State, so chosen as to reflect the opinions of the 80,000,000 in the adult population.

Strongest Support Comes From Northern Democrats

The survey indicates:

1. That a small majority of persons with opinions on the question (55 per cent) are in favor of the proposed legislation.

2. That the strongest support for the bill comes from Northern Democrats, while the strongest opposition comes from Southern Democrats, a fact which makes the subject particularly ticklish for the Democratic Party.

3. That despite the vote in the House, where Republican members voted almost solidly for the bill, rank-and-file Republicans are evenly divided on the question.

Proposed Law Would Penalize County Officials

Voters in the survey were asked their opinions of the proposed bill after being shown a card on which the following description of the bill appeared:

"Under the proposed Federal law against lynching, the Federal Government would:

(1) Fine and imprison local police officers who fail to protect a prisoner from a lynch mob, and.

(2) Make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to $10,000 to the victim or his family.

Do you approve or disapprove of this law?"

The answers of those with opinions are:

APPROVE	55%
DISAPPROVE	45

Approximately one person in ten (9 per cent) said he was undecided or without an opinion on the question.

The Gavagan bill was attacked on the floor of the house by numerous Southern members who declared the bill was an entirely unnecessary piece of legislation which would prove nothing but an affront to the South, without materially reducing the number of lynchings. Southerners pointed out that U. S. lynchings have dropped—as the result of purely Southern efforts—from 130 in 1901 to only 3 in 1939.

Supporters of the bill argue that lynching must be stopped, one way or another, and that present State and local enforcement has not completely succeeded in eradicating it.

There has been virtually no change in sentiment on the question in the past two years, apparently, for in January, 1938, after a similar bill had been debated, the Institute found an almost identical division of opinion.

Sectional and

cent oppo

Opponents Believe Bill Is 'Too Severe'

The same arguments are raised by some of the rank-and-file voters who oppose the bill. The most frequent objection, however, is that the bill is "too severe," or that it punishes the wrong people.

LYNCHINGS - 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO FLORIDA

6422

Pensacola, Fla Journal
January 14, 1940

Anti-Lynching Bill

STATUTES are made by people and enforced by people. For this reason federal anti-lynching bill passed by the house is useless legislation and the senate will do well to kill it, as reports indicate it will by filibuster if necessary.

The decrease in the number of lynchings in the last decade is further evidence of the needlessness of the bill from a law enforcement standpoint. Moreover, it is another entry of the federal government into the realm of state police powers, which is unwise. The making of kidnapings federal offenses when the victim is carried across state lines or when ransom is demanded was a necessary enactment for the purpose of coping with a crime which was increasing and with which states found themselves unable to deal effectively. But this does not apply to lynchings.

Figures on the decrease in lynchings in the last decade were quoted in these columns recently. Last year there were only three in the entire country; regrettably enough, two were charged to Florida, though one was improperly classified as a lynching as it was not mob action.

This decrease to a neglible number has been accomplished by public sentiment and public sentiment has reacted to education against lynching or other forms of lawlessness when mobs take the law in their hands. Such actions by aroused and unreasoning mobs might have been necessary at one time in the South's history or in the West in the days when horse stealing was a capital offense. But the public generally, and certainly its intelligent leaders, have become too well informed on events and too well aware of the many subterfuges behind mob rule to condone such acts in this day.

The bulk of this "missionary work" has been performed by the women of the South themselves, the very persons whose honor and virginity supposedly were being protected in the majority of lynchings. These women, standing strong and true for orderly law enforcement as against inflamed mob rule, have put the pressure on their own sheriffs and other peace officers and the sheriff today who fails to protect his prisoner against a mob stands a very poor chance of re-election, if he is not impeached.

Note present activity in Mississippi to protect negroes against violence as officers hunt two negroes accused of killing a deputized constable and as two other negroes are arraigned on charges of killing a former marshal. The national guard has been called out to guard these prisoners and others who may be arrested.

The Association of Southern Women to Prevent Lynching has done more in a short space of a few years than the proposed federal statute will do in fifty years. In fact the federal law, despite its levies on counties and peace officers where the lynching occurs, probably would cause a public reaction which would offset the gains made by leading southern women.

It is well that one of the checks of our democratic government is a senate, composed of "elder statesmen," who can stop such futile legislation.

Tampa, Fla Tribune
January 12, 1940

A Law That's Too Late

Aside from its avowed sectional purpose, the anti-lynching bill, which the House passed 252 to 131 Wednesday, is an entirely unnecessary piece of legislation. There might have been some excuse for a law of that nature in past years when lynchings were numerous; there is none now, when they are becoming fewer each year. Last year there were only three lynchings in the United States. That form of mob violence is rapidly being discarded as ineffective, regardless of its barbarous features. Strike violence has become far more of a menace to the public peace, and homicides far more serious. Against three lynchings in the entire country, we may cite 272 murders in one city, New York.

The proposal to punish communities where lynchings occur and officers who fail to prevent them would not stop lynching. As Representative Millard Caldwell, of Florida, points out, it would increase lynching rather than reduce it—for in cases where there is a probability of mob violence, officers would hesitate to arrest the criminal, which would make themselves and the community liable to federal penalty.

It's too late to enact drastic anti-lynching legislation when lynching is passing from the national scene. The Senate should kill the bill—by filibuster if it is not possible to kill it by direct vote.

Starke, Fla., Telegraph
January 12, 1940

Johns Urges Defeat Of Anti-Lynch Bill

Senator Charley E. Johns yesterday wired Cong. R. A. Green urging him to do all in his power to defeat the anti-lynching bill. It will be remembered that Senator Johns passed in the House of representatives during the 1935 session of the State legislature a Memorial to Congress urging them to defeat the anti-lynching bill which was then before congress. The following is the content of Senator Johns' telegram:

"I strongly urge to raise your voice in the Halls of Congress against the anti-lynching bill. This is the most vicious piece of Legislation directed at the solid south since the days of Emancipation. It is indeed deplorable that such legislation should divert the attention of our law makers while war clouds hover dangerously over the American Nation and industrial problems need to be solved."

Milton Fla.
Gazette
Jan. 18. 1940

A LAW THAT'S TOO LATE

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DeLand, Fla., Sun News
January 15, 1940

Anti-Lynch Bill

Arouses Hendricks' Ire, Senate Will Defeat Act

Congressman Joe Hendricks of DeLand, fifth district representative in Congress, is unalterably opposed to the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill and freely predicts defeat of the measure by Senate filibuster.

"Just recently Congressman Joe Gavagan of New York called up his fool Anti-Lynching Bill again," says Hendricks. "When the motive in passing legislation is good we can sometimes tolerate the form. Of course, the proponents of this bill will assure you that all they want is for the rights of American citizens to be protectd.

"It would be conceded by a number of members, however, if not most of them, that their sole purpose in passing this bill is in order that they may get the Negro vote which may be heavy in their district.

"It seems as though they could devise some other scheme for that. In the past years there have been only two lynchings in the United States and yet because of these two lynchings certain members of Congress would attempt to have the Federal government exercise certain powers reserved to sovereign states.

"Fortunately we know that the Senate will filibuster this bill to death, which it should do."

Quincy, Fla., Times
January 18, 1940

THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL FARCE

That Congressional farce, the Anti-Lynching bill, is moving toward the peak of its regular cycle again. It has passed the House, and in due time, when leaders decide they want to slow up general legislative action in the Senate, it will be brought to the calendar there and the regular old speeches will be made all over again.

Perhaps there are in Congress a few zealots who sincerely believe in this bill, but the great majority of those in both houses who regularly vote for it, would not do so if they were not certain that it could not pass.

Let it be understood that this newspaper does not in any way condone lynching. It believes that the exercises of individual or group violence outside the law is justified only in rare cases when the administration of law by due process has completely broken down.

But that has nothing whatever to do with the question of the desirability or undesirability of this particular bill which, if it became law, would itself be lynching a basic principle of the American government. The Federal Bureau of Investigation already is getting unpleasantly close to being an American OGPU or Gestapo, overriding local authorities and local law almost at will. The pending bill would make it possible for Federal authorities to go to the most extreme lengths in taking the law out of the hands of the authorities in whom the Constitutions of the nation and the various states have placed it.

And why should this hullaballoo be raised again this year of all years? The Tuskagee Institute's annual report on lynchings found only three in 1939, and one of these, which happened in Florida, was not a mob attack, but a matter of individual hot headedness such as would not ordinarily be classed as a lynching—the case of the man who shot a negro whose automobile had killed his younger brother. Of the other two cases, one victim was black, the other white, two out of 130,000,000 is hardly a percentage to justify the mutilation of the Constitution.

This bill is simply a device used for playing the kind of dirty politics that advocates of totalitarian government like to cite as an excuse for opposition to democracy. But it's something we have to go through every so often and there's nothing to be done about it.

Ft. Myers, Fla., News Press
January 11, 1940

DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

Speaking for his anti-lynching bill, Congressman Gavagan of the Harlem precinct in New York predicted that it would pass "if the democratic processes of government are allowed to operate."

He was taking a fling at the senate filibuster which will kill this biennial piece of campaign literature when it gets that far. That is normal routine. It passes the house, then goes over to the senate where they finally shove it aside after the northerners make their speeches and the southerners stretch out for rebuttal.

That is a democratic process. It was provided for in the constitution of the United States to guard against the oppression of minorities by political majorities. The manner of apportioning membership in the house and senate is the essence of that purpose. House representation is based on population, thus giving reflection to majorities. In the senate the representation is two to a state, regardless of population, thus providing an instrument for the protection of minorities.

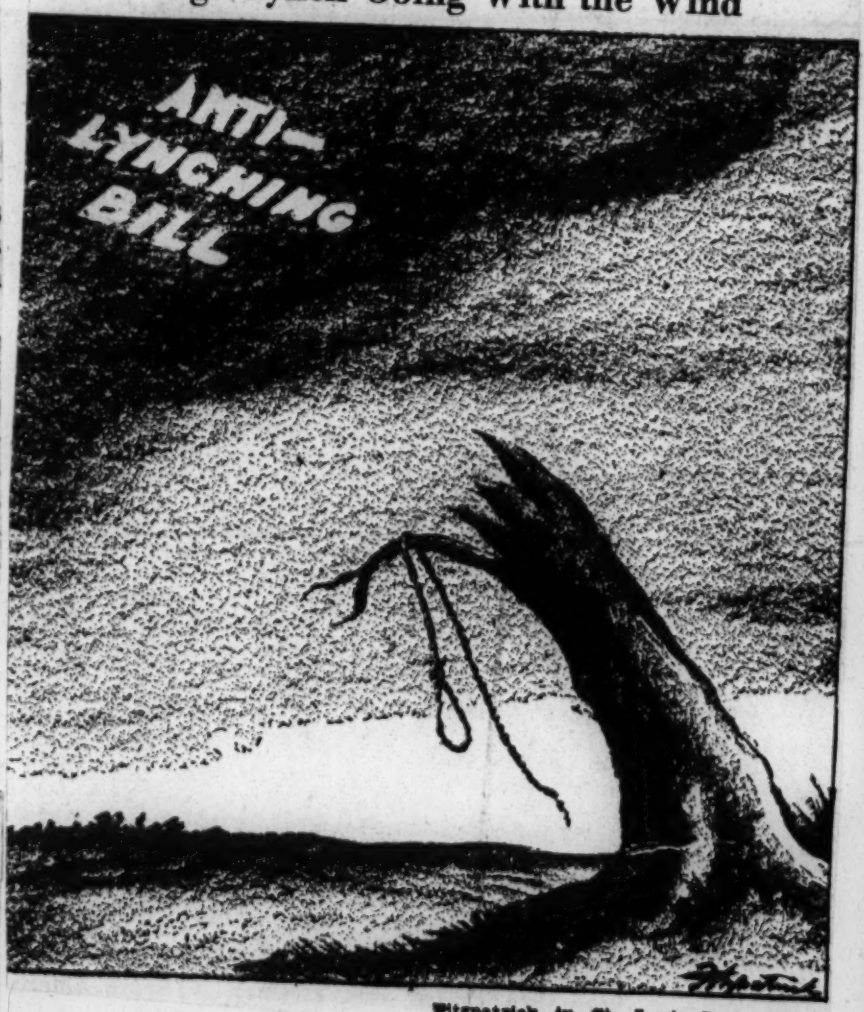
This instrument of a democratic process will be used by southern members to prevent the imposition of a purely political election bill on their constituents. The anti-lynching bill does not pretend to be anything except a lure for negro votes. So that everybody would know that was its single purpose, other forms of lynching were carefully excepted. If a northern picket line mob goes berserk and strings up a man on his way to work, that isn't lynching. And if Chicago gangsters bump off somebody trying to muscle in from out of town, that isn't lynching, either. Lynching is only when somebody gets killed without benefit of habeas corpus in a southern state.

This time the author of the bill agreed to leave the labor exemption out of it, saying that he finds it isn't necessary. He means it isn't necessary because the only purpose is to attract negro votes. They didn't want to run off labor votes in the process but that isn't likely. Labor lobbyists know the bill won't cause them any trouble because it won't pass; and that it would promptly be declared unconstitutional if it did. From Senator Borah on down they have the word of the best constitutional authorities for that.

It's a shame that democratic processes must waste the nation's time on such sorry things as that. However, it's the method made and provided by our constitution. Majorities are permitted to rule when they are fair. When they are not fair, there are means by which minorities may protect themselves. The filibuster is one protection; the courts are another. Between the two the South need not fear that it will be sold down the river for the Harlem vote.

Miami, Fla. Herald
February 18, 1940

Lodge Lynch Going With the Wind



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

GEORGIA

6417

Rome Ga News Tribune
January 15, 1940

Lynching The Constitution

THE expected happened when the House passed the so-called anti-lynch bill but there are indications that a different story will be told when the Senate finishes with this outrageous assault upon the Constitution, brought about through the lowest form of politics.

Everybody, from the pages to the presiding officers, knows that the sole purpose of this bill is to gain the support of Northern negro politicians for solons who wish to perpetuate their hold upon public office, and for this base reason an intolerable condition would be imposed upon the South while the Constitution itself would, in effect, be lynched.

These politicians would commit an outrage against the fundamental law of the land while pretending to seek the elimination of rare outrages in the South (There were only 3 lynchings in the South last year.)

Under this proposed law, could it get by the Constitution, the prosecution of alleged members of mobs would rest with the federal government and the law is so drastic that the counties in which lynchings took place might be fined as much as $10,000. Think of poor farmers, widows and others having to contribute to a fund like that when they had nothing under heaven to do with the offense! Yet this is proposed and the House has approved the proposal.

It is clear, and well known Constitutional lawyers have so stated repeatedly, that to take local law enforcement out of the hands of local communities is utterly at variance with the Constitution. Yet what is the Constitution when Northern politicians seek the votes of Northern negroes!

Which, indeed, is the greater outrage, the lynching of some unfortunate person—and that is tragic enough—or the lynching of the Constitution which stands for the protection of the rights of the whole people? And where is the difference in spirit between the indifference of the mob toward the criminal laws of the land and the indifference of sworn legislators toward the Constitution, the wellspring of all law?

If such an outrage as is proposed under this measure can be put over upon the people, then it is possible for the federal government to take charge of the prosecutions of all infractions of the law, from traffic violations to plain theft, and then local authority ceases to exist.

Significant of the vicious designs behind the proposal is the fact that its proponents refuse to include in its provisions those frequent lynchings of the law that grow out of CIO and similar controversies. If lynch law breaks out in the South the federal government will step in, but if it breaks out in Detroit or Cleveland, local authorities will continue to handle it—or ignore it—as in the past.

The whole sorry, sordid business shows the depths to which some politicians will descend when bitten by the lust for office and the Senate can render a constructive service of the highest order by killing it forthwith.

Moultrie, Ga. Observer
January 11, 1940

Talking For Votes

The anti-lynching bill got an early start at this session of congress. We wonder what the politicians will do when this question is finally disposed of. They should work fast, since lynching is about to play out. The states are rapidly settling this problem. It is not likely that anybody in Washington is seriously concerned about passing an anti-lynching bill. What they are really interested in is getting the Negro vote. In a number of industrial states of the north, the Negro vote is politically important. About all the politicians have to offer the colored man is an anti-lynching bill. It is probable that they have overestimated the importance of this as a vote-getter. Most of the Negroes now think that their interests and best prospects lie along lines of alignment between the best representatives of tre two races. The wisest among the Negro leaders know that the race has more to lose than to gain from the passage of an anti-lynching bill that would be obnoxious to Southern whites.

Rome Ga News Tribune
January 19, 1940

Georgia Senators Applaud Editorial In News-Tribune

IMMEDIATELY upon the arrival in Washington of the News-Tribune of Monday, carrying the editorial, "Lynching the Constitution," both Senator George and Senator Russell addressed letters of commendation to this newspaper, commending the spirit of the editorial, and, at the same time, declaring their intention to fight the so-called anti-lynch bill to the end.

The editorial thus commended by Georgia Senators, referred to the unconstitutional phase of the proposed law and pointed out that such attempts to lynch the Constitution were even worse than lynchings by lawless mobs.

Addressed to J. R. Hornady, editor of the News-Tribune, the expressions from Senators George and Russell, which arrived by the same mail this morning, read as follows:

SENATOR GEORGE

"Your editorial, 'Lynching the Constitution,' strongly states the case against the Anti-Lynching bill and is timely.

"I have no hesitancy in saying that I will enter into a filibuster against this bill and it is our hope that it will never come out of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"With good wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,
"WALTER F. GEORGE."

SENATOR RUSSELL

"I have read the editorial (Lynching the Constitution) with a great deal of interest and agree with the conclusions set out therein.

I assure you that in the event this bill is again presented in the Senate, it will meet with my vigorous opposition.

"When and if the bill comes up, I shall read this editorial on the floor or have it printed in the record.

With good wishes, I am,
Sincerely,
DICK RUSSELL."

Rome Ga News Tribune
January 8, 1940

Buying Northern Negro Votes

THIS is the day upon which Representative Gavagan, of New York, is to shed crocodile tears in the House over the three examples of lynch law that arose in the South last year while conveniently ignoring the hundreds of instances in which lynch law found expression in the North during the same period.

The circumstance is interesting as showing how great a strain may be exerted by a lawmaker in swallowing a gnat while gulping a camel with the greatest of ease. The performance, however, is easily explainable because 1940 is election year and in the district where Mr. Gavagan has to run there are more negro voters than there are in the whole state of Georgia. And votes, not virtue, dictate the course in relation to the operations of Judge Lynch.

Incidentally, Mr. Gavagan is a Democrat, which serves to illumine some of the things that have been going on in Democratic circles in recent years, and more of which will be seen as the 1940 campaign unfolds.

During these years Northern politicians who wear the Democratic label have made the interesting discovery that a black vote in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois is worth more than the votes of any dozen white Democrats in the South, and they have been governed accordingly. They have "sold the South down the river" because the South votes right anyway, while the black voter in the states named has to be bribed, not only with public office but with such proposals as are embraced in the anti-lynch

bill. So the bribery goes forward, regardless of its effect upon the South or its invasion of the Constitutional provision under which state law enforcement is made a responsibility of the states.

This willingness to affront the South and to do violence to the Constitution in order to wean Northern negroes from the Republican party may work for a time but it will last only so long as there exists the material for vote-buying—and that is exhaustible. The negro voters of the North belong to the Republican party in point of conviction and by the ties of tradition, and when they are bought by the Democrts through sales of convenience the deals cannot possibly carry the elements of permanency.

In the end these Democrats of convenience will lose the votes that must be purchased year after year and meanwhile there is a remote but real possibility that they may lose some votes in the South that are not purchasable. Stalwart Southern Democrats, who are governed by principle, will not always move to the ballot box elbow-to-elbow with Northern negroes whose votes are purchasable either with pelf, political promises or pure poppy-cock.

Jonesboro, Ga., News & Farmer
January 12, 1940

A number of legislative matters held over from the previous regular session will come up before this session. Among them will be the Gavagan anti-Lynching bill which will be taken up by the House in accordance with a petition already signed by the requisite number of members. In the Senate, Southern Senators will attempt to talk the measure to death. The Frasier-Lempke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act, which expires in March, will probably present some discussion, although our guess is that it will be renewed. Originally passed in 1935, the measure has been once renewed and if there are complaints from the farm region, which seem likely, little opposition will develop to renewing the Act again.

Macon, Ga. Telegraph
January 5, 1940

Reviving the Anti-Lynching Bill

The third session of the Seventy-sixth congress hardly gets under way before Representative Gavagan, New Dealer, of New York, gives notice that he will call up his anti-lynching bill next Monday.

This means that another wedge will be driven between Southern Democrats and the New Deal party, with the possibility of a bitter fight in the senate in which a tedious and costly filibuster will develop.

Everybody realizes that this is just one more bid for the Negro vote of Harlem, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other such centers.

Senator Joe Guffey succeeded in winning the Negroes of Pittsburgh to the New Deal in 1936, but since then they have fallen away and this anti-lynching bill its expected to bring them back into the fold.

The iniquity of this bill is that it tends to intensify race antagonism at a time when public sentiment is rapidly crystallizing against lynching and the instances of mob violence have been reduced almost to the vanishing point.

Tuskegee Institute, over in Alabama, has been compiling statistics on lynchings for many years. It has just made public its latest report which shows that the number has dropped from 20 in 1935 to eight in 1936, eight in 1937, six in 1938 and only three last year.

Of these three, two were in Florida and one was in Mississippi. One victim was a white man and two were Negroes.

On the other hand, the report reveals that in 18 instances officers of the law prevented lynching and 17 of the cases were in the South. Right here in Macon a Negro, charged with an attempt at rape, was arrested in 40 minutes and in a few days was on his way to serve a 20-year sentence in the penitentiary.

Not one of the lynchings last year was for the crime of rape, which in years past has been the reason for the greatest number of lynchings, so it is evident that this element of violence is dying out.

But at a time when the number of Negroes lynched is down to two in a year this anti-lynching bill is to be revived. It provides that if a sheriff cannot show that he used all diligence in preventing a lynching the county in which it took place shall be fined 10 thousand dollars, to be paid to the surviving relatives of the victim.

It has often been pointed out that many persons, white and black, have been murdered by relatives for the sake of the insurance money, and it is more than likely that this anti-lynching bill would put a premium on lynchings instead of suppressing mob violence.

The sectional character of the bill is shown in the fact that if a labor mob jumps on a worker who refuses to join in a strike and beats him to death for asserting his right to work, that is not to be called a "lynching"—although the victim is just as dead from an unjustifiable attack as if he had been hanged to a limb in the South.

It is in the class with New Deal revival of a proposed child labor amendment to the constitution, when child labor has become a thing of the past.

There is no excuse for this anti-lynching bill and it should be killed.

Savannah, Ga. News
January 10, 1940

The Anti-Lynching Bill

Dispatches from Washington indicate that the Gavagan anti-lynching bill will be passed in the House, probably today, but there seems no likelihood that the Senate will fall in line with this action, which is doing so much to destroy the national unity which President Roosevelt has been so earnestly pleading for. It has been so clearly pointed out that the bill, sponsored by the Democrat who represents the Harlem district of New York city, is designed for the purpose of winning Northern votes and embarrassing Southern congressmen and their constituents that there is strong reason to believe that it will be killed in the Senate — even though it becomes necessary to again resort to filibuster methods as in 1937. Southern orators are preparing for a long siege if necessary and will have the backing of sensible persons back home.

The folly of enacting such a measure has become more apparent by the recent publication in the Morning News of the reliable report of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, showing that there were only three lynchings in 1939 — two in Florida and one in Mississippi — one being a white man and the other negroes, in comparison with 20 lynchings in 1935, eight in 1936 and 1937, and six in 1938. There have been no lynchings since last May, indicating that the evil is near the vanishing point.

The Gavagan bill makes it a felony for any state or local official, in duty bound to protect a person from mob violence, not to make "all diligent effort" to protect him. Similarly for any such state or local official who fails to apprehend or prosecute the members of a lynching mob. The punishment is a fine up to $5,000, or imprisonment up to five years, or both. (Lynching statistics show that about one-half of the victims never came within the custody of the law.)

The Gavagan bill provides also that a state subdivision with police powers is civilly liable for a lynching within its jurisdiction, if its officers, or its citizens when called upon, have failed "to use all diligence and all powers vested in them" to protect the victims. The liability is from $2,000 to $10,000 for each victim. It may be recovered by the person injured or, if death has resulted, by the next of kin. The suit shall be brought by the federal government for the claimant, unless he prefers to bring it through his own counsel.

The present anti-lynching bill omits a provision, contained in some previous measures, whereby members of a lynching mob were to be prosecuted in a federal court if local sentiment made futile any prosecution in state or local courts. Also, the present bill excludes from its scope violence in connection with a labor dispute. When an anti-lynching bill was before the Senate in 1935, Senator, now Justice Hugo L. Black attacked it because it might be stretched to cover strike violence.

Moultrie, Ga., Observer
January 11, 1940

Talking For Votes

The anti-lynching bill got an early start at this session of congress. We wonder what the politicians will do when this question is finally disposed of. They should work fast, since lynching is about to play out. The states are rapidly settling this problem. It is not likely that anybody in Washington is seriously concerned about passing an anti-lynching bill. What they are really interested in is getting the Negro vote. In a number of industrial states of the north, the Negro vote is politically important. About all the politicians have to offer the colored man is an anti-lynching bill. It is probable that they have overestimated the importance of this as a vote-getter. Most of the Negroes now think that their interests and best prospects lie along lines of alignment between the best representatives of tre two races. The wisest among the Negro leaders know that the race has more to lose than to gain from the passage of an anti-lynching bill that would be obnoxious to Southern whites.

Savannah, Ga., News
January 2, 1940

The Anti-Lynching Bill

If President Roosevelt gives careful study to the statistics from Tuskegee Institute, showing that only three lynchings occurred during 1939, he may decline to call for enactment of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill in the annual message he will deliver to Congress when it assembles Wednesday, although a dispatch from Washington says prominent Northern Democrats have revealed they planned to urge him to do so. The dispatch said:

> The issue over the anti-lynching bill, the first measure slated to be called up for action by the House, threatens to split the Democratic party wide open. New Dealers, who desire the measure passed for the political effect it will have on the Northern negro vote next fall, said Mr. Roosevelt should make known his views on the proposal. On the other hand, Southern Democrats, who control a majority of the party, are making plans to conduct a filibuster against the measure. This is the first time since Mr. Roosevelt became President and the anti-lynching bill was proposed by high New Dealers that the Southern Democrats, counting on border states, have been in a position to defeat the measure. It has passed the House twice, but failed in the Senate because of filibusters led by Senator Tom Connally, Democrat, of Texas. Representative John Rankin, Democrat, of Mississippi, who has been a New Deal supporter, said: "We'll fight the anti-lynching bill to the finish, for the entire South is against it."

The bill would penalize county governments in which lynchings occur. Steady progress has been made in supplanting lynchings with more civilized methods in dealing with alleged criminals and for this reason there is less prospect for the success of the proposed anti-lynching legislation than ever before. The South is dealing with the problem far more progressively than are some of the cities in the North, where gangster methods and disrespect for

the law are still prevalent. No lynching has occurred since May 1, the second half of 1939 being entirely clear of death by mob violence in the South. The North should clear its own record of gangster killings and other forms of violence before attempting to penalize Southern counties by a law purely political in its purposes.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

GEORGIA

6419

Sandersville Ga., Progress
January 18, 1940

The Anti-Lynching Bill

Congress seems determined to pass the so-called anti-lynching bill, the purpose of which is to make the county in which the lynching occurs pay a heavy indemnity in cash.

If a mob in one county should take a victim to another county, in order to wreak vengeance for a diabolical crime, the one in which the lynching takes place would have to pay the penalty, although the officers and citizens might be entirely ignorant of the lynching until the purpose of the mob should be accomplished. There is only one crime which should be punished by lynching, and it need not be mentioned here. But no matter how many national laws are enacted infuriated citizens will put to death any man who commits it.

The way to prevent lynching is simple, and that is for those who are criminally inclined to stop committing the crime which provokes it. Those who are law abiding, white and black, have no fear of being lynched.

Several years ago there were a number of lynchings as compared to more recent records. The certainty of vengeance by an infuriated populace has caused a decided decrease in such acts.

There are more people shot down on the streets of Chicago within a year than all other lynchings throughout the United States. The sponsors of the bill sought to make exceptions of such crimes in the northern states, calling it "gangster law," in order to distinguish it from lynch law, but it is the same thing disguised under another name. It is understood this feature of the bill has been changed so as to embrace gangsters in the same category as lynchers. The Chicago lynchers slay their victims on account of business rivalry, while the southern lynchers inflict this penalty because of the commission of the most diabolical crime imaginable.

Remarkable to relate, the only Negro who is a member of congress has stated that the main reason for the passage of the anti-lynching bill is to gain the support of the Negroes for the Republican ticket in this year's election. The same opinion has been voiced by a large number of men who are prominent in the affairs of the nation.

Columbus, Ga Enquirer-Sun
January 10, 1940

UNFAIR ANTI-LYNCH BILL UP AGAIN

The outrageous federal anti-lynching bill was put well on its way toward house passage yesterday in face of a report recently issued that revealed a marked decrease in lynchings in 1939.

Debate was started Tuesday in the lower branch of congress and passage of the anti-lynch law was regarded as a certainty in the house, but it was expected that a vigorous fight would again be waged by Southern senators against the legislation when it reaches the upper branch.

Representative Gavagan announced a plan that would render the measure more discriminatory than ever against the South when he made known his intention to seek the elimination of the provision which would include labor strike killings. In other words, he would have the law made effective as far as mass violence is concerned, but would invoke penalties upon peace officers and political subdivisions in isolated instances of mob killings.

It is becoming more apparent each day that advocates of the legislation are not going to listen to reason; are not going to be guided by facts and figures, but are doubtless determined to permit their prejudices to prevail.

Opponents of the anti-lynch bill have been arguing ever since it was first proposed that the South is making an honest effort to remedy conditions as to mob killings and that real progress is being made in that direction.

The most recent evidence that the South is coping with the situation is contained in a report made by the president of Tuskegee Institute. He said that only three lynchings occurred during 1939 that this total represented a reduction of three mob killings as compared with 1933, when half a dozen were lynched.

The outstanding feature of the Tuskegee report, as we see it, is the statement that Southern officers of the law prevented lynchings in 18 instances. They saved 20 negroes and five white men from the hands of mobs last year, thus demonstrating very forcibly the determination of the constituted authorities to destroy mob law.

The South is making a vigorous and effective attack on the evil practice, and it is not likely that the enactment of federal legislation can be of assistance now.

There is a group of Southern senators who have fought valiantly against the placing of this unfair measure on the statutes, and though there appears to be a majority in favor of the bill in the upper branch, the members from Dixie can be depended upon to exert every effort and every energy in their fight against its passage

Columbus, Ga Enquirer-Sun
January 12, 1940

PASSAGE OF ANTI-LYNCH BILL BY HOUSE

The anti-lynching bill, passed by the house by a large majority, now goes to the senate where a determined group of Southerners are believed to be prepared to fight it to the bitter end.

A filibuster killed the measure in the senate at the last session, and the Dixie senators opposing the bill have announced that they are again planning to bury the unfair legislation under an avalanche of words.

There was little doubt that the lower branch would give the Gavagan bill a favorable vote, but Southerners are relying on the planned senate filibuster to kill the bill which would undoubtedly work a great hardship on this part of the country.

It is interesting to note that the final gesture against the Southland from the northerners of the house, before the passage of the measure, was the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative Gavagan, of New York, and the rejection of one proposed by Representative Collier, of Mississippi.

Mr. Gavagan's change brought about the elimination of language making the measure inapplicable to any violence resulting from a labor disturbance. After exempting violence on a large scale, the house showed further consistence in its course against the interests of the South by voting down a "gangster amendment," offered by the Mississippi member. The proposal of Mr. Collier would have included gang slayings within the provisions of the anti-lynch bill. He argued that there were only three lynchings in the entire country last year as compared with 272 murders in New York City alone.

The house has done all it could to put this ugly, discriminatory legislation on the statute books, but it may be another story in the senate.

Americus, Ga., Recorder
January 10, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL SHOULD BE KILLED

With international and domestic economic conditions and world peace in such critical conditions, it seems absurd that the Congress of the United States should be called upon to debate a piece of proposed legislation so utterly unnecessary and unfair as the so-called anti-lynching measure now before the House of Representatives.

The lone Negro member of the House declared on the floor yesterday that the Republican party is "trying to buy back he Negro vote" with the measure. That is the only reason the bill was framed and introduced. Yet some of the Democratic members of Congress are supporting the measure, guided by the fear of losing some Negro votes if they oppose it.

Only three lynchings were reported in the South during 1939. Not a one occurred in Georgia. Steady and marked improvement in this condition has been made throughout the past half century. There is not only no need for any national legislation in regard to the matter, but such action is an insult to the South.

While these three lynchings were known, many of these officers did not turn a hand to were taking place in the South prevent them. during 1939, there were scores of gangster murders that took place under the noses of law enforcement officers in northern cities, and, if the truth

LaGrange, Ga News
January 10, 1940

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL AGAIN

Congress is again in the throws of debate on a federal anti-lynching bill, a show put on for the benefit of the congressional candidates in the north who hope to court the negro vote. The bill has no merit and there is no practical need of such a law as the crime of lynching has declined almost to the point of disappearance. The law would also usurp the right of states to handle their own problems in their own way. Representatives Tarver, Brown and Pate of Georgia were on the floor of the house Tuesday vigorously assailing the measure as unconstitutional and as an insult to the South. More power to them and to every southern representative who takes up the fight. Every man of them should be in there with all the power possible.

In any historical interpretation of the constitution the law, if passed, would be thrown out by the Supreme Court, but we have seen enough of present New Deal interpretation of the Constitution to realize that the "rights reserved to the states" have all but disappeared. The fight will have have to be made in the House and in the Senate and we hope our representatives and our senators fight to the last ditch.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

GEORGIA

6420

Editorial of the Day

A FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW: WHY?

(From The Texas Weekly.)

The issue in respect to the Gavagan bill, it is fair to say, is not between those who are indifferent to mob violence and those who are opposed to it. The real issue is between centralists and state rightists. This means, of course, that the controversy over the misnamed anti-lynching measure itself is but a phase of a much more momentous conflict—the most momentous of our time. If the senate of the United States were to follow the example set by the house of representatives and make the Gavagan bill part of the law of the land, the advocates of greater centralization in government would have a right to hail that action as an important victory for their point of view. But it would not be a victory for the south. It would not be a victory for those Americans who are concerned for the maintenance of the federal form of government in this Union of sovereign states. The bill must be defeated; further power must not be concentrated in the federal government at the expense of the rights of the states.

THE LYNCHING BILL.

(From The Detroit Free Press.)

The extent to which there is actual need for a federal lynching law is indicated by the fact that last year there were only three lynchings in all the United States, and one of these really was an assassination.

The measure passed by the house, and now before the senate, is purely a political bill designed to catch votes.

The danger in it as an invasion of the police power, and consequently of the sovereignty of the states, is indicated by the efforts to make it extend to killings incident to labor troubles and to ordinary gang murders, and to insert in it anti-picketing amendments.

The bill should die in the senate committee. There is a good chance that it will.

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
January 11, 1940

THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

The anti-lynching bill is once more in the lap of the Senate. It has been passed by the House, as was to be expected. It will now go to the Senate for approval or rejection. There are a number of indications that this bit of unwise legislation will find far more difficult sledding in the Senate than was true in the House. In fact, a number of Senators have announced that they will "talk the bill to death". If they are sincere in that postion, it is entirely possible that final approval of the measure may be defeated.

In the light of the lynching record for 1939 there is little, or no, reason for enactment of the anti-lynching bill. During the past year there were only 3 lynchings in the United States. There were a number of instances in which officers of the law thwarted efforts at mob violence. There is good reason to believe that the unfortunate and unjustifiable acts of mob violence will finally be wiped out by the force of public opinion and the determination of officers to use every possible effort to prevent such occurences.

The bill which passed the House yesterday was amended in one important particular, and this amendment, should go a long way toward insuring the eventual defeat of the measure. This change, in effect, provides that violent deaths during strikes and other labor disturbances shall come in the same classification as what we here in the South commonly refer to as lynchings.

In former times when the finger of scorn was pointed at the South because of lynchings, little was said about the many deaths which occurred during strikes. At the very time when certain Northern members of Congress were clamoring for federal legislation against lynching, there were instances of men being killed by mobs of labor rioters. We fail to see the difference between a lynching by a mob of Southerners who have been inflamed by some crime against womanhood or some wanton slaying—these being—the major causes of lynching in the past—and mob murder in a labor disturbance.

If ever in the past there has been need of federal legislation to curb lynchings, this need seems to have been eliminated by the sharp reduction in the number of such occurences.

The proposed bill provides that a penalty of $10,000 may be exacted by the members of the family of the victim of a lynching from the county in which the violent death took place. Some opponents of the legislation have contended, with good reason, that such a law might increase such acts of violence, since family members might be encouraged to foster lynchings in the hope of collecting the penalty.

We hesitate to agree with such a position, since we would very much dislike to believe that ther are families so depraved as to condone such an occurrence.

Be that as it may, there seems little or no reasonable argument for anti-lynching legislation at this time and we trust that the Senate will do the things necessary to prevent enactment of the measure.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
January 12, 1940

Crackerland
In Washington

Certain Death Apparently Awaits Gavagan Anti-Lynch Bill in Senat

BY RALPH SMITH

The Atlanta Journal Bureau
Mayflower Hotel,
Washington, Jan. 12.

THE HOUSE of Representatives Wednesday completed another chapter in a controversy that has raged intermittently in Congress for the last three decades. It passed by an overwhelming majority the so-called anti-lynching bill, authored this time by Joseph A. Gavagan, a Democratic member from New York, representing that section of the city popularly described as Harlem, which is heavily populated with Negroes.

The Gavagan bill goes to the Senate, there to die peacefully of suffocation in a committee pigeon-hole, or be clubbed to death in an old-fashioned filibuster. It is whispered, rather knowingly, that the former fate awaits the measure, thanks to a gentleman's agreement born of a desire to keep living a controversial issue that is no more helpful to Gavagan and his ilk in the North than it is to congressmen and senators in the South on occasions.

Invalid, Nugatory, Unconstitutional

I am neither a lawyer nor the son of a lawyer, but I have heard the anti-lynch law discussed so fully and so freely for so many years that I am convinced beyond peradventure that the proposal is a delusion and a snare.

It is seriously to be doubted if there is a lawyer in Congress, either Democrat or Republican, who honestly and seriously believes that the Supreme Court of the United States, in its most flexible mood, could bring itself to sustain the constitutionality of the proposal.

If, though, the proposal fell within the purview of the Federal Constitution and there were a method of testing its validity, sanity and sound judgment suggest that an anti-lynch act would be inoperative, worthless and nugatory. A congressional enactment aimed at an evil that has all but disappeared.

There were only three lynchings in the United States last year, and the time is not so far distant when there will be none—none anyhow, that can be attributed to racial prejudice, or sectional in its setting.

It is appreciation of these perfectly patent facts that inspire the belief that anti-lynch agitation in Congress is purely political and wholly demagogic. A controversy without merit—washed up and washed out long ago.

A Tough Reportorial Assignment

It is just as well, perhaps, that the public interest in the anti-lynch law isn't what it used to be, for there are few more difficult undertakings than reporting in the most skeletonized way a discussion in the House of Representatives, let alone doing full justice to a flock of speakers.

A member of the House is entitled to have his remarks on a public question fairly, if not fully reported in the papers. No matter how deep his personal convictions and sentiment, a member usually sounds off in part for the benefit of home consumption. But suppose you have a dozen, or more, members speaking during the course of a single day on the same side of the same subject?

That was the situation in the debate on the Gavagan anti-lynch bill. Hopefully outnumbered, Southern members generally, and with their usual vigor, blasted the legislation.

There were many excellent oratorical efforts expended.

It was impractical to do half justice to any of the speeches without unfairly disregarding others equally deserving of consideration. The Press Associations that usually follow congressional deliberations with care and impartiality, found it impossible to mention by name all the speakers for and against the bill.

It is a situation of this sort I suppose, that emphasizes the importance and usefulness of the Congressional Record. Every word uttered in the debate was stenographically reported, and later published in the Record, so that contributing members can, and no doubt they will, have reprinted from the Record the speeches they delivered . . . and these, happily, will be circulated among constituents by way of reminding them (1) that their Congressman was present and on the job and (2) that his opposition to the pernicious anti-lynch bill has mellowed none through the years.

Washington's Colony of Crackers

The City of Washington boasts societies representing every state in the Union—social clubs, they are, and composed of temporary residents and others now permanently domiciled here. It is the claim of Crackers that their Georgia State Society is tops in point of membership and social influence—an attestation, they say, of the genial and social nature of Georgians.

The permanent enrollment of the Georgia Society approximates 1,000 members, while its roster of "occasional associates" swells its sphere of activity to an astonishing figure. The actual number, nobody knows, because, as Tom Camp suggests, the entertainments of the society rarely attract the same throng, "barring regulars."

The first entertainment of the society—and dance at the Shoreham Hotel—was marked by the installation of officers for the current year—Congressman Hugh Peterson, of the First District, president; E. D. Worthy, of Carrollton, first vice president; Dr. L. E. Hand, of Pelham, second vice president; Thomas L. Camp, of Fairburn, third vice president; Lacey W. Hinely, of Effingham County, secretary; Mrs. Leone Barber, of Milledgeville, treasurer, and Mrs. J. W. Thurston, of Dublin, financial secretary.

Borrowing an expression often and well used in football reports, Mrs. Thurston "sparks" the Georgia Society. To her interest and untiring energy the club owes its success. It was she who largely, through her own initiative, revived the organization some years ago and by dint of efforts and enthusiasm lifted it to the top among the state societies of the National Capital.

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

GEORGIA

6421

Cordele, Ga Dispatch
January 4, 1940

The Anti-Lynch Bill Again

Now that Congress is re-opening, one of the first hints of a coming fight is heard in the statement by Representative Gavagan of New York that he proposes to bring up his anti-lynching bill again as soon as possible.

The passage of any national legislation against lynching is about on a par with the passage of legislation against stealing your mother-in-law's glass eye. The crimes are about equally prevalent. According to a recent report from Tuskegee Institute, which has for years conducted an annual investigation of lynchings, there were three of these crimes last year, 2 in Florida and 1 in Mississippi. This is exactly half the number in 1938 and five less than the number the year before.

To begin with, the term "lynching" is a deliberately applied misnomer designed to differentiate identical crimes which occur in different sections of the country. While we haven't the figures at hand to prove our statement we haven't the slightest doubt that there were at least a dozen "gang murders" in Representative Gavagan's own home state last year. These murders are different in name only from a Southern lynching.

Advocates of this anti-lynch bill seem to harbor the impression that because we Southerners are fighting it tooth and toenail, that we are in some way condoning lynchings This is as great a fallacy as the philogisten theory. We aren't fighting because we are in favor of lynchings. We are fighting what we consider to be the greatest and most flagrant attempt at discriminatory legislation which we have seen since the War Between the States.

Let us hope that this latest revival of what should have been a long dead piece of idiotic legislation will come to naught. And let us pledge ourselves to lend every bit of support which our representatives need to beat such an infamous bill.

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
February 2, 1940

AGAINST ANTILYNCH LAW

With Congress in session and many pressing problems needing a solution, the nation once more hears the cry from certain quarters for an antilynch law. The interests that are behind the legislation do not appear to be at all familiar with the sharp reduction in mob deaths that has come about in recent years and they do not appear to have any consideration for the relative importance of issues that now confront the Congress.

There can be little or no justification for once more bringing this legislation to the front. If and when it is presented there is certain to be a bitter fight—a fight that will last for weeks, maybe months. Such a fight in Congress will endanger other far more important activities of Senators and Representatives.

There is little or no general demand for an antilynch law. In fact, many newspapers and other publications that have in the past urged the enactment of the bill have come to the belief that it is not necessary in the light of recent developments in curtailment of lynchings. Collier's magazine is one of these. In the past Collier's has not always been as friendly to the South as many of would have liked and it has often been very critical of happenings in this part of the country. Collier's sees no need for such legislation.

Discussing the proposed antilynch law Collier's has the following to say:

"It comes out that lynchings in the United States during the year 1939 hit an all-time low—three for the whole nation, with one of the victims a white man.

"The news makes us wonder whether we need the antilynch legislation that bobs up in almost every session of Congress, causes various law-makers to fight the Civil War all over again with their mouths, and comes fairly close to passing but has never passed yet.

"Without such a law, lynching has been cut down in this country from a peak of 231 mob murderes in 1892 to the three reported last year. The thing has been accomplished by education of public opinion. Press, educators, clergy—all the forces of civic decency—have crusaded against this barbaric custom for sixty years.

"Lynching seems to be definitely on the run in this country, though, of course, the total may swing above three this year or next or later.

"But until and unless lynchings threaten to go a long way toward that 1892 peak of 231, we'd say it would be wise to keep up the nonpolitical crusading and sidetrack the proposed legislation. A law decreeing some reform should be the last recourse. It's far better to bring about a reform by bringing public opinion around to favoring it—and civic decency, in the matter of lynching as in all others, is better generated voluntarily inside any community than imposed from outside."

Thomasville, Ga. Times-Enterprise
January 10, 1940

ANTI-LYNCH BIL

T2

The anti-lynching bill is up before the house or perhaps ere this appears in print will have been passed by the house and sent to the senate. There it is expected to meet with some more definite resistance and perhaps a filibuster that may delay its passage to a later period. It is certainly not so important as to be allowed to deter necessary legislation, altho it is one of the factional disputes that will not be settled with any degree of clarity or perpetuity no matter what legislation is passed.

Some states of the country have flouted the federal government on many points, practically all of them connected with the method of handling the racial question in the south. That has been a matter that is respected by the majority of our people who know conditions and realize the need for some handling in the southern states, despite federal laws and regulations Lynching is reprehensible and degrading and the south wants it abolished and yet there is not any reason to think that it can be secured by a law, any more than murder, altho regarded by some of those who indulge it as a mere means of certifying and speeding the due processes of law. It can never be that, but it is not a thing that should be bandied about in the present form of controversy as a sop to negro voters or south haters.

It will be fought out again, to no good and with perhaps a chance for dangerous reactions. However the politics of the situation demand it and the present democratic party is composed largely in the north of republicans that were disgusted with Hoover and left the party. There is no certainty that the south will be penalized severely by the law but it certainly opens the way for similar treatment in other matters of even less import.

Albany, Ga. Herald
January 14, 1940

This Is My Personal Column

By H. T. M.

LYNCHING VIEW FROM BOSTON

The Gavagan anti-lynching bill passed the House of Representatives with votes to spare, though every member who voted against it or for it, as well as those who found it convenient to refrain from voting, knew that a sincere desire to suppress lynching had nothing whatever to do with passage of the Gavagan measure.

Here we see attempted a pernicious form of meddling with business of the states by the Federal government. This bill will die in the Senate, where Southern members will talk it to death if other methods of preventing a vote should fail. What Southern members of both branches of Congress know is that enactment of the Gavagan bill into law probably would aggravate the lynching evil, and that it would be far more likely to injure than to protect Negroes living in Southern states.

The Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston and widely quoted throughout the nation, sees clearly the folly of this latest attempt to buy Negro votes in Northern states. The Monitor declares that the alleged objectives of the Gavagan bill have already been attained by the Southern people, and adds this eminently sensible observation:

"Whereas the number of lynchings in the United States during the 1880's and 1890's used to exceed one hundred a year, it was recorded on this page just a few days ago that only three such crimes took place in the United States during 1939. What has brought about this momentous change? To some extent, the pressure of public opinion and criticism in the North. But for much the greater part, a revulsion of public feeling and a tremendous change of thought due to education by awakened Southerners. Vastly more for the glory of Southern womanhood has been done by Southern womanhood itself in the campaign to eradicate lynching than could ever have been done by the apologists of lawlessness.

"But now that the campaign has been substantially won, just why should there be such a political effort to impose financial penalties upon a county which happens to have been the scene of a lynching? The answer appears to be mainly that it is an effort to capitalize upon the Negro vote of a few Northern communities. Honest law enforcement in some of the thousands of other homicide cases may be more important than the marshaling of Federal penalties against the few remaining cases of mob violence. Education rather than Federal legislation has already shown itself to be the remedy for lynching."

Elberton, Ga., Star
January 5, 1940

The lynch bill comes up again before congress. The Tuskeegee record shows only three lynchings in the country during the past year, and a continual decrease every year for past several years. The bill is an effort of eastern politicians to win and control the negro vote. With the record before him, it does seem that he would see the politics in the effort, and agree that there is no need for the federal enactment. It is to the interest of the negro in the south that the bill does not pass.

LYNCHINGS_ 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

MISSISSIPPI

6416

McComb, Miss. Journal
January 23, 1940

PROPONENTS OF "ANTI-LYNCHING" BILL HAVE ENDLESS ARGUMENT

Members of congress, proponents of the so-called "Anti-Lynching" bill will have one less leg to stand on in "pointing to the record" if investigation made by the Baltimore Evening Sun is correct and the facts will be hard to controvert.

In its yearly summary of mob violence for 1939 Tuskegee Institute reported three lynchings during the year just closed. Rather a sizeable drop from previous years and definite proof that the states are able to and are coping successfully with the lynching problem.

But now comes the Baltimore paper to show that even the three reported was excessive. In one instance, the paper says, the negro listed as having been lynched had run over and killed a 12 year old boy. He was arrested and was being taken to jail when two brothers of the slain boy blocked the road with their car and shot the negro to death. This hardly was a "lynching."

And to show that other cases in previous years might have been improperly classified as lynchings the paper recalls an Arkansas case in which a negro, fleeing after a murder had been committed, was shot and killed in an exchange of shots with a member of a sheriff's posse. This, the Sun says was listed as a "lynching."

And the trite question is asked, if these instances are "lynchings" why is not the cases of gangsters in northern and eastern cities, shot in clashes with officers so regarded?

All of which are questions to be answered. But in the last analysis, it has been rather definitely shown that the real motive behind the demand for the passage of an anti-lynching bill is prompted primarily as a chance for congressional oratory for the benefit for negro constituents of those who would do the "decanting."

The people of the South are the real friends of the negro. This has been proven, over and over, and demonstrated every day. Law-abiding members of the negro race will bear this out.

So far as the anti-lynching bill is concerned, there is small chance for its enactment. True, it has passed the house, but there is every evidence that it will be given a death blow in th senate. And, if by any chance, it should get by in the senate it would still need the president's approval. That is remote but, in that contingency, the courts would have to decide its constitutionality.

It never could stand the test in the courts.

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The Irish have a problem on their hands—what to do about the celebration of St. Patrick's Day. It so happens that St. Patrick's Day—a day given by the "Wearing of the Green" to feasting and dancing—falls on Palm Sunday, one of the most solemn days of the church calendar. Suggestions have been advanced that celebrations of the laity—usually held on the traditional day, March 17—be deferred until April 3. Joseph E. Kerrigan, national president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, said inquiries had been received from all sections of the country.

Eupora, Miss. Progress
January 11, 1940

Al. i-Lynching Bill Again

There's much ado in the newspapers about federal taxes, the budget, farm relief, and other controversial issues, but the main issue worrying Democratic leaders is the anti-lynching bill, brought over from last session.

Due to come up in the House this week, because of Northern strength it is sure to pass; but when it hits the Senate, where debate is unlimited, it is destined to cause much demoralization in the Democratic ranks.

Republican leaders, in this election year, will push the measure to the front, and keep it there. Of no importance, whatever, in relation to current problems, yet it provides a potent political wedge with which the Republicans may split the Democratic party wide open. The present session of Congress should be an interesting one.

Jackson, Miss. News
January 13, 1940

FDR WOULDN'T SIGN

Stick a pin in this prediction:

If the anti-lynching bill passed in the lower house of Congress Wednesday should pass the Senate—which it won't—it will be vetoed by President Roosevelt.

Furthermore, FDR will submit some excellent reasons for doing so. He knows the South and its people. He knows the negro problem much better than many folks credit him with knowing it.

The President knows that suppression of lynching can better be accomplished through appeals to public sentiment than with a stern statute on the subject that would have an effect exactly opposite that intended.

However, FDR will never be called upon to approve or disapprove the anti-lynching bill. It will never reach his desk for signature.

Gulfport, Miss. Herald
January 11, 1940

DID IT AGAIN

The House now has a habit of passing an annual anti-lynch bill. It is as perennial as the Statistical Abstract. Down here the people hope there will be no lynchings. The sheriffs of two Southwest Mississippi Counties have arrested and shielded two negroes who killed public peace officers, and even called upon the Governor for militia aid, and the Governor furnished that aid. More than that reasonably cannot be expected.

But people who live elsewhere and have no local or personal concern, and certainly little understanding of conditions that are not explained with the nicety of statistical tables and mathematical precision, think they have achieved a great victory by passing this House bill. The manner and spirit of doing this every year indicates a temper of belligerency instead of philosophy and real earnest effort to help correct a condition which they think is a national sore spot aggravated by some of their fellow citizens in another section of the country—which has not always received much sympathy or consideration for the white people therein in the days and years past—naturally calls for a fight, because the bill is directed against the South where certain conditions unfortunately have existed at times, but, which of themselves have improved very greatly as the years have passed.

The fact that there were only three lynchings last year must have been a great disappointment to some people.

The true temper of the proponents of this measure, and their holier-than-thou, more lawful-than-thou and better-than-thou attitude are shown by the House rejection of Congressman Colmer's amendment to extend the act to "gang murders", committed generally in a section not of the South; and by striking out a provision which would have stripped from the definition of lynching those crimes of violence occurring during strikes and labor disputes. And those offenses against law, which are legally and from all viewpoints mob violence, occur in the States who now vote with false sympathy in passing a bill like that just sent to the Senate.

Wherefore, the bill will be more duly debated than it was in the House. But that body has made its usual gesture and is satisfied.

6411

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

NEGRO PRESS, NORTHERN

Rankin Of Mississippi Is Leading Race Baiter

Leads All Negrophobists as South Fails to Halt Lynch Bill Passage.

By A. E. WHITE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.—(ANP)—Painting the Southern Negro as the "most desperate character in the world when he seeks out white women," the "gentleman" (designated as such by the Speaker of the House) from Mississippi, one John E. Rankin, representing the First District of his State, takes first place as the champion Negrophobe of the United States House of Representatives after his speech before a crowded legislative body here Wednesday against the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, which passed, 254 to 132.

Repeatedly using the term "nigger" in his tirade against passage of the bill, Rankin asserted:

"If they ever send another nigger to Congress from New York, and I hope they never do, I pray that he will be so black that charcoal will make a white mark on him."

Lashing out at Representative Gavagan, who had made a brilliant, scholarly defense of his bill earlier in the morning, Southerner after Southerner pleaded for the defeat of the bill.

THAT'S WHERE ALL THE BAD N——S ARE

"We know how to handle these folks; they are our folk and we can do more with and for them than you folks up North.

"When they go bad for us, we send them to Harlem. That's where all the bad n——rs are." Rankin said.

One speaker had a threatening tone in his voice as he declared:

"Pass this bill and every person effected in the South will be absent when a n——r commits a crime."

PACKED GALLERIES HEAR DENUNCIATORS

So deeply imbedded is the crime of rape in the opponents of the bill, it seems as if this crime is the most prevalent in the South, for no arguments against the bill's constitutionality were offered, although Rep. Sam Hobbs, of Alabama, made an impasioned speech crying out against the "injustice" of the bill, aimed as he said, at one section of the country.

Packed galleries listened intently as orator after orater besmirched the character of Negroes and exalted the white womanhood of the South. Into the Congressional Record went story after story in sordid details emphasizing the "brutal Negro rapists" who, according to the representatives from those districts, prowl the Southland.

Monday, when the bill was first called, Southern Congressmen, led by Eugene Cox of Georgia, launched their fruitless fight.

Said Mr. Cox: "This is a miserably sorry bargaining away of the respect and integrity of the South for the Negro votes of the North. It is the Harlem District of New York exercising more influence with the party in power than the whole white South.

Representative Wadsworth was calm in his denunciation of the bill, calling it a "snare and a delusion," declaring that an educational program would be the far better solution. He pointed out that the country had 100 lynchings or more annually just a few years ago, dropping to a new low of three in 1939.

TOM CONNALY, TEXAS SENATOR, BEHIND MOVE

Hopes To Block Measure; May Use 'Stooges'

In Attempt

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 26—Hearings on the federal anti-lynching bill which passed the House January 10 will begin before a Senate sub-committee of the judiciary on February 6, it was announced here Friday.

The following senators will make up the sub-committee of the Senate judiciary committee: Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana, chairman; Matthew M. Neeley, West Virginia; Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin; Tom Connally, Texas and Warren Austin, Vermont.

Connally Demands Hearings

Although the facts about lynching are well known and sponsors of the bill felt it would be a waste of time to hold hearings, Senator Connally of Texas demanded hearings on the bill.

Connally says he is going to ask for an appropriation from the Senate to bring witnesses to testify against the bill.

The Texas senator, who led the seven-week filibuster against the bill two years ago, hopes to be able to block it in hearings.

May Use "Stooges"

Predictions are made that he will bring up "stooges," including some "Uncle Tom" Race members from Texas, who will declare the anti-lynching bill is not needed in the South.

Friends of the bill will try to have some of the Senate appropriation for witnesses applied to their witnesses also, but it was pointed out by Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here this week that Race people must raise its own money to pay expenses of witnesses for its side.

Seek More Information

Additional information on lynchings, near-lynchings and concealed lynchings is sought by the N.A.A.C.P. for presentation to the hearings

All persons having affidavits, or newspaper clippings and other records that can constitute incontrovertible evidence, were requested by Mr. White to send this information at once to the national office of the N.A.A.C.P., 69 Fifth avenue, New York City.

PRESSURE ON FOLK BACK HOME WILL DETERMINE FATE OF LYNCH BILL--WHITE

N.A.A.C.P. Secretary Urges Citizens to "Write Your Senator"

1-26-40

NEW YORK. — "We're going to have a tough fight to pass the anti-lynching bill in the Senate. Whether or not we will win this fight depends almost entirely on the pressure that can be exerted, and exerted at once, by the people back home."

Washington

This was the statement made by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as a forecast of what is to happen to the Gavagan- Fish Anti-Lynching bill which passed the House on Wednesday, January 10, by a vote of 252 to 131, and has been sent to the Senate.

The NAACP secretary, pointing out what is necessary to be done now, in the fight to pass the bill in the Senate, said he believes that Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, an avowed enemy of the bill, will insist on holding hearings.

Although Senator Henry F. Ashurst (D.) of Arizona, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has not announced the names of members of the sub-committee which will hold hearings, it is understood that Senator Connally will probably be a member of the committee.

"Write Your Senator"

Mr. White urged individuals and organizations interested in pushing the passage of the bill through to:

"Write to your Senator and tell him that you want hearings to be held at once, and that you want him to exert his influence to bring this about, and that you urge him to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster is started against the the bill."

The secretary of the NAACP said that the association plans to corral witnesses from many of the Southern States and to have them testify, when hearings are held. Many of these witnesses, will come from Texas, the home state of Vice President Garner, Senator Connally, and Representative Martin Dies.

"These witnesses," he said, "will show that in Texas, which has had more than 500 lynchings to its credit since statistics were first undertaken in 1882, continues to operate as one of the key Southern States where denial of civil liberties, leading to lynchings, has been most flagrant."

Urging that citizens buy anti-lynching buttons, Mr. White added: "We need money badly to carry this fight forward. That is why we want to see every one of our 152,000 anti-lynching buttons sold.

Commenting on the passage of the bill in the House this week, he said:

"Two things stand out in the passage of the bill in the House. The first is that Representative Joseph Gavagan, who made such a spirited fight two years ago, saw the results of his labor, this week. There was a mildness about the Southern reaction to the bill today, except for the tirades of Rankin, of Mississippi and Cox of Georgia, that was absent two years ago. With Representative Gavagan driving forward in his usual hard-hitting manner, the bill went through despite opposition.

"The second important note in the House fight was the appreciation by Representatives of the fact that the Negro vote in 1940 is an important balance of power in those states which will have the final say about the Presidental election, and that this vote is increasingly intelligent and independent."

The NAACP secretary made it clear that every effort will be welcomed from throughout the South to supply authentic information in the form of signed affidavits, records about conditions surrounding of court proceedings, and newspaper clippings in order to assure authenticity.

The information should be mailed promptly to National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York. He stressed the importance of dratting the information in the lynchings and near lynchings in their communities, particularly in Texas.

U.S. SENATE AND THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Is the United States Senate again to be used as a mortuary for the federal anti-lynching bill?

Will progressive America stand idly by and see the bill buried in the Senate Judiciary committee or talked to death by Southern senators who hold their offices mainly because the chief beneficiaries of an anti-lynching act, the Negroes and poor whites, cannot vote?

When one reads the Negro press, he gets the feeling that our people are entirely too confident of the bill's final passage and that there has been a general laxness in the whole fight to secure its passage. We felt the same confidence, last year, only to see the bill killed through a filibuster of oratory about "the bestiality of Negro manhood" staged by Senators Tom Connally, of Texas; Allen Ellender, of Louisiana, and Pat Harrison, of Mississipi.

We cannot believe even after having read the works of the Rev. Thomas Dixon, that "the virtue of Southern womanhood" and we think of black as well as white women, will be adversely affected by a bill whose purpose is to guarantee equal rights before the law to everybody accused of any offense. We know that the Southern Women's Committee to Abolish Lynching has fought side by side with representatives of colored organizations to secure the passage of the bill. We have heard somewhere that a white mill girl in Georgia, working for less than five dollars a week, is as liable through necessity to lose her virtue as a struggling dime-store girl in Chicago.

Opponents of the bill are arguing that there were only three officially-recorded lynchings in 1938; that this figure proves that lynching is dying out of its own accord, making legislation to stop it unnecessary.

But "death in the Deep South" is not always a matter of a crowd and a coroner's report. The International Labor Defense, which saved the lives of the nine Scottsboro boys and which has never had anything to hide from the Negro people, recently issued a report with names, dates, and places showing that at least 25 people lost their lives, in circumstances approximating lynching, at the hands of one or more persons during 1939.

If a sharecropper organizer is waylaid in a creek bottom and shot by the hired henchman of some planter, he is to all intents and purposes a victim of lynch law. If a Negro farmhand in North Carolina is shot by his employer for trying to collect wages due, he too has been a victim of the Southern indoor sport which has disgraced a region and a nation.

Ever since 1922, all efforts to pass an anti-lynching measure from the pioneer one introduced by Ex-Congressman Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri, have been defeated by Dixie bourbons who have used the halls of the people to advertise their barbaric cannibal-like ideas concerning "the place of the Negro."

The black man, who fought for American independence in the ragged uniforms of the Colonial army, whose powerful resistance in the South turned the tide of the Civil war, has been denounced on the floor of the United States as "sub-human," as "someone who must be taken care of" presumably on sowbelly and tar buckets—and a person who must not be given his full manhood rights lest somebody —presumably the plantation and mill owners —might be challenged in their own seats of power.

This disgraceful exhibition has come to be a tradition of the United States Senate and was repeated last year under the approving eye of Vice President John N. Garner who comes from Texas where Negroes have no vote. After the anti-lynching bill had been murderously done to death, a Senate committee conducted a solemn hearing on another bill, introduced by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, to deport all Negroes back to Liberia.

Deporting Senator Bilbo back to Mississippi might help matters. But let us face the grim fact that the United States Senate is not going to pass the anti-lynching bill unless the combined voice of black and white America penetrates behind the dusty doors of the Judiciary committee.

Now is the time to burn up the wires and flood the mails with telegrams and letters to Illinois Senators Scott W. Lucas and James F Slattery, in Washington, demanding that they use their influence to bring the bill out of the Judiciary committee and pass it by the overwhelming majority that will express America's desire to see the measure become a part of our organic law.

These messages should also demand that the Senate apply its seldom-enforced cloture rule to silence the soft-speaking, hard-hearted gentlemen, who act as if they were Senators of the old slave Confederacy instead of the United States. Nobody should object to keeping Pat Harrison quiet for awhile. After all, Negroes in his home state of Mississippi have to keep quiet about all the matters affecting them most vitally and must accept insults with a smile.

But let us not fall into the equally grave mistake of thinking that we Negroes can secure passage of the anti-lynching bill alone or that we are the only ones interested in seeing the bill passed.

The poor white of the South also meets death at the end of a greased rope in that sullen land of cotton and pellagra. From the very heart of the South, white men holding cards in CIO unions and in the Workers Alliance are demanding that this bill become the law of the land. The white Georgia Baptist convention recently took cognizance of the lynching evil by passing a resolution denouncing it along with the twin evil of peonage.

Passage of the anti-lynching bill will be a long step toward the creation of a New South and a New South will be a step toward a new nation.

SEND WITNESSES TO SENATE HEARINGS ON ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

N.A.A.C.P. Branches in Texas Raise Money To Send Colored and Whites Who Will Describe Mob Activity

NEW YORK.— An active campaign to raise funds to send witnesses to Washington to testify at the forthcoming hearings on the anti-lynching bill is being carried on by branches of the N.A.A.C.P. in Texas, the home state of Vice-President Garner, Senator Tom Connally, and Representative Martin Dies, the association announced here.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys, (D), of Indiana, co-author of the bill, together with Senators Wagner and Capper, and chairman of the subcommittee which will conduct the hearings, told the N.A.A.C.P. that the hearings will begin, as previously announced, on February 6. His statement came in response to reports that the hearings would begin on January 30.

Among the witnesses will be a distinguished white churchman, who will tell the dramatic story of his attempt to prevent a double lynching in a southern state, the N.A.A.C.P. announcement said.

"These witnesses," the statement continued, "will answer the oft-repeated assertions by individuals and some groups in the South that statistics 'prove' that lynching is dead and therefore there is no need to have a federal anti-lynching bill, because the states have succeeded in checking this crime. The N.A.A.C.P. witnesses are able to withstand the reported vigorius barrage that Senator Connally will put in motion when the hearings begin, and the statements of witnesses that he will bring to testify."

No names of Negro and white witnesses who will appear for the N.A.A.C.P. will be announced until the hearings begin, Association officials said, in order to prevent any efforts that might be made by enemies of the bill to anticipate their testimony.

The N.A.A.C.P. reiterated its call for authentic information, including signed affidavits, records and newspaper clippings on lynchings, near lynchings, and other activities growig out of this type of mob violence.

The information should be sent to the headquarters of the organization, 69 Fifth avenue, New York city.

MITCHELL TALKS 34 MINUTES FOR ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Congressman Injects Politics in Speech and Takes Dig at Republicans and Emmett J. Scott

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—One of the highlights of Tuesday's lengthy debate on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill was a 34-minute speech by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago, who not only urged support of the measure but took a dig at Republicans in general and one leader in particular believed to be Emmett J. Scott, although no names were called.

"The fate of a race lies in the passage of this bill," Mr. Mitchell began. Then he went on to tell of his own personal experiences in the South, in Alabama and in Georgia and what he had seen and heard while living there and what he had seen and heard since being away from the South.

Mr. Mitchell pleaded with his Democratic colleagues for their support in this instance as an assurance to the loyal Negroes of the South.

"When your fathers went to fight in the civil war, these same Negroes were loyal and didn't betray you. They are still loyal and won't betray you now," he said.

His pleas seemed to fall on deaf ears among his southern colleagues until he began making a political issue of the bill and started attacking Hamilton Fish, Republican.

Mr. Mitchell told of the desertion of the Republican party by the Negroes and of the efforts being made by Republicans to regain the Negro vote.

The question of "votes for sale" arose in the argument and Mr. Fish was quick to ask Mr. Mitchell,

"Does the Congressman mean that the Negro vote is for sale?"

"Every man's vote in the United States is for sale," snapped Mr. Mitchell,, "as long as it insures him liberty and happiness, no matter what party it is."

A slip of paper was quickly passed to Mr. Mitchell who was in the well of the House. Glancing at it, he nodded quickly to the writer and went on,

"And right now, the Republican party has hired a man here in Washington to try to lead the Negroes back to the Republican party whom we discredit just as we do the party he represents."

It is believed Mr. Mitchell was referring to Emmett J. Scott, former secretary of Howard university now in the publicity department of the National Republican committee. Mr. Scott recently released a story showing that Mr. Mitchell was involved in some affair with the WPA job juggling, causing considerable annoyance to the congressman

Following Mr. Mitchell's speech several other members of the house spoke, either for or against passage of the bill, with Congressman Gavagan winding up the debate.

WALTER WHITE ASKS CITIZENS IN ALL STATES TO WRITE OR WIRE SENATORS IMMEDIATELY

N. A. A. C. P. Head Says Organizations and Individuals Should Urge Congressmen To Vote For Cloture Rule

NEW YORK.—"We're going to have a tough fight to pass the anti-lynching bill in the senate. Whether or not we will win this fight depends almost entirely on the pressure that can be exerted, and exerted at once by the people back home."

This was the statement made by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as a forecast of what is to happen to the Gavagan-Fish anti-lynching bill which passed the House on Wednesday, January 10, by a vote of 252 to 131, and has been sent to the Senate.

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Write Your Senator

Mr. White urged individuals and organizations interested in pushing the passage of the bill through to:

"Write to your senator and tell him that you want hearings to be held at once, and that you want him to exert his influence to bring this about, and that you urge him to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) if a filibuster is started against the bill."

The secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. said that the association plans to corral witnesses from many of the southern states and to have them testify, when hearings are held. Many of these witnesses will come from Texas, the home state of Vice-President Garner, Senator Connally and Representative Martin Dies. "These witnesses," he said, "will show that in Texas, which has had more than 500 lynchings to its credit since statistics were first undertaken in 1882, continues to operate as one of the key southern states where denial of civil liberties, leading to lynchings, has been most flagrant."

Urges Button Buying

Urging that citizens buy anti-lynching buttons, Mr. White added: "We need money badly to carry this fight forward. That is why we want to see every one of our 125,000 anti-lynching buttons sold."

Commenting on the passage of the bill in the House this week, he said:

"Two things stand out in the passage of the bill in the House. The first is that Representative Joseph Gavagan, who made such a spirited fight two years ago, saw the results of his labor this week. There was a mildness about the Southern reaction to the bill today, except for the tirades of Rankin, of Mississippi and Cox of Georgia, that was absent two years ago. With Representative Gavagan driving forward in his usual hard-hitting manner, the bill went through despite opposition.

Seek Lynching Facts

"The second important note in the House fight was the appreciation by Representatives of the fact that the Negro vote in 1940 is an important balance of power in those states which will have the final say about the presidential election, and that this vote is increasingly intelligent and independent."

The N.A.A.C.P. secretary made it clear that every effort will be welcomed from throughout the South to supply authentic information about conditions surrounding lynchings and near lynchings in their communities, particularly in Texas.

The information should be mailed promptly to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. He stressed the importance of drafting the information in the form of signed affidavits, records of court proceedings and newspaper clippings, in order to assure authenticity.

Sidelights From Gallery During Anti-Lynch Fight

By A. E. WHITE

WASHINGTON, (ANP) — Lean gaunt John M. Robinson, member of the house from Kentucky, holds what is possibly the best record on the anti-lynch bill, having been a consistent voter for the bill since the first one was introduced way back in 1922. He is a Republican, formerly representative, then senator and again representative.

Time was when James W. Wadsworth, then senator of New York, was lit so highly praised by his Democratic colleagues but in these the twilight days of Jim's political career he is regarded by the Democrats "as the brainiest man in the Republican party and an American." What are all the others—or what is the opinion of some of the South's orators on the men of the G.O.P.?

Hatton W. Sumners, representative from Texas, where the whole state is Democratic, made an impassioned speech on Tuesday, in which his theme was "use your common sense" and "when the measure comes to a showdown, give the boys a vote." Humph.

Brother Hobbs and Brother Rankin (wouldn't that make them boil if they knew they were called brother) just dote on the "white supremacy" business and stuff like that. Wonder if they have any K.K.K. regalia stowed away. Brother Rankin looks something like the Little Colonel in that race-hatred inciting film, "Birth of a Nation." Perhaps he is aping that worthy.

Party lines were smashed as the vote was taken and the Solid South once again went down to defeat in a Lost Cause in the house. They have high hopes for the senate though and want to see the bill crushed.

Blaming the whites for selling the Negroes into slavery, the southern representatives went to town on everything except the constitutionality of the bill and the legal aspects of it. They believe it a direct slap at the South. And even while the bill was being debated, a clipping read by Rep. Gavagan told of an attempted lynching of two Negroes in Mississippi—and did that get a rise out of the fair headed boys of the "poor house of the Union."

Democratic party, and Mrs. Constance Daniels said "you have to expect a couple of these blood and thunder speeches." So——

And right in front of us, Walter F. White, generalissimo of the N.A.A.C.P. forces, erpressionless, watching the tide of battle as it fluctuated back and forth. And with him, former Judge W. C. Hastie, equally as motionless.

Across the gallery, leaning intently forward, Edgar C. Brown, whiskers and all, taking in every word for and against the bill.

Atty. Mehlinger (who can tell an interesting story on lynch mobs) praised Gavagan's speech from his vantage point in the third row of the gallery.

Welfare Man Gray of the National Alliance of Postal Employes and the president of the organization sat in on the hearings.

The vindictiveness and disdain of the southern representatives is something to behold. Their attitudes will be changed once the white primary rule of Dixie is broken.

Bruce Barton, New York, impeccably clad in a business suit of brown with accessories matching (hey, this ain't no beauty show) impressed as he quietly took his seat during the proceedings and voted a ringing "Aye."

George Tinkham, Massachusetts, quaint figure that he is, the friend of many Negroes in his own state and a fighter himself, saluting friends as he walked in and about the chamber.

All public galleries filled to capacity—with many Negroes listening in on the debate which was supposed to have ended on Tuesday. However, it ran over to Wednesday and the actual voting did not begin until 3:05. At 3:30 all was over and up in the gallery, folks began congratulating Walter White for the work he had done in this first half.

Comes now the fight in the senate where there are some real name callers and stallers. Until then, all will be peace.

LYNCHING BILL BEFORE CONGRESS

The Union
Cincinnati, Ohio

"Party Lines" Split, For or Against It!

1-11-40

Washington—(INS—Despite vicious attacks on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Republicans were set tonight to jam the measure through the House tomorrow and send it to the Senate.

Southern Senate Democrats, meanwhile, disclosed plans to "pigeon-hole" the measure in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator Tom Connally, Democrat, Texas, who led a successful filibuster against the measure in 1935 and again in 1937, announced that "extensive hearings" would be necessary before the Judiciary Committee.

Representative James W. Wadsworth, Republican, New York, deserting the G. O. P. backers of the bill, denounced it as a "futile measure that can never be enforced; one that is a snare and a delusion, which will bring bitter disillusionment ultimately to multitudes of good people."

An advocate of state's rights, Wadsworth highlighted the desultory House debate by declaring the bill would give the Federal Government "power to destroy the government of a country" and branded it as a "gigantic fraud."

HIT AS ILLEGAL.

"I do not believe," said Wadsworth, "that such a law could survive the light of day in a single court in this land unless the courts have reached the conclusion that there is no longer such a thing as a Federal union of sovereign states under the Constitution of the United States."

Chairman Hatton Sumners, Democrat, Texas, of the Judiciary Committee, which refused to approve the measure, told the House that the bill "violates fundamental natural laws underlying democracy."

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell Democrat, Illinois, the only Negro in Congress, called for passage of the bill to give the Negro "the right to be tried in the courts like anyone else." He denied lynchings are necessary to protect the women of the South.

Turning on Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican, New York, who sponsored a previous anti-lynching bill, Mitchell asserted the Republicans had "deluded the Negroes for 75 years" to obtain their votes, but that it was only since the New Deal came into power that the colored race had come into its own.

The Union

Representative Clare E. Hoffman, Republican, Michigan, attacked a provision in the bill which would exempt from the penalties imposed on counties, states and local police officials, responsibility for deaths caused in labor disputes by mobs.

"MORE LABOR DEATHS."

Within the last few years, he said, more deaths had occurred in labor disputes than by lynchings.

Representative Joseph A. Gavagan, Democrat, New York, who represents the Harlem district, previously had announced he would move to strike out the exemption on labor disputes. He unsuccessfully sought to interrupt Hoffman, but the Michigan member shouted:

Cincinnati, Ohio

"If someone in the South or someone in the North wants to lynch a white man or a colored man, all he needs to do to escape punishment under this act it to first create a labor dispute."

Washington — (AP) — Representative John M. Vorys, Republican, Ohio, termed lynching an "un-American" yet too typically American crime," and said, during House debate, the anti-lynching bill was an "effective and unconstitutional" solution.

Representative George H. Bender, Republican, Ohio, arguing for the bill, said it would give "strong encouragement" to State Legislatures to adopt similar measures.

Representative Clarence J. Brown, Republican, Ohio, deplored the existence of mob rule in a nation proclaimed as "the most democratic and most civilized" in the world.—Enquirer.

Democracy Must Safeguard Weak Says GOP Lynch Bill Supporte

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Anti-Lynching Bill was the first item on the Calendar in the House of Representatives Monday, January 8, forced there last July by a bipartisan vote of 116 Republicans, 99 Democrats, 2 Progressives, and 1 Laborite.

A petition discharging the House Rules Committee from consideration of the Bill had been on the Speaker's table for four months, where it was effectively bottled up and apparently dead.

The Union

Congressman Martin J. Kennedy, of New York, who opened the debate stated that Jackson Day is a most appropriate day to discuss so important a resolution. Andrew Jackson, he said, was a courageous and fearless man. He urged that the pending bill be considered in an atmosphere of good fellowship and brotherhood, and in a calm, friendly and dispassionate manner. He particularly emphasized the fact that there is nothing of sectional importance about this bill. It simply impliments our democracy to protect minorities against mob law wherever it may break out, he said.

Also, he called attention to the fact that the Nation is now warring on crime and that "the only gap is a lack of an Anti-Lynch Statute."

"Pass this Bill," he said, "and lynching, the crime against democracy and tolerance will be gone with the wind."

Unhappily, the debate did not proceed in the atmosphere challenged by Mr. Kennedy. Sectionalism and bitter recriminatory and racial antagonisms entered it. Tempers were frayed. Sectional emotionalism was to the forefront in many of the speeches made.

It remained for Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, the only Colored Member of Congress, to hotly charge the Republican Party with "trying to buy back the Colored vote" in supporting the pending Anti-Lynching Bill. Equally hot resentment followed this statement by several Republicans, including Representative Hamilton Fish of New York, and Representative McDowell, Republican of Pennsylvania. The latter accused Mr. Mitchell of trying to alienate the Republicans from the bill's support, and asserted that 98 per cent of his Party Colleagues would vote for it.

Congressman Mitchell's speech was assertedly in support of the Bill. His political charges brought into discussion, however, tangents calculated to wreck it by alienating Republican support.

Republican Congressman Robsion of Kentucky pointed out that "It is not a matter of votes for me. I have practically no Colored people in my district. In one county in my district there has not lived a colored person for forty years. It is not a question of politics, I want to say to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. We can entertain honest conviction on legislation as well as the gentlemen who opposed this legislation. I am honestly in favor of it and have been through the years . . .

"I believe this measure is constitutional and that we ought to wipe out forever this dark blot on our country, because America is the worst sinner of any country in the world for murdering people by mob violence. There is no excuse for it. This law will stop it. I think it is constitutional, and I just as earnestly support it as my distinguished friend from Texas (Mr. Summers) opposes it."

Congressman Clarence J. Brown, Republican of Ohio declared: "We hear much of the struggle throughout the world to maintain democracy. From the lips of some of those who oppose this measure comes at other times the loudest protestations of belief in democracy. Let me say, here and now, that if democracy is to continue to live throughout the world and here in our beloved America, those of us who have the ability and the power to do so must see to it that the full rights of the weak and defenseless are safeguarded and protected against the violence and the intolerance of the strong and the mighty."

Congressman James Seccombe, Republican of Ohio, stated that he intended to vote for the Bill as a matter of principle with the feeling that it is absolutely constitutional and not a matter of trying to buy anyone's vote as stated by Congressman Mitchell. He also said that this is not a racial question. He quoted Congressman Mitchell's letter to Joseph Parvis of 2600 Calumet avenue, Chicago, Ill., saying that he could not take up the matter

of securing a job for him with the Works Projects Administration unless he first had a letter from his Ward Committeeman.

"I think this is a question of principle and I think this betrays his sincerity in trying to claim who is Santa Claus and who is not." Congressman Seccombe said, "I have the highest regard for the colored race, and it is on that principle that I intend to vote for this bill. But if anyone ever talked against a just bill in behalf of the colored people, then certainly the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Mitchell) did this afternoon. I think he should have some explaining to do to the white people as well as the colored people in his district, and to the people of this Nation, as to the contents of this letter, where he plays politics with the necessities and privileges of his constituents."

The question naturally arises: Are Congressman Gavagan, Sen. Wagner, Senator Van Nuys, and the 104 Democrats who supported the Bill, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization most favorable to the New Deal, "trying to buy Negro votes" for the Democratic Party as he charges the 149 Republicans are seeking to do for their Party?

Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, summed up the Republican attitude when he said: "I wish to reiterate for the sake of the record that I do not believe the colored vote is for sale on this Federal Anti-Lynching Bill or any other legislation and I do not want any such implication to be carried in the Congressional Record, the gentleman from Illinois(Mr. Mitchell) to the contrary notwithstanding. It is an unjust and unfair reflection on the colored people of America. We on this side are voting for this legislation because we believe it is right and constitutional and as the leader of this side in the fight I want every Republican who does not believe this bill is constitutional to vote against it. I am absolutely convinced and I have been for 20 years of the constitutionality of this type of legislation, the need for it and the right of the Negro people to have it. That is why we are going to fight for this Federal Anti-Lynching Bill now and in the years to come until it is enacted into law as long as there is one lynching in the United States of America."

The final vote on the measure was taken Wednesday. January 10. The Bill passed, 252 to 131. A tabulation shows 140 Republicans, 109 Democrats. 1 American Laborite and 2 Progressives voted for the bill, while 123 Democrats, and only 8 Republicans opposed it.

"Democracy Not Real As Long As Mob Rides," N. A. A. C. P. Tells Senate Majority Leader

SEP 2 1940

Insisting that the Senate Majority Leader call up the Anti-lynching bill at once, "now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of," Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told Senator Barkley this week that we cannot make democracy a reality in America "as long as the mob rides."

White's statement was contained in a letter sent to Barkley September 9, the day following the death of 16-year old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Georgia, the [illegible] lynching victim of that year.

"We agree," the N.A.A.C.P. secretary said, "that it is important to protect America from the spirit of racial bigotry and mob violence which are part of the basis of the methods used by totalitarian powers and particularly that of Nazi Germany but while we are building ships, planes and guns to keep Hitler out, it is imperative that at the same time we make democracy a reality in the United States and that cannot be done as long as the mob still rides."

The letter pointed to the terror aroused against Negro citizens in Brownsville, Tenn., resulting in the lynching of Elbert Williams, and the tragic status of the Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis, the latter, father of seven children, both of whom were forced to flee their homes. "The lynching and subsequent terrorizing of Negro citizens who sought the right to vote in Brownsville was given impetus by the continued refusal of Barkley to call up the Anti-lynching bill," White said.

Calling upon the Senate Majority Leader to rally all the administration forces behind the bill to get action immediately, White concluded:

"We therefore again request you, as Majority Leader, to call up the Anti-lynching bill now that most of the legislation for national defense has been disposed of, and that every resource of the administration be put forth to the end that this bill be passed by the Senate before Congress adjourns."

LYNCHINGS- 1940
LEGISLATION RELATING TO

NEGRO PRESS, NORTHERN

6414

HOUSE PASSES ANTI-LYNCH BILL 251 TO 132

The Guardian
1-13-40

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The House passed the Gavagan anti-lynching bill Wednesday by 251 to 132.

One hundred and nine Democrats, 140 Republicans, one American Laborite and two Progressives voted for the bill, while 123 Democrats and eight Republicans opposed it. Sixteen members were paired and 25 did not vote.

The bill was sent to the Senate where it faces a filibuster by Southern members and may be talked to death as were its predecessors. Supporters of the measure in the Senate have enough votes to pass the bill if it is allowed to be put to a vote. Southerners headed by Tom Conally of Texas have threatened to start a filibuster and prolong the senatorial talk blockade until the bill is shelved.

The Gavagan bill imposes penalties on peace officers who fail to protect their prisoners from lynching and makes municipalities and counties liable for damages.

House discussions of the measure was marked by vicious attacks upon colored people. Rankin of Mississippi told lurid tales of alleged rapes and openly defended lynching.

Other Southern opponents declared that there would be an increase in lynchings if the bill were passed.

"You pass this bill and the sheriff in my town will be somewhere else when a crowd gathers for a lynching," threatened W. R. [illegible] age of Texas.

Rep. William [illegible] Colmer of Mississippi attacked Gavagan sharply because he is the Congressman from Harlem with its colored population.

He slandered the bill as an "attempt to rope the constitution."

Gavagan read to the record newspaper clippings from newspapers which told how the lynch mob is gathering in Mississippi—home state of both Colmer and Rankin.

THE ANTILYNCHING BILL

Again the United States Congress is fronted with the Gavagan-Wagner federal antilynching bill. Nearly two hundred congressmen have signified their intention to support it. Passage in the House has been conceded. In the U. S. Senate, where unlimited palaver is the rule, the target lies. It is yet to be seen whether the German Nazi influence in the South will be strong enough to defeat the ends of democracy as heretofore. The general war situation in the world will have its bearing.

According to the press there has been recent terrorism in Missouri. Ku Klux Klanism in South Carolina and mob rule in Mississippi. These should accelerate the enactment of a federal law aganst lynching. Law, order, common decency, morality, logic and religion are on the side of anti-lynching and mob law will very likely ensue.

All are called upon to follow the lead of the N.A.A.C.P., call for the support of your representatives and senators. It is the solemn duty of the church to cooperate as never before. Lynching and mob law must be outlawed in an enlightened Christian democracy, "in the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Mitchell, Fish Clash In Lynch Bill Debate.

Philadelphia Tribune

Negro Member Assails Motives Of G. O. P. Backing Bill

1-4-40

WASHINGTON, Jan.—A charge by Representative Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, and the only Negro member of Congress, that Republican support for the Anti-Lynching Bill was an effort to "buy back" the Negro vote precipitaated sharp House debate Tuesday between members of the two parties.

Mr. Mitchell's charge was elicited by a question asked by Representative Fish, Republican, of New York, who inquired if the Illinois Representative had meant to imply that the Negro vote was for sale.

Mr. Mitchell declared he resented "such an insinuation," asserting the vote was not for sale, "although the Republican party has tried to use them in that way."

Republicans have been making all sorts of promises to the Negro for seventy-five years, he added, and asserted the promises had not been fulfilled.

Instead, the Republicans had used the Negroes "almost as chattels" immediately after the Civil War. He said that "even the distinguished gentleman who wishes to be a candidate for the Presidency" had not nominated a Negro to West Point.

He said there was a Negro leader now in Washington, encouraged by the Republican National Committee, whose sole efforts were directed at bringing the Negro vote into the Republican fold.

"The day has come when you cannot fool the Negro like you used to," Mr. Mitchell shouted. "There are some of us who have the courage to tell the truth. We know who our friends are and we are going to stand by them."

In reply Mr. Fish said he did not want any implication that the Negro vote was for sale to go into the record, and declared that he hoped any Republican who did not think the bill constitutional would vote against it. He said he was convinced of its constitutionality, [illegible] paid for it and the right of the Negro people to have it, and asserted he would continue to fight for the legislation until it was on the statute books.

Representative Burdick, Republican, of North Dakota, asserted that Mr. Mitchell's statement provided "a good reason" for voting against the measure, but Mr. Fish urged Mr. Burdick to vote his "convictions" and pay no attention to "the Representative of the Chicago district."

Mr. Mitchell had pleaded for forty-five minutes for passage of the bill.

"You represent the group that has furnished the mobs," he said. "Let me speak as I see it, the voice of those who have suffered this thing (lynching)."

At another point, speaking to his Southern colleagues, the Illinois Representative said:

I hear many of my friends on my side speak of how they loved their black mammies. The thing does not, of course sound so good to me. We want this love to reach beyond the black mammy. We want it to come down to us who are carrying the burden."

Mr. Mitchell, a native of Alabama, disclosed during his speech that he recently had purchased a farm in Alabama and would retire to it when he ended his career as a Representative and as a Chicago lawyer.

HITS WPA RULE IN CHICAGO

Representative Seccombe, Republican, of Ohio, read a letter said to have been written by Mr. Mitchell to a John Parkas in Chicago relative to "this WPA matter." He quoted the letter as telling Parkas he would first have "to get a letter from your ward committeeman because it is the unbroken rule of the Chicago Democratic organization that matters will not be taken up unless there is a letter from the committeeman."

This shows who's been trying to buy Negro votes." Mr. Seccombe said. "Mr. Mitchell has some explaining to do, both to this House and to the country."

Despite the attack by Mr. Mitchell on the Republicans, there were no indications that more than a few votes might be changed on the final vote. One Republican said privately he thought the bill "probably will squeeze through by a hundred votes."

The debate brought out the "big gun" orators, with Representative Sumners of Texas, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, leading off the day's oratory with a denunciation of the measure as unconstitutional, and asserting it would "take away individual government and responsibility which is the life of democracy."

Addressing himself to both sides of the aisles, Mr. Sumners ended his speech with the following appeal:

"Every time you feel you can support the Constitution and still get re-elected, do it, won't you?"

Mr. Wadsworth, Republican, of New York, an opponent of anti-lynching legislation because of his belief in its unconstitutionality, told the House in one of his infrequent speeches that local officials and the people could not be "regimented" into good behavior, and that educational processes would eventually eliminate the crime of lynching.

Mr. Wadsworth held the bill impossible of enforcement. Taking as an example his own county of Livingston, he said that if a lynching occurred there, and the county was ordered by a Federal court to pay damages to relatives of the victim, as provided in the bill, the County Treasurer would be prohibited by law from paying out funds not appropriated by the Supervisors. The Supervisors, he said, would be unable under New York law to appropriate funds for such a purpose.

Representative Gavagan of New York, author of the bill, told the House he would move later to strike from the measure a provision that lynching would not be deemed to include violence occurring during the course of picketing or other labor trouble.

ANTI-LYNCH LEGISLATION REVIVED

From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The first business before the 1940 Congress is a matter carried over from its last session, and from many other sessions before that: anti-lynching legislation. It is tragic to think that a Federal law to curb mob murder was not enacted long ago, so frequent have been demonstrations of local inability to prevent or punish lynchings. But always in previous sessions, the bills have passed the House, then have been blocked in the Senate by filibuster sectionalism and constitutional quibbles.

While the perennial debate goes on, lynchings continue and their perpetrators remain unpunished. Opponents of the Gavagan measure are citing last year's record low of four such crimes, and the figure is, of course, a token of progress. (Tuskegee Institute had announced the figure as three, then revised its tabulation.) Yet it remains proverbial that lynchings fall in number whenever Congress seems about to act. There have been reductions before, followed by an increase in a year or so. In 1933, for example, there were eight lynchings, a decided drop from the 13 of the previous year—but in 1933, the figure jumped to 28.

Consider the very definition of lynching, as given in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences: "A vengeful torture and execution of individuals without trial and regardless of the existence of regular courts of law." A blot remains on American civilization—as our European critics never fail to point out—so long as the federal arm is stayed against dealing with this revolting and [illegible] the most brutal crime. Despite the [illegible] and states' [illegible] the mandate of even one person [illegible] to the law remains [illegible] passage, so Congress can get on [illegible] with the other urgent business [illegible] now confronting it.

Anti-Lynching Bill Looks Hopeful, Says Walter White

The Plaindealer
Kansas City Kansas

NEW YORK—Prospects for passage of the anti lynching bill, when that measure comes up in the House for a vote Monday, January 8, look very hopeful, according to Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who returned today from a two day stay in Washington.

Outlining the immediate program for getting the bill passed in the House, Mr. White said:

"It is of the utmost importance that Congressmen be present on the floor of the House and work for passage of this bill until it wins.

"We are carrying to Washington the detailed records of each Congressman who pledged support of the bill before his election, signers of the discharge petition, and Congressional replies to our letters asking members of the House to be present when the bill comes up. In addition to this, we are publishing 20,000 copies of our 'investigator' report on the lynching of Joe Rodgers in Canton, Miss. May 8, 1939. Rodgers was lynched after a fight with a lumber plant foreman, who first struck him with a shovel. Rodgers was later tied hand and foot and his body cut and tortured with red hot irons before being thrown into the Pearl river.

"This report, which will be distributed to every member of Congress, newspaper editors and correspondents, and heads of national organizations throughout the country, represents the answer to those people who believe that simply because we have had just five lynchings in 1939 lynching is on the way out in this country.

Statistics Do Not Tell All

"We are aware of two things when we look at present day lynching statistics. First, while lynchings have decreased in number they have increased in barbarism. Secondly, the statistics which we have on the number of lynchings today, do not tell all of the story by any means. What is not brought out is the fact that mob leaders have adoped the technique of spiriting their victims away quietly and doing their dirty work without benefit of crowds or attendant publicity."

The NAACP secretary stressed the importance of buying anti lynching buttons which have been distributed throughout the country "so that all who wear them may give vent to a silent protest against this barbarism and show their support of the federal anti lynching bill."

He pointed to the attempted lynching of two colored men in Meadville, Miss., Thursday, January 4, by a mob of 100 whites, as an example of the fact that the call to stop lynching must become more articulate among more people.

The NAACP secretary and Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special Counsel, will leave for Washington Saturday, to take the lead in pushing for the passage of the bill next Monday.

White Southerners Give Their Reaction to Anti-Lynch Bill

GREENVILLE, S. C.—(ANP)—A poll conducted here to determine the white southerner's reactions to the anti-lynching bill brought some surprising results. All the whites approached agreed that there was need for drastic legislation to stamp out lynching but expressed a preference for state legislation rather than federal.

In general they agreed that they did not favor a filibuster by the southern senators. Here are some of the opinions expressed:

"I think the sooner the thing is settled and out of the public eye the better it will be."

"If they really want to help the Negro why don't they do something to improve his living condition. For that matter why don't they do something about the poor class of white people?"

"I think the bill is a deliberate bid for the Negro vote.

"Lynchers should be severely punished. It makes no difference whether the federal or state authorities handled it."

"Let congress get it over with and get on to some more important legislation."